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The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata

Volume I
Chapters 1–2, 39–40, & 83

Revelation, Ritual, and Material Culture in an Early Śaiva Tantra

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THE EARLY TANTRA SERIES

Tantric scriptures form the basis of almost all the various theistic schools of theology and ritual in post-Vedic India, as well as of a major strand of Buddhism (Vajrayāna). Among these schools, those centred on the Hindu deities Śiva and Viṣṇu spread well beyond the Indian subcontinent to Kambuja (Cambodia/Laos/Thailand), Champa (Vietnam) and Indonesia, while Buddhist tantrism quickly became pan-Asian.

With this mini-series, launched within the 'Collection Indologie', we are releasing some of the fruits of a Franco-German project funded from 2008 to 2011 by the Agence Nationale pour la Recherche and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The series takes its name from the project's title: 'Early Tantra: Discovering the interrelationships and common ritual syntax of the Śaiva, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Saura traditions'. Our aim was to study the interrelationships between the tantric traditions on the basis of fundamental source-material, which we would edit and publish for the first time. For this we made use of some of the exceptionally rich manuscript resources gathered in the twentieth century and studied by German and French research institutes at opposite poles of the sub-continent.

In recent centuries, the Tamil-speaking South is the only area where a vast corpus of Sanskrit texts of what was long the dominant school of tantric Śaivism continued being copied and so transmitted to the present day. So when, in 1956, Jean Filliozat secured a foothold in Pondicherry for French indological research, he created an ideal institutional base for the study of a forgotten chapter in the religious history of Asia. Gradually, the largest specialised manuscript collection of texts relating to the Śaiva Siddhānta was amassed, recognised in 2005 by UNESCO as a "Memory of the World" collection: The Śaiva Manuscripts of Pondicherry.

At the other end of the subcontinent, the cool climate of Nepal has preserved ancient manuscripts of texts of virtually every branch of Indian learning. Much of the early history of tantrism is thus preserved in the vast archive of Nepalese manuscripts microfilmed over more than three decades by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP), then partly catalogued by the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), run from Hamburg and from the NGMCP's base in Kathmandu, the Nepal Research Centre (NRC). One Nepalese treasure, also included, in 2013, in UNESCO's register, formed the cornerstone of our project: the ninth-century manuscript of the Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā.

The Early Tantra Series is not a closed collection: as well as the editions and translations promised as part of the 'Early Tantra' project, studies of numerous related works were inspired or further advanced during the project's workshops.

Bhairava (c. 10th century), Sohagpur, Shahdol District, Madhya Pradesh; AIIS Photoarchive accession no. 20730 (negative no. A6.30).

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The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata

Volume I
Chapters 1–2, 39–40, & 83

Revelation, Ritual, and Material Culture in an Early Śaiva Tantra

by

Shaman Hatley

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Preface

Portions of this book had their genesis in my doctoral thesis, "The *Brahmayāmalatantra* and Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginīs" (University of Pennsylvania, 2007), written under the guidance of Harunaga Isaacson. This has long been available as an open-access publication (HATLEY 2007). Though I received kind encouragement after its completion, the dissertation seemed satisfactory to me neither as a study of early tantric *yoginī* cults, nor as a critical edition of the *Brahmayāmala*. I hence divided the material into three separate projects, which have taken much longer than anticipated to complete. Indeed this book, volume I of the *Brahmayāmala*, has been so long in the making that it is appearing three years after the publication of volume II, by Csaba KISS (2015). Carried over from my doctoral thesis into the present volume are some sections of chapter 1, all of chapter 2, the edition and translation of *Brahmayāmala*, chapters (*paṭala*) 1 and 2, and appendix A—in most cases heavily revised or re-written. Chapter 3 was published earlier as an article in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (HATLEY 2016b). The remaining material has not previously been published.

This is an academic book intended to shed light on the literature and history of an Indian tantric tradition. Influential though it was, the *Brahmayāmala* belongs to the most antinomian fringe of early-medieval Tantric Śaivism, and some may find its preoccupation with human remains, sexuality, and occult power troubling. Conversely, readers who might be tempted to dabble with the *Brahmayāmala*'s highly esoteric rituals and mantras do so at their own peril. These were surely not intended to be learned without authorization by a genuine guru. In the words of an oft-quoted verse of the *Kulārṇavatantra*, "One who incants a mantra written down in a book does not attain its power, and experiences nothing but harm at every step, O beautiful one" (*pustake likhito mantro yena sundari japyate | na tasya jāyate siddhir hānir eva pade pade ||*). Those desiring to revive or reinvent Śaiva tantric traditions would do well to seek more innocuous material.

Research for this project was supported by pre- and post-doctoral awards from the University of Pennsylvania, American Institute of Indian Studies, Muktabodha Indological Research Institute, Concordia University, and Le Fonds de recherche du Québec—Société et culture. I am grateful for this financial support, and applaud those willing to fund research on such seemingly arcane topics. The project would not have been possible at all without the cooperation of the archives, institutes, and museums which granted access to their collections. I would hence like to offer thanks to the curators, staff, and directors of the AIIS Center for Art and Archeology, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the British Library, the Department of Sanskrit (Manuscript Division) of Viśvabhāratī University, the Fogg Museum (Harvard University), the Indian Museum (Kolkata), the Institut Français de Pondichéry, the National Archives of Kathmandu, the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, the Nepal Research Center, the Oriental Institute of Baroda, and Vidisha State Museum. I am also grateful to the Huntington Archive, Los Angeles County Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rubin Museum of Art, and Victoria & Albert Museum for permission to reproduce images from their collections, and also to Thomas Donaldson, who graciously provided me images from his personal collection.

I owe an immense debt of gratitude to my teachers, and feel blessed to have had Harunaga Isaacson as my PhD supervisor. While at the University of Pennsylvania, he dedicated countless hours to teaching me Sanskrit, reading manuscripts with me, and providing highly detailed feedback on my doctoral thesis at every stage. I could never have undertaken to edit so vast and impenetrable a text without his mentorship. His erudition and commitment to teaching remain inspirational. I am also deeply grateful to Alexis Sanderson of Oxford, doyen of the study of Tantric Śaivism, with whom I had the privilege of reading part of the *Brahmayāmala* at an early stage in my research, and whose help and encouragement have been invaluable. I was privileged to study at UPenn with an array of learned scholars, including George Cardona, to whom I am indebted for training in Middle Indic; Michael Meister, who opened up the world of Indian art to me; Guy Welbon, who was instrumental to my training in the history of religions, and a source of much good advice; the late Wilhelm Halbfass, who remains an inspiration; and my first teacher of Sanskrit, the late Ludo Rocher, an exemplary scholar, educator, and person.

My study of the *Brahmayāmala* benefited enormously from participation in a major international project, "Early Tantra: Discovering the interrelationship

and common ritual syntax of the Śaiva, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Saura traditions," directed by Harunaga Isaacson and Dominic Goodall (2008–12). I am grateful to the directors for involving me, and for selecting the *Brahmayāmala* as a project focus. This provided an invaluable context for deepening my understanding of the *Brahmayāmala*, and I am grateful to all involved, especially the directors, Csaba Kiss, Alexis Sanderson, and Judit Törzsök. Two chapters edited in this volume (39 and 40) benefited directly from comments received on drafts during the First Early Tantra workshop in Kathmandu (2008); particularly valuable was Alexis Sanderson's commentary on chapter 40. Chapter 83 of the *Brahmayāmala*, for its part, benefited from being read in excerpt in a more recent workshop, "History of Śaivism: Readings in Inscriptions and Early Manuscripts" (Paris, March 2014). I am especially grateful for the suggestions of Kengo Harimoto, James Mallinson, Judit Törzsök, and Yuko Yokochi. Emendations proposed by other scholars have been recorded as such; any inadvertent omissions are deeply regretted.

I was fortunate to receive feedback on parts of this book (or early incarnations thereof) from a number of scholars, including Gudrun Bühnemann, Hugo David, Alberta Ferrario, Dominic Goodall, Phyllis Granoff, Ayesha Irani, Mrinal Kaul, Kathleen Kesson, James Mallinson, Paul Martin, and Ben Williams. I am especially grateful to Harunaga Isaacson, whose feedback was crucial to the chapters stemming from my doctoral thesis, and who commented on much of the rest more recently; and to both Csaba Kiss and Judit Törzsök, who provided detailed and insightful feedback on the whole volume.

This publication has been enriched immeasurably by the availability of electronic texts. I am particularly indebted to colleagues who have shared with me their own transcriptions of manuscripts or draft critical editions, including Diwakar Acharya, Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Nirajan Kafle, Nibedita Rout, Alexis Sanderson, S. A. S. Sarma, R. Sathyanarayanan, Olga Serbaeva, Michael Slouber, Judit Törzsök, and Somadeva Vasudeva. I am also grateful to the staff of the Digital Library of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute (DLMIRI), who, under the direction of Mark Dyczkowski, have made available a veritable trove of tantric texts—not only published works, but increasingly manuscripts as well. I would also like to thank Jung Lan Bang, who arranged for the *Brahmayāmala*'s old palm-leaf manuscript to be re-photographed, enabling me to make many improvements to my transcription.

Special thanks are due to all of my former colleagues in the Department of Religion of Concordia University, whose collegiality and friendship I treasure. I am especially grateful to my fellow Asianists, Marc des Jardins, Leslie Orr, and T. S. Rukmani. I began drafting chapters 3–6, and the critical edition of *paṭala* 83, while I was a visiting professor at the University of Toronto, and I would like to thank Christoph Emmrich, Elizabeth Mills, Srilata Raman, Ajay Rao, and Shafique Virani for their support and friendship while in residence. I am also grateful for the warm welcome extended by my new colleagues at the University of Massachusetts Boston, and to Emily McDermott, in particular, for making my move to Boston possible.

I have typeset the book using the XƎLaTeX document preparation system. In this regard I would like to thank Somadeva Vasudeva, who first introduced me to TeX and provided invaluable sample code; Michael Slouber, who resolved a number of seemingly intractable problems; and authors of the numerous packages I have used, especially LEDMAC.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Ayesha for the incalculable blessing of her companionship.

Abbreviations

BraYā	*Brahmayāmala*
BraYāSāra	**Brahmayāmalasāra*
MS, MSS	manuscript(s)
√	verbal root
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
GRETIL	Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (http://gretil.sub.unigoettingen.de/)
DLMIRI	Digital Library of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute (http://www.muktabodhalib.org/digital_library.htm)
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
T. no.	Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP) transcript number
AIIS	American Institute of Indian Studies
§	chapter/section number (e.g. §1.4: "chapter 1, section 4")
OBERLIES §...	Thomas OBERLIES (2003), section no. ...
EDGERTON §...	Franklin EDGERTON (1953, vol. 1), section no. ...
A	*BraYā* manuscript NAK 3-370 (without boldface in the critical apparatus
B	*BraYā* manuscript NAK 5-1929
C	*BraYā* manuscript NAK 1-143
D	*BraYā* manuscript NAK 1-286
E	*BraYā* manuscript NAK 6-2608
S_1	*BraYāSāra* manuscript NGMPP reel no. E 1527/6
S_2	*BraYāSāra* manuscript NAK 1-1557
cod.	reading of the manuscript in question
conj.	conjecture
corr.	correction
em.	emendation

f., *ff.*	folio(s); *r* = recto, *v* = verso (e.g. "*f.* 4*r*")
unmet.	unmetrical
]	lemma sign preceding variant readings
^{ac}	ante correctionem
^{pc}	post correctionem
°	indicates editorial ellipsis
◆	separates apparatus entries within a single verse-quarter (pāda)
⟨...⟩$^{err.}$	syllables marked by the scribe as erroneous
⟨.../...⟩	Two equally plausible interpretations
......	wavy underlining identifies text deemed insecure
†...†	text passage deemed corrupt, for which no conjecture is offered
(¿) ... (?)	conjectural translation
+...+	a marginal or interlinear insertion
≀...≀	syllables only faintly legible
– – –	illegible syllable(s)

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Part I

Introduction and Studies

Chapter 1

The *Brahmayāmala* and Tantric Literature: An Introduction

नातः परतरं किञ्चित्त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्यते ।
ज्ञात्वा पिचुमतन्तन्त्रं सर्व्वतन्त्रान्परित्यजेत् ॥

"Nothing superior to this exists in the threefold universe. After learning the *Picumatatantra*, one should abandon all [other] *tantras*."

Brahmayāmala 87.222

1.1 Introduction

On the eighth day of the waxing moon of the month of Māgha in the year 172, Nepāl-*samvat*—Sunday, 12 January, 1052 C.E.—a certain Jayākarajīva, who resided in the vicinity of Kathmandu's Paśupatinātha temple, completed copying a Sanskrit text called, among other names, the *Brahmayāmala*. This endeavor had undoubtedly occupied him a long while, for the text fills three hundred and fifty-eight long, double-sided palm-leaf folios (figure 1.1). Fortunately, the product of his labors found its way into the manuscript collections of Nepalese royalty, and is today housed in the National Archives in Kathmandu.[1] But for this, precious little knowledge of a vast and important pre-ninth-century text would have been possible, a fate which has befallen all too

[1] NAK accession no. 3-370. See the MS.'s description below (§1.4.1). Luciano PETECH (1984: 44) records the colophon and date of the manuscript as follows: "Ms. Brahmayāmala, Na-

many works of tantric literature. The other extant codices of the *Brahmayāmala* (hereafter *BraYā*), also of Nepalese provenance, all appear to descend from this eleventh-century manuscript. Although the scripture itself was not likely composed in Nepal, no complete manuscript appears today to survive from outside of this region.

The *BraYā* designates itself a *tantra*: a treatise, ostensibly of divine origin, considered authoritative scripture within the cult of Śiva that is "based on the *tantras*" (*tāntrika*)—i.e. "Tantric Śaivism." The emic expression closest to this is Mantramārga, the "Way of Mantras."[2] It should not be inferred from the paucity of extant manuscripts that the *BraYā* was an unimportant or little-known work of tantric literature. A glimpse of the authority it once commanded may be had in the writing of the Kashmiri polymath Abhinavagupta (fl. *circa* 1000 C.E.), who cited the scripture often despite its degree of cultic and doctrinal remoteness.[3] Somewhat like the *Rudrayāmala*, the actual text would largely be forgotten;[4] yet its aura of authority would persist, on the basis of

tional Archives, III.370. Colophon: *samvat 100-50-2 Māgha-śuklāṣṭamyāṃ ādityadine R.-P.-śrī-Baladeva-rājye śrī-Paśupativāstavya śrī-Jayākarajīveṇa Brahmayāmalaṃ nāma śāstraṃ likhitaṃ.* Written at Paśupati Nāth. The date is verified for Sunday, January 12th, 1052." (PETECH's *100-50-2* is presumably a typographical error for *100-70-2*; the MS. reads *a cū 2*, i.e. 172 in alphanumerals.)

[2]On the term *tantra*, see Alexis SANDERSON (1988: 661–62). On the expression *mantramārga* and its scope, see SANDERSON (2005b: 229 [n. 1]). This occurs several times in the *BraYā*, *viz.* 39.44a, 71.36d, and 92.52cd (*nānena rahitā siddhir mantramārgge varānane*, "Without this, O fair woman, there is no *siddhi* in the Way of Mantras"). In addition to Mantramārga, the *BraYā* in one instance uses the term *tantramārga* in what appears to be a comparable sense. *BraYā* 98.29c–30b: *tantramārgaprasiddhena vidhināvarttayaṃ sadā* ||29|| *prāpnuyāta mahādevi siddhayo manasepsitā[ḥ]* | ("Ever repeating [the mantra] with the method established by the Way of Tantras, O Great Goddess, one would obtain [whatever] powers the mind desires"). (Here *prāpnuyāta* is for *prāpnuyāt*, metri causa, while *siddhayaḥ* is an irregular accusative; cf. OBERLIES §2.6.) The expression *tantramārga* also occurs in a similar sense in later sources, such as the *Puraścaryārṇava* (1.149ab; reference courtesy of Harunaga ISAACSON): *vedamārgaṃ parityajya tantramārgaikatatparāḥ* ("[those who,] abandoning the Way of the Vedas, are devoted exclusively to the Way of Tantras ...)."

[3]For a discussion of Abhinavagupta's references to the *BraYā*, see appendix B.

[4]On the *Rudrayāmala*, of which no old version appears to survive but which became "the foremost locus of ascription in Hindu Tantric literature," see GOUDRIAAN & GUPTA (1981: 47–48). It is possible that the old *BraYā* continued to have a place in Nepalese tradition into the early twentieth century; Haraprasād ŚĀSTRĪ (1989 [1905]: 61), who more than a century ago catalogued the oldest codex of the *BraYā*, reported on views of the text then current in Nepal: "in the opinion of the Paṇḍits of Nepal the full texts of Brahma Yámala is a lakh and a quarter of slokas, and that it belongs to all the six schools of Tantra. The present work, extending over

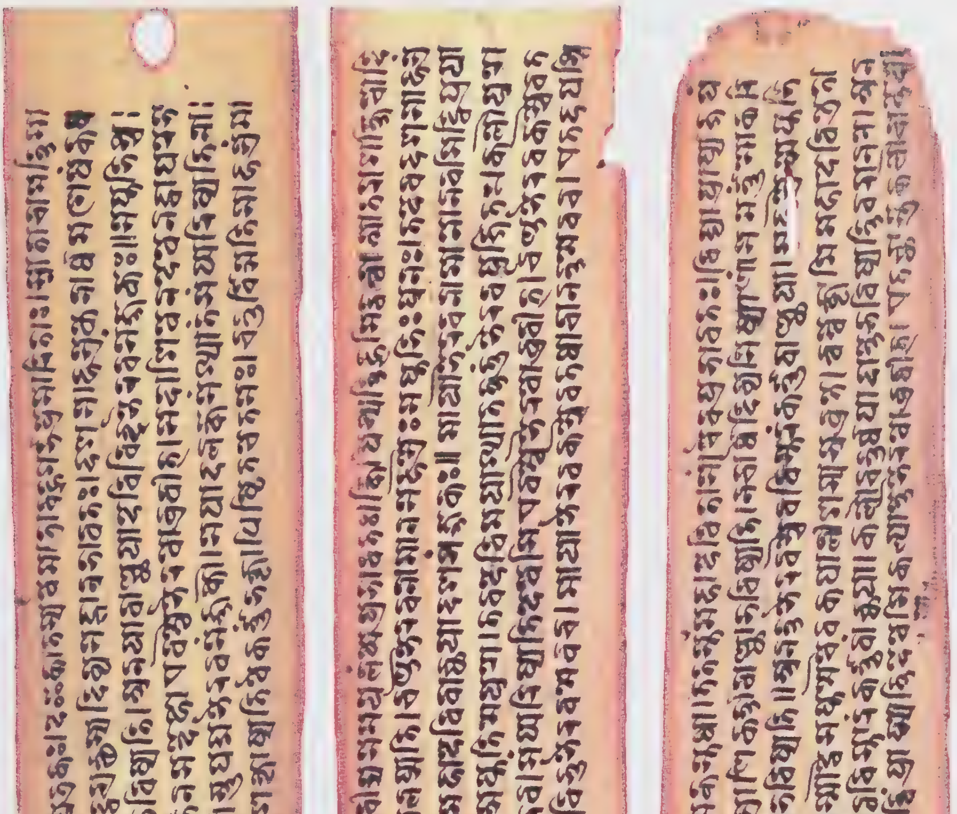

Figure 1.1: NAK 3-370, folio 3*v* (*Brahmayāmala* 1.81–102)

which there would emerge several new "*Brahmayāmalas*." I am aware of five: a South Indian text connected with the cult of Bhadrakālī, in which some traces of the older *BraYā* are discernable;[5] another South Indian "*Brahmayāmala*" related to this of which only a few chapters survive;[6] a text preserved in a Bengali manuscript of fifty-two folios expounding a series of ritual diagrams (*cakras* or *yantras*), with no discernable relation to the older *BraYā*;[7] a text of the cult of Tārā by this name transmitted in an untraced Bengali manuscript, a section of which has been published;[8] and a short recension of the older *Brahmayāmala* preserved in two Nepalese MSS., discussed below. Additionally, the *BraYā* has

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1200 [*sic*; 12,000?] ślokas, belongs, however, to the western school."

[5]This text is preserved, incomplete, in a Devanāgarī transcription (IFP T. no. 522) of a manuscript from Tirukkalukkunram in Tamil Nadu. The text has been discussed by SANDERSON (2007a: 277–78), who provides evidence for its South Indian provenance and shows several respects in which it demonstrates continuity with the older *Brahmayāmala*.

[6]This text, transmitted in Trivandrum University Library MS. no. 982, is also mentioned by SANDERSON (2007a: 278 [n. 143]); he reports that it breaks off in the fifth chapter. That it concerns the cult of Bhadrakālī is suggested by passages cited. I have been unable to consult the manuscript thus far.

[7] Asiatic Society of Bengal manuscript G6392. This appears to be the *Brahmayāmala* anthologized in the *Narapativijayacaryā*, "Practice for the Victory of Kings." The *BraYā* is in fact the source most frequently named in this digest, a secondary title for which is *Yāmalīyasvarodaya* (perhaps "Sonic Prognostication Based on the *Yāmalas*"), as given in the colophon of chapter 3 and elsewhere. "Seven *yāmalas*" are mentioned as first among its sources, along with the *Yuddhajayārṇava*, *Yoginījālasaṃvara*, etc. (1.3): *śrutvādau yāmalān sapta tathā yuddhajayārṇavam | kaumārīṃ kauśalaṃ caiva yoginījālasaṃvaram* [em.; °*saṃcaram* Ed.] ||3|| ....

[8]Two chapters of this text were published as an appendix to Girīśacandra VEDĀNTATĪRTHA's edition of the *Tārātantra*. By all appearances from a much later period, this "*Brahmayāmala*" seems unrelated to the older text of the same name. The MS. on which the edition is based apparently comes from the collection of the Varendra Research Museum Library (p. 22). However, this might no longer be available, for the archive's relevant catalogue of manuscripts (SIDDHANTA 1979: 228–29) makes no mention of it. Several "*Brahmayāmala*" manuscripts are described, but none appear likely to be the basis for the published text: number 279 transmits the *Śrīrādhākavaca* "in" the *Brahmayāmala* (the colophon reads *iti śrībrahmayāmale haragaurīsaṃvāde śrī rādhākavacaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ*). Number 250, of sixteen folios, consists of a *stotra* of the goddess Tārā (the colophon reads *iti śrībrahmayāmale tārādevyāḥ sāmrājye saṃjñāṃ [?] takārādisahasranāmastotraṃ samāptaṃ*). Number 310 (six folios) is the *Caitanyakalpa* of the *Brahmayāmala* (*iti brahmayāmale śivadurgāsaṃvāde caitanyakalpaṃ*. Number 303 (five folios) consists of the *Gītāsāra* attributed to the *BraYā* (no colophon is provided). The material published from the Varendra *BraYā* codex narrates the journey of the Brahmanical sage Vaśiṣṭha to Mahācīna, where the inebriated Buddha instructs him in "the Chinese method" (*cīnācāra*) for worship of Tārā. As Joel BORDEAUX brought to my attention (personal communication, May, 2007), this has close parallels in chapters 1–2 of the *Mahācīnācāratantra*.

been the locus of ascription for numerous hymns of praise (*stotra*) and sundry other minor compositions,[9] and no doubt more literature that has not come to my attention. The *BraYā*'s importance is also evident from the existence of several derivative *tantras*, of which one, the *Piṅgalāmata*, is an important large-scale work in its own right.[10]

Though surviving in just a handful of manuscripts, the old *BraYā* has in fact fared better than most early Śaiva scriptures.[11] As Dominic GOODALL (1998: xxxvi–li) shows, a relatively small number of the early *tantras* of the Śaivasiddhānta survives; furthermore, many of the texts listed in descriptions of the canon of *Siddhāntatantras* exist only in versions of post eleventh-century, South Indian provenance. And little at all survives of the scriptures of the Lākula and Kāpālika sects of the Śaiva Atimārga, "The Outer Path," which appear to lie in the immediate background of the Śaiva Mantramārga.[12]

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[9]The entry for *Brahmayāmala* in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (RAMA BAI & VEEZHINATHAN 2000: 183–87) lists as many as eighty-one distinct compositions claiming the *BraYā* as locus of attribution. The concerns of these texts extend beyond "tantric" matters. Although *stotras* dominate, there also appear tracts on Dharma (an *Ācārasāraprakaraṇa*), worship (e.g. the *Kālikādīpadānavidhi* and *Chāgadānavidhi*), apotropaic rites (e.g. the *Grahayogaśānti* and *Navagrahaśāntikalpa*), and protection (e.g. the *Rāmakavaca* and *Sūryakavaca*). I have had few opportunities to consult manuscripts of these works, but judging by the titles, it seems improbable that more than a handful might have some genuine, even indirect connection to the old *BraYā*. The NCC does not contain entries for either *Picumata* or *Picutantra*, which are the principal alternative titles for the old *BraYā* (as discussed in chapter 2). It does, however, record the existence of a *Brahmayāmalapaddhati* preserved in two South Indian manuscripts (in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library of Madras and the Government Manuscript Library of Mysore). These and at least some of the texts ascribed to the *BraYā* are likely to have value in reconstructing its reception history, a subject beyond the aims of the present volume.

Among the minor texts ascribed to the *BraYā*, those entitled *Yoginīvijayastava* do have genuine connections. Two *stotras* so-titled are preserved in Nepalese MSS.; the more prevalent version is transmitted in a large number of MSS., including NGMPP reel no. C48/10 (palm-leaf, 42 folios), dated Nepal samvat 626 (*circa* 1506 C.E.). This hymn invokes the esoteric pantheon of the old *BraYā* through devotional praise, with pacification (*śānti*) as the primary objective.

[10]SANDERSON (2014: 39) identifies the *Mahābhairavamaṅgalā*, *Piṅgalāmata*, and *Matasāra* as the "satellite-texts" of the *BraYā*. Discussion of these and other texts in relationship to the *BraYā* follows below in §1.8–9.

[11]Concerning the early *tantras* known to Śaiva exegetical authors, and those known to survive in manuscript, see SANDERSON (2001: 2–6); cf. my brief remarks in HATLEY (2010: 616–18). For a comprehensive overview of early-medieval Śaiva literature, see SANDERSON (2014).

[12]On the division of Śaivism into Atimārga and Mantramārga traditions, see SANDERSON (1988: 664–69; 2006b). He discusses what can be gleaned concerning the lost scriptures of the Atimārga in the latter and in SANDERSON (2001: 29–31; 2014: 8–12).

Tantric traditions have been characterized in popular culture and no small amount of scholarship as quintessentially concerned with goddesses and/or ritualized forms of sexual activity.[13] But that there is no intrinsic connection with either, and that the two are not concomitant, should in fact be obvious; indeed, goddesses and ritual coitus have little or no place in several of the major, early tantric traditions. Tantric Buddhist practice systems based on the *Yogatantra*s and earlier literature infrequently accord high cultic status to female deities, while sexual ritual appears to have been a comparatively late development.[14] Extant sources of the Vaiṣṇava tradition of the Pāñcarātra appear to give no place to ritualized sexuality, while among these sources the *Lakṣmītantra*—a work of the early second millennium shown to have been influenced by nondualist Śaivism—seems exceptional in according theological preeminence to the divine feminine.[15] And in the early pan-Indian and living South Indian traditions of the Śaivasiddhānta, female deities have subsidiary roles, while sexual ritual is minimally attested.[16] Arguably, these represent the predominant tantric traditions flourishing in South Asia and the lands of its cultural influence through much of the early medieval period.[17] Yet tantric traditions did develop

[13]To catalogue the varied guises in which such visions of the tantric traditions have and continue to surface is no small task; Hugh URBAN's 2003 monograph tracing the genealogy of modern understandings of "Tantra" provides a useful starting point.

[14]Coitus and the ritual engagement with other varieties of 'impurity' appear to have their earliest attestation in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, as notes Steven WEINBERGER (2003: 197–200). These elements take on added importance in the *Guhyasamājatantra* and related works, literature in some respects transitional between the *Yogatantra*s and *Yoginītantra*s, and classified accordingly as *Mahāyogatantra*s (see for instance TRIBE 2000: 212–13).

[15]On the influence of the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* of the Kashmiri author Kṣemarāja, as well as other Śaiva works, on the *Lakṣmītantra*, see SANDERSON (2001: 35– 36). Concerning the *Lakṣmītantra* and the role of goddesses therein, see Sanjukta GUPTA (2000: introduction).

[16]On the comparative insignificance of goddesses in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, probably the earliest of the texts which came to be considered *Siddhāntatantra*s, see HATLEY (2015). Interestingly, sexual ritual does have limited attestation in some of the earliest *Siddhāntatantra*s, though even in these it is marginal; see chapter 3.

[17]Nonetheless, much of the scholarly literature has assumed an artificial distinction that, at times, goes so far as to exclude the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra and/or Śaivasiddhānta from the category of "Tantra." Note for instance David WHITE's (2003: 17) remarks: "a number of works that closely resemble the Tantras in their ritual focus call themselves Āgamas or Saṃhitās. These are works belonging to the ... Śaivasiddhānta and (Vaiṣṇava) Pāñcarātra schools, respectively." This view, which suggests that the Śaivasiddhānta and Pāñcarātra are marginal to the study of tantric traditions proper, is based in part on what GOODALL (1998: xxxvi–xxxix) points out is an artificial distinction between *tantra*s and *āgama*s: in fact, early Śaiva scriptural sources, whether

that centered upon goddesses, including ones which harnessed sexuality as an important element in a wide range of practices focused upon achieving occult powers (*siddhi*) and liberation (*mukti*, *mokṣa*). The *BraYā* represents such a tradition. It is in fact one of the richest sources of evidence for early tantric Śaiva goddess cults, and sexuality has a significant presence in its practice systems.[18]

In a model of the canon of Śaiva scripture advanced in *BraYā* 39, *tantra*s are organized into three primary revelatory "streams" (*srotas*): the *Siddhāntatantra*s of the "middle stream," distinguished by their focus upon the deity Sadāśiva; the *Vāmatantra*s of the "leftward stream," regarded as scriptural authorities for the cult of the Sisters (*bhaginī*) of Tumburu; and the "rightward stream" of *Bhairavatantra*s. The *BraYā* identifies itself with the latter—scriptures of the cult of Bhairava, Śiva's manifestation as the archetypal skull-bearing ascetic or *kapālin*. An important early classification of the *Bhairavatantra*s attested in the *BraYā* subdivides these scriptures into four "mounds" or "corpora" (*pīṭha*): those of ritual gestures or *mudrā*s; of maṇḍalas, diagrammatic representations of the deities; of [male] mantras; and of *vidyā*s, the [female] "lores" or "wisdom-mantras."[19] Mantras are gendered, for they are divinities—not infrequently referred to as "mantra-deities" (*mantradevatā*).[20] This ontological identification

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*Siddhāntatantra*s or e.g. *Bhairavatantra*s, designate themselves by both these terms, and *saṃhitā* is attested as well. That the Pāñcarātra scriptures—which often do refer to themselves as *saṃhitā*s—are also, by their own designation, "*tantras*," requires little investigation; note, for instance, the text title *"Lakṣmītantra"* (see above), and e.g. *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* 11.62ab: *pañcarātrāhvayaṃ tantraṃ mokṣaikaphalalakṣaṇam* ("[Viṣṇu created] the Tantra called 'Pañcarātra,' characterized by having liberation as its sole aim"). Cf. Yāmunācārya's *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, which seeks to prove "the status of the Pāñcarātra *tantra*s as authoritative scripture" (°*pañcarātratantraprāmāṇya*; prose immediately following the introductory verses). Marginalization of the Pāñcarātra and Śaivasiddhānta from the study of tantric traditions in effect reinforces the characterization, alluded to above, of "Tantra" as being intrinsically concerned with goddesses and/or sexuality, for the other most influential tantric traditions—Vajrayāna Buddhism (in its latter phases), and non-Saiddhāntika tantric Śaivism—provide much greater attestation of goddess cults and trangsressive ritual.

[18]The sexual practices of the *BraYā*'s *sādhaka* are analysed in considerable detail in volume II of the *BraYā* (Kiss 2015). See also chapter 3 of the present volume.

[19]Concerning the *BraYā*'s model of the Śaiva canon, see §1.9 and §2.4. On the subdivision of the *Bhairavatantra*s into *pīṭha*s, see Sanderson (1988: 668–71); and on *pīṭha* as "corpus" or "collection," see Sanderson (2009: 45–46 [n. 11]).

[20]Note, e.g., *BraYā* 11.43ab, referring to the *smaraṇa*-mantra (on which see §5.3): *nānena rahitā[ḥ] devi sidhyante mantradevatāḥ*, "without this [*smaraṇa*], the mantra-deities do not bestow *siddhi*." Cf. Kṣemarāja's comments ad *Svacchandatantra* 1.76c–77b. The latter provides the mantra of Kapāleśa[bhairava], ending with the statement, *kapāleśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* in 77b

of efficacious sonic formulae with divinities is integral to tantric traditions. The division between the Mantrapīṭha and Vidyāpīṭha is thus one between male mantra-deities and female *vidyās*. It is within the Vidyāpīṭha of the *bhairava*-stream of revelation that the *BraYā* situates itself, an acknowledgement of the preponderance of feminine divinities in its ritual systems.

Though long eclipsed, the *BraYā* represents an archaic *śākta*-oriented form of the Mantramārga of no small historical significance. Heading the pantheon of mantra-deities at the heart of its cult are Kapālīśabhairava ("Bhairava, Lord of the Skull") and the supreme Goddess, known primarily as Caṇḍā Kāpālinī ("Grim Bearer of the Skull"), Aghorī ("Un-Dreadful"), and Bhairavī ("Terrifying"). A largely female retinue surrounds the divine couple (*yāmala*), completing the core pantheon of the deity maṇḍala: the Four Devīs or Guhyakās; the Four Attendants (*kiṅkarī*), also called the Consorts (*dūtī*); the Six Yoginīs; and the Eight Mothers (*mātṛ*), in descending order of cultic status.[21] These deities are ultimately subsumed within the Nine-Syllable Vidyā (*navākṣarā vidyā*) which undergirds the *BraYā*'s ritual systems, and which is identical to the supreme Goddess herself. As Alexis SANDERSON (1988: 672) observed in his pioneering remarks upon the *BraYā*,

> In the cult of Svacchandabhairava, in the Mantrapīṭha, the secondary deities surrounding the couple in the *maṇḍala* were male and solitary. Here [in the *BraYā*] they are female, with subordinate male consorts in the densely populated *maṇḍala* installed for exceptional worship, and alone in the much simpler pantheon of the private daily cult (*nityakarma*). Bhairava rules these secondary deities as the unifying holder of power (*śaktimat*, *śakticakreśvara*), in accordance with the general Śaiva conception of the divine nature. But this supremacy on the iconic plane is transcended by *śakti* on that of the deity-embodying *mantras*. For the essential components of the *mantras* of the nine deities who form the core of the greater *maṇḍala* and are the pantheon of daily worship are

("[this] is proclaimed to be Kapāleśa"); Kṣemarāja remarks, *ayaṃ* ***kapāleśa*** *[prakīrtitaḥ] uktaḥ mantrāṇāṃ mantradevataikātmatvāt* ("this is said to be Kapāleśa, because of the fact that mantras and the mantra-deities are identical").

[21] On the core pantheon, see the edition of *BraYā* 2, as well as §2.3, concerning the *BraYā*'s alias *Navākṣaravidhāna*. On the extended pantheon, including the male deities (*vīra*) sometimes coupled with the goddess sets, see KISS (2015: 18–26) and his edition of *BraYā* 3, on which the analysis of the extended pantheon is based.

the syllables of the *mantra* of Caṇḍā Kāpālinī: (OṂ) HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ ...

This elevation of *śakti* at the mantric level distinguishes the *BraYā*, on one hand, from cults of Bhairava in a maṇḍala of goddesses—*mātṛs*, *bhaginīs*, *yoginīs*—and on the other, from the more developed "Śāktism" found in the Trika and Krama.

The *BraYā* is one of several extant large-scale *Bhairavatantras* of the Vidyāpīṭha, a group which includes the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *Tantrasadbhāva*, and *Jayadrathayāmala*.[22] Among these, the *BraYā* and *Tantrasadbhāva* alone survive in comparatively early and complete forms. The *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* is preserved only in a short, probably secondary redaction transmitted in Nepalese manuscripts, missing passages attributed to it in the exegetical literature.[23] As for the *Jayadrathayāmala*, this might not predate Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975–1025 C.E.)[24] in the form we have it, although, SANDERSON argues, the *Yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa* of its third book appears to have circulated much earlier as an independent Vidyāpīṭha work.[25] Among these four, only the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* has been critically edited, in part, in the unpublished doctoral thesis of Judit TÖRZSÖK (1999). The present volume of selected chapters of the *BraYā*, along with the companion volume already in print (KISS 2015), thus makes available early-medieval Sanskrit literature of a kind so far little-known beyond a small circle of specialists.

1.2 The *Brahmayāmala* in scholarship

Although long acknowledged as important, the *BraYā* had until recently received little scholarly attention. Its oldest manuscript was described more than a century ago by H. P. SHASTRI, in his partial catalogue of the collection of the former Durbar Library, Nepal.[26] SHASTRI says little concerning the *BraYā*'s

[22] See SANDERSON (2001: 31–32, n. 33). For a detailed account of Vidyāpīṭha literature, see SANDERSON (2014: 35–44).

[23] See TÖRZSÖK (1999: iv–v).

[24] See SANDERSON (2002: 2), who points out that the *Jayadrathayāmala* is cited by Kṣemarāja, but not apparently by his preceptor Abhinavagupta.

[25] The evidence for this is presented in SANDERSON (2009: 187). Along with the *BraYā*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, and *Tantrasadbhāva*, the *Yoginīsañcāra* is among the extant Śaiva texts that SANDERSON (2001: 41–47) identifies as sources for the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*.

[26] SHASTRI (1915: 60–61), reprinted in GRÜNENDAHL (1989).

content, but provides an incomplete list of chapter colophons. Decades later, P. C. BAGCHI penned several pages concerning the *BraYā* in an appendix to his 1939 book, *Studies in the Tantras, Part I*. In this, he summarizes chapters one and thirty-nine, providing also the text of several passages.[27] More impressive is his 1935 study of the *BraYā*'s massive fourth chapter on the subject of cult images and paraphernalia. In this, BAGCHI publishes nearly 300 verses transcribed from the old palm-leaf manuscript (MS. **A**), prefaced by a careful analysis of the *BraYā*'s system of measurements and iconometry (*pratimālakṣaṇa*).[28] I am not aware of further scholarship substantively addressing the *BraYā* in the decades which followed. After a gap of nearly half a century, Teun GOUDRIAAN wrote about the *BraYā* in his history of the literature of Hindu Tantra (GOUDRIAAN & GUPTA 1981: 40–44)—an ambitious undertaking considering how little of the early material had been studied carefully. After making some preliminary observations on the *BraYā* and the *Yāmalatantra*s as a genre, GOUDRIAAN provides a precis of the text's subject matter, as well as an excerpt from *BraYā* 24 in translation. Although offering little insight into the historical position and significance of the text,[29] he noted that "a closer study of the *Picumata*, although certainly not an easy task on account of its cryptic ways of expression, rambling style and bad grammar, is necessary for better insight into early Hindu Tantrism" (p. 44).

In the same period, a more detailed study of the *BraYā* was attempted by the late S. N. Ghoshal SASTRI of Viśvabhāratī University. SASTRI drew heavily upon the *BraYā* in his multi-volume series, *Elements of Indian Aesthetics* (1978–83). Unfortunately, he had at his disposal only a single incomplete MS. of the work containing chapters four through seven, which I refer to as the "Viśvabhāratī MS.," and a transcription of *BraYā* 43 from an unknown source. Based upon the limited evidence available to him, SASTRI believed the *Picumata*—an epithet of

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[27] BAGCHI (1939: 102–5), in an appendix, "Detailed Notices on Manuscripts." This book is a compilation of articles BAGCHI published in the early 1930s. His accounts of the *BraYā* are frequently inaccurate. Note, for example, that BAGCHI refers to *BraYā* 1, the *sambandhapaṭala*, as having the title *akṣaravidhāna*; this he presumably extracts from the text's epithet *Navākṣaravidhāna*. He would also have Īśvara rather than Bhairava teaching the *tantra* to the Goddess.

[28] What BAGCHI published corresponds to *BraYā* 4.1–285 in my working edition. In the 2014 reprint available to me, the poorly-reproduced type is almost undecipherable. Concerning the *BraYā*'s system of measurements, see also KISS (2015: 337).

[29] For instance, note GOUDRIAAN's rather bland remark (p. 43) that "the Picumata is a typical representative of the Bhairava current in Śaiva Tantrism."

the *BraYā*—to be a section of the *BraYā*, much as he considered the *Piṅgalāmata* to be a section of the *Jayadrathayāmala*; incomplete MSS. of both the latter texts were also available to him in the Viśvabhāratī collection.[30]

SASTRI's primary interest in the *BraYā* was its material culture and "arts," for he saw in its maṇḍalas, iconometry, iconography, ritual, and ritual paraphernalia evidence for "primitive" Indian arts and crafts. He considered the tantric tradition one of the principal streams of ancient Indian aesthetics, alongside the Vedic, and saw the *BraYā*, perhaps correctly, as a uniquely important source for study of early Tantra.[31] Based upon connections of a most tenuous nature, SASTRI claimed that the *BraYā* represents the cultural legacy of Indo-Tibetan tribal peoples of the northeastern regions of the subcontinent—specifically, the Gāro tribe of Meghālaya, a region in which a district headquarters bears the name "Tūrā." This he connected with the unusual word *tūra* for skull-vessel, used often in the *BraYā*, which appears to have been his only evidence linking the *BraYā* to the Gāro tribe.[32] In addition, he considered the *BraYā* improbably ancient.[33]

The distinction of first publishing a complete chapter of the *BraYā* is SASTRI's, the only chapter to have appeared in print prior to my doctoral thesis (HATLEY 2007).[34] SASTRI considered this forty-third chapter of the *BraYā*, the *mudrāpaṭala* or "Chapter on Mudrā," to be one of the most ancient treatises of "Indian Gesturology."[35] He published his edition on the basis of Haradas

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[30] See the discussion of the MSS. below (§1.4.1). These were all apparently of Nepalese provenance, gifted by the monarch of Nepal to Rabindranath Tagore.

[31] See SASTRI (1978–83: vol. II, part 1, 107; vol. II, part 4, xi–xiii).

[32] SASTRI (1978–83: vol. II, part 4, 41).

[33] SASTRI (1978–83: vol. II, part 1, 98) postulates a date of the third century or earlier on the basis of a dubious relative chronology of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, the *BraYā* and *Piṅgalāmata*, and *Matsyapurāṇa*. Yet in vol. II, part 4 (p. 3), he claims that the *BraYā* was composed between the third and fifth centuries, for which he refers the reader back to the above discussion in vol. II, part 1 (!).

[34] SASTRI (1978–83: vol. II, part 3, 297–305). His edition's title page misleadingly refers to this as the first chapter in the *BraYā*/*Picumata*'s "Caturtha-ṣaṭka (4th Part of the 6th unit)." The *BraYā* may possess two sections known as "*ṣaṭka*s"—see §1.7.1—but this chapter is the first of neither. The expression *caturthaṣaṭka* means in fact "the fourth division of six-thousand verses." Apparently SASTRI confuses the *BraYā* with the *Jayadrathayāmala*, for the latter contains four *ṣaṭka*s.

[35] SASTRI (1978–83: vol. II, part 3, xiv) remarks, "We find no other earliest extant evidence of Aesthetic Gesturology than the Nāṭyaśāstra. On the other hand, no earliest Tantra and Purāṇa than the Brahma-yāmala-tantra is yet known to us. On the above postulation, the Mudrā-

MITRA's transcription of a manuscript believed to have once been in the Viśvabhāratī collection. I suspect that the manuscript in question transmitted *BraYā* 43 independently, whether alone or in a composite manuscript. It is possible but by no means certain that its readings reflect a transmission distinct from that of the oldest Nepalese MS., NAK 3-370.[36] SASTRI's edition reproduces this transcription with several proposed emendations, providing also an English rendering which, at times implausible and at times incomprehensible, contributes relatively little to the interpretation of the text.[37]

Mark DYCZKOWSKI makes more meaningful use of the *BraYā* in his 1988 monograph on the Śaiva scriptural canon.[38] Reading from its oldest Nepalese MS., he cites passages from the *BraYā* as supporting evidence on a variety of subjects. In particular, DYCZKOWSKI draws upon *BraYā* 39's account of Śaiva revelation—the very chapter which had interested BAGCHI, and which is edited in the present volume. Making several useful observations,[39] he does not however attempt a detailed analysis of the *BraYā* or advance a hypothesis on its historical position.[40]

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dhikaraṇa of the Picumata and the Piṅgalāmata, may be considered the prime documentary source of Indian Gesturology and to that end in the original texts of two Mudrādhikaraṇas are annexed to the Part III of the present volume." [*sic*]

[36]See the discussion of the MSS. below (§1.4.1).

[37]Note for example his text and translation of the opening verse, *BraYā* 43.1 (SASTRI (1978–83: vol. II, part 3, 297): *ataḥparaṃ pravakṣāmi karasaṃskāra-śodhanam | mudrāṇaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ caiva sarvakāmārthasādhanam* || ("Let me now tell how we could sanctify and purify our hands. What is the definition of the mudrā (Gesture) and which are their common characteristics. These mudrās may lead to the way of success all noble works and fulfill all desires of a man.").

[38]See especially DYCZKOWSKI (1988: 36–53).

[39]Note for example the following remark (DYCZKOWSKI 1988: 51):

> The BY makes use of this [four-*pīṭha*] system of [scriptural] classification, integrating it somewhat awkwardly with a division of the scriptures into Left, Right and Middle currents. The BY's account of the *pīṭha*s is sketchy and unsystematic—a sign that this system of classification is still at an early stage of development.

While the *BraYā*'s *pīṭha* system does seem undeveloped, its juxtaposition with a system of streams is not entirely awkward: the four *pīṭha*s are divisions of a single stream, the *dakṣiṇasrotas* of *Bhairavatantra*s.

[40]On one important historical matter DYCZKOWSKI's remarks warrant reconsideration: he suggests (1988: 47–48) that the *BraYā* must be younger than the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, on account of the *BraYā* listing the *Yoginīhṛdaya* in its description of the canon; for *Yoginīhṛdaya* is a name of the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*. While it is true that the *BraYā* lists a text called *Yoginīhṛdaya*, it is improbable that this refers to the same Kaula scripture of the cult of Tripurasundarī

As with so much of tantric Śaiva literature, significant strides in the study of the *BraYā* commenced with the early works of Alexis SANDERSON. In "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," his monumental 1988 essay mapping the cults and canon of Tantric Śaivism, SANDERSON advanced a compelling hypothesis concerning the position of the *BraYā* within Śaiva traditions, already quoted above. He notes several significant ways in which the text appears archaic. Seeing within the Bhairava-stream of esoteric Śaivism an historical trajectory towards increasing emphasis on goddesses, he finds in the *BraYā* an early window into this process. While the *BraYā* ostensibly expounds a bipolar Godhead—a *yāmala* or god-goddess pair—the goddess Aghorī in fact transcends Bhairava, for her *vidyā* contains within its nine syllables the entire maṇḍala of mantra-deities. And in the ritual practices of the *BraYā*, SANDERSON identifies the radical mortuary (*kāpālika*) and exorcistic rites forming the earliest stratum of the *yoginī* cults, which would undergo transformation as the Kaula movement came to permeate most cults of the *Bhairavatantras*.[41] SANDERSON's earlier articles make a number of other contributions to study of the *BraYā*, including reconstruction of its Nine-Syllable Vidyā, and demonstration that the *BraYā* is one of several Śaiva sources redacted into the Buddhist *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra*.[42] In addition, he first identified the reference to the *BraYā* in the old *Skandapurāṇa*, discussed in §1.8, confirming the likelihood of the text's early period of composition.

Several other scholars had begun to draw on the *BraYā* prior to my 2007 doctoral thesis. In introducing her critical edition of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, TÖRZSÖK (1999: viix–x, 237) discusses this text in relation to the *BraYā* and provides a transcription of a portion of *BraYā* 39 from its old manuscript. Somadeva VASUDEVA also drew upon the *BraYā* in his important monograph on Śaiva yoga and the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*. In addition, he made available electronic transcriptions from the oldest MS. of two chapters of the text: *BraYā* 9, called *lakṣyabheda* ("the different targets [of yoga]"),[43] and *BraYā* 43, con-

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which survives by this name—a text which, as DYCZKOWSKI points out, mentions several other Kaula scriptures, including the rather late *Kubjikāmata*. (On the date of the *Kubjikāmata*, see SANDERSON 2002: 1–3.) Abhinavagupta makes no reference to a scripture called *Yoginīhṛdaya*, and according to SANDERSON (1990: 37), the extant *Yoginīhṛdaya* displays substantial influence from the nondualist Kashmirian exegetical tradition.

[41] SANDERSON (1988: 670–72, 679–80).

[42] SANDERSON (1988: 672; 2001: 41–46). On the relationship between the *BraYā* and *Laghuśaṃvara*, see also §1.9.3 below.

[43] On this complex and interesting subject, see VASUDEVA (2004: 253–92). VASUDEVA's ref-

cerned with *mudrā*—the very chapter published by S. N. Ghoshal SASTRI.[44] Another case is that of David Gordon WHITE's 2003 monograph, *Kiss of the Yoginī: "Tantric Sex" in its South Asian Contexts.* WHITE summarizes and partially translates two passages from *BraYā* 45,[45] material outlining radical ritual practices that involve sexual intercourse. His accounts of these two sections, since edited by KISS (2015), are somewhat problematic.[46]

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erences to the *BraYā* primarily occur in this context.

[44]These transcriptions were published on a now defunct website, <http://homepage.mac.com/somadevah/index.html> (accessed August, 2006).

[45]WHITE (2003: 248–50); he also makes reference to the *BraYā* on pp. 17, 23, 101, 163, and 322.

[46]WHITE (2003: 332 [n. 171]) states that he reads from the oldest Nepalese codex, NAK 3-370, yet his bibliography (p. 337) confusingly lists instead a late, corrupt, Devanāgarī-script MS.: NAK 1–743 (NGMPP reel no. A166/1). The folio numbers provided (260b–65b) do not match the text he cites from chapter 45 in NAK 3-370 (which I report as "A"), but rather the Devanāgarī-script MS. (reported as "C" in my critical edition).

The shorter of the two passages WHITE cites is from *BraYā* 45. After arguing, implausibly, that *mudrā* can have the meaning "vulva," WHITE (2003: 82, 295 [n. 87]) remarks,

> ...The term *mudrā* can, however, denote a substance to be eaten, rather than the vulva as "seal." So, for example, a verse in chapter XLV of the Brahmayāmala reads: "*tvaśaktyāsādhako nityaṃ yathāvibhavasa[mbh]av[āt] mudrāṃ caiva yathānyāyaṃ madhyañcaiva pradāpayet*" ("But the practitioner who is without a consort [should] constantly [offer] according to what is possible for him. One should also offer *mudrā*, according to the rule, as well as liquor.")

It is virtually impossible that an odd-numbered verse-quarter would begin with the enclitic particle *tu*; WHITE moreover prints *madhya* ("middle") while apparently reading *madya* ("wine"), and prints and translates *aśaktyāsādhako* as though it could be a compound (an *aluksamāsa*?). He has in fact been misled by his choice of manuscript C—the least reliable—which reads *tvaśaktyā sādhako nityaṃ yathāvibhavasaṃtavaṃ || mudrāṃ caiva yathānyāyaṃm aghañ caiva pradāpayet.* The text of A, which appears original, is as follows (*BraYā* 45.648c–49):

> *iṣṭvā yāgaṃ yathānyāyaṃ naivedyāni pradāpayet* ||648||
> *svaśaktyā sādhako nityaṃ yathāvibhavasambhavam* |
> *mudrāñ caiva yathānyāyam arghañ caiva pradāpayet* ||649||
>
> "Having worshipped the pantheon (*yāga*) as is befitting, the *sādhaka*, together with his consort (*svaśakti*), should always make the food offerings to the extent of his capacity; and he should offer both *mudrā*, as is befitting, and the guest-water."

Substantial internal evidence in the *BraYā* clarifies that the expression *mudrāṃ pradāpayet* ("one should offer the *mudrā*") means "one should bind/display the *mudrā*," *mudrā* here having its normal sense of "gesture," rather than something consumed. The ritual sequence of first binding a *mudrā* and then offering *argha* occurs repeatedly, and the phrasing usually leaves no

Since the completion of the doctoral thesis from which parts of this volume derive, there has been substantial growth in scholarly engagement with the *BraYā*. Its study received significant impetus from the 2008–12 Franco-German project "Early Tantra: Discovering the interrelationship and common ritual syntax of the Śaiva, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Saura traditions," directed by Harunaga Isaacson and Dominic Goodall. Alongside the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, the *BraYā* was one of two Śaiva texts selected for collective study, for which purpose I contributed my provisional transcription of the old MS. (NAK 3-370, siglum **A**). Under the project's auspices, Csaba Kiss commenced work as a postdoctoral fellow on what has now been published as *The Brahmayāmala-tantra or Picumata, Volume II. The Religious Observances and Sexual Rituals of the Tāntric Practitioner: Chapters 3, 21, and 45*. This erudite publication does much to clarify the *BraYā*'s fundamental rituals. The volume focuses on the practices of the *sādhaka*, as expounded in the *BraYā*'s abstruse and lengthy forty-fifth chapter (the *sādhakādhikārapaṭala*), which Kiss edits. In addition, Kiss provides careful critical editions of two more chapters: *BraYā* 3 (the *mahāyāgapaṭala*), which delineates the cult's elaborate principal maṇḍala; and *BraYā* 21 (the *vratapaṭala*), which concerns post-initiatory ascetic observances (*vrata*) for mastery of the *BraYā*'s principal mantra, the Nine-Syllable Vidyā. Kiss's contribution extends beyond the published volume, for he has made innumerable improvements to my draft transcription of the old manuscript, and has developed working critical editions of a number of chapters of the first half of the text. Another contribution is his insightful study of *yantra*s in the *BraYā* and other early Śaiva *tantra*s (Kiss 2014).

Other scholars have made notable recent contributions as well. On one hand, Sanderson continues to draw upon the *BraYā* in his wide-ranging stud-

ambiguity. Cf., e.g., 33.168cd (*mudrāṃ badhvā tato devi arghaṃ tasyāḥ pradāpayet*), 34.132ab (*mudrāṃ badhvā yathānyāyam arghañ caiva pradāpayet*), and 17.585ab (*mudrābandhaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā arghañ cāsya pradāpayet*). The more ambiguous expression *mudrāṃ [...] pradāpayet* occurs thrice in *BraYā* 12, and twice elsewhere in *BraYā* 45.

Due to its length, I will not discuss in full the longer passage from *BraYā* 45 that White (2003: 249–50) summarizes and partially translates. Suffice it to say that his account of this ritual of "viewing one's [past] births" (*svayonidarśana*) has numerous problems. Note for example White's (2003: 250) rendering of 45.691ab: "He becomes a Virile Hero, surrounded by yonis." This implies the Sanskrit *vīro bhavati so devi yoniparivāritaḥ*, presumably White's emendation of **C**'s reading (f. 265v): *vīro bhavati sā devi yonīparivāritaḥ*. This is of course unmetrical, and **A** is surely correct in transmitting *vīro bhavati so devi yoginīparivāritaḥ*: "He becomes a hero, O goddess, surrounded by *yoginīs*."

ies, making numerous important observations. In particular, his monumental 2009 study ("The Śaiva Age") is replete with citations of the *Picumata* (i.e. *BraYā*), particularly in reference to the indebtedness of Buddhist *Yoginītantras* to Śaiva sources.[47] More recently, SANDERSON (2014: 33–41) has summarized his views on the text's historical significance, position in the Śaiva canon, and influence on subsequent literature, issues which I address in this and the next chapters. Several scholars have joined him in mining the *BraYā* for data; especially noteworthy is the work of Judit TÖRZSÖK, who draws on the text incisively in a series of recent studies.[48] These range in theme from the Atimārga Kāpālikas (2011) to nondualism (2014a), goddess possession (2013a), and women's ritual roles (2014b) in Vidyāpīṭha and related sources. Her work amply illustrates the *BraYā*'s importance as a source for the study of early Śaivism. Also notable is an article by Csaba DEZSŐ (2010), who examines *BraYā* 15 in a wide-ranging study of *vetāla*s in Sanskrit literature. Discussion of the *BraYā* and its distinctive technical terminology abounds in Volume III of the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* (2013), particularly in the articles by TÖRZSÖK, KISS, and the present author. Finally, a new hypothesis concerning the origins of the *Yāmalatantra*s, including the *BraYā*, has been proposed recently by BAKKER & YOKOCHI (2014: 257–60), which I discuss in §1.11.

Another kind of contribution to study of the *BraYā* has been facilitated by Mark DYCZKOWSKI. Under his direction, the Digital Library of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute (DLMIRI) created and publicly released an electronic text of the *BraYā* in 2010 which collates the readings of three MSS.[49] This useful searchable transcription, apparently no longer available in the digital library, made the contents of the *BraYā* widely accessible to the scholarly community. Though provisional in nature and somewhat arbitrary in its selection of preferred readings, it provides an excellent starting point for studying the text. The present volume does not draw upon this directly, though on occasion its departures from my own transcriptions stimulated re-examination of the manuscript evidence.

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47 See especially SANDERSON (2009: 179–220).

48 I mainly have in mind TÖRZSÖK 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a, and 2014b.

49 The website of the Muktabodha digital library is available at <http://muktalib5.org/digital_library.htm> (accessed August 2015). The Muktabodha electronic text of the *BraYā* reports three manuscripts, with the sigla K (Devanāgarī, paper; = **C**, in my edition), Kh (= **A**, the old palm-leaf MS.), and G (Devanāgarī, paper; = **B**).

1.3 An overview of this volume

This book is divided into two parts. Part I contains an introduction to the *BraYā* (chapters 1–2) and several topical studies (chapters 3–6). Part II consists of a critical edition and annotated translation of five of the *BraYā*'s chapters (*paṭala*): 1–2, 39–40, and 83. Spanning different sections, and perhaps distinct strata of the text, chapters 1, 39, and 83 nonetheless form a coherent group insofar as all three set forth narratives of origin—of the *BraYā* itself, of the Śaiva revelation, and of the accoutrements and practice of the "Great Vow" (*mahāvrata*), respectively. These narrative chapters stand apart from the rest of the text, which is otherwise almost entirely prescriptive in nature.[50] Among these chapters, drafts of *BraYā* 1–2 were included in my doctoral thesis (Hatley 2007), while the others have not previously been published.[51] An additional 300-odd verses of the *BraYā* are quoted as supporting evidence in various parts of this book, mainly in footnotes, with or without translation and with differing degrees of editing.

BraYā 1, entitled "Chapter of the Connections" (*sambandhapaṭala*), narrates the text's journey of 'descent' (*avatāra*) into the world. Traversing multiple world-cycles in redactions of various length, the text's descent culminates in the Kali yuga with the present recension of twelve-thousand verses. An excursus on the cosmogonic supreme Śakti concludes the chapter (vv. 120–33). *BraYā* 2, "Chapter of the Extraction of Mantras" (*mantroddhārapaṭala*), continues this excursis, briefly delineating the pantheon of mantra-deities emerging from the supreme Śakti; these deities collectively comprise the Nine-Syllable Vidyā at the core of the *BraYā*'s system of ritual. Complementing *BraYā* 1's revelation narrative is *BraYā* 39, "Chapter of the Exposition on the Streams [of Revelation]" (*srotranirṇṇayapaṭala*[52]). This situates the *BraYā* within the broader, *Bhairavatantra*-centric model of the Śaiva scriptural canon alluded to earlier (p. 9). Next is the edition of *BraYā* 40, "Chapter of the Razor's Edge Observance" (*asidhāravratapaṭala*). This concerns an erotic ascetic discipline (*vrata*) of orthodox Brahmanical pedigree which, in contrast to the sexual rites of *BraYā*

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[50]Another chapter standing apart from the whole is *BraYā* 4, a lengthy treatise on iconography and iconometry (*pratimālakṣaṇa*), and rites of establishment (*pratiṣṭhā*) for icons and ritual items.

[51]The edition and translation of *BraYā* 39 were submitted in 2010 for a reader in Tantric Śaivism; this has not yet, but might still be published.

[52]I.e. *srotonirṇayapaṭala*. In the *BraYā*, *srotas* is thematized as *srota* or, more commonly, the even more irregular *srotra*. See the annotation to *BraYā* 39.1.

45, involves non-orgasmic coitus performed in a state of disciplined sensory restraint. By virtue of its topic, *BraYā* 40 belongs more naturally to volume II, and is included here to complement the work of Kiss (2015). *BraYā* 83, the final chapter included in this volume, is entitled "Chapter of the Origins of the Skull and Skull-staff" (*kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpattipaṭala*). Following a lacunose section on rites for preparing skull-vessels, this narrates the mythic origins of Bhairava's skull-bowl, bone ornaments, and skull-staff, and also provides a detailed exposition of the latter's symbolism and construction.

Part I of this volume comprises six studies of the *BraYā*, which draw especially on the chapters edited in part II. Chapters 1–2 have broad concerns, and, along with Kiss's (2015) introduction to volume II, serve to introduce the text as a whole. The present chapter serves as an introduction to the critical edition (§1.1–6) and study of the text's structure, textual strata, provenance, and place in the history of Śaivism (§1.7–12). This involves, in part, determining the nature of the Śaiva canon known the *BraYā*'s redactors, primarily on the basis of *BraYā* 39. One of the key aims is to lay bare the *BraYā*'s redactional process, including its potential sources and indicators of distinct textual strata. Given the difficulty of dating the *BraYā* securely, an additional aim of this chapter is to situate the text in tantric literature through analysis of intertextuality and other indications of influence. For instance, I review indications of the *BraYā*'s adaption of material from the *Niśvāsa* corpus (§1.9.1), especially the *Dīkṣottara* section of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, a supplement to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* proper. Conversely, I provide additional evidence for Sanderson's (2001) contention that the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* draws directly or indirectly upon the *BraYā*. I also suggest that the *BraYā* may itself have drawn upon an unknown Buddhist *Kriyātantra*, though the material in question may instead derive from a Śaiva medical *tantra* (§1.9.4). An additional concern of this chapter is to review evidence for the text's social and geographical horizons (§1.11).

Entitled "To Name a Tantra: Genealogies of Scripture and the Canon of Śaivism in the Epithets of the *Brahmayāmala*," chapter 2 employs the text's titles and epithets as lenses into its redactional processes and construction of scriptural authority and identity. Subjects of discussion include the *Yāmalatantra*s as a genre, the role of "root scriptures" (*mūlatantra*) in tantric revelation narratives (accounts of *tantrāvatāra*), the *BraYā*'s Nine-Syllable Vidyā, and the meanings of the obscure term *picu*. In addition, the chapter seeks to reconstruct what can be known of the *BraYā*'s only explicitly named source, the lost *Ucchuṣmabhairava*. Though wide-ranging, this chapter draws particularly on

the revelation narratives of *BraYā* 1 and 39.

Chapter 3 is entitled "Erotic Asceticism: The Razor's Edge Observance (*asidhārāvrata*) and the Early History of Tantric Coital Ritual."[53] With *BraYā* 40 as its point of departure, this chapter examines shifting representations of the *asidhārāvrata* across a range of Sanskrit literary and religious texts. Originally a Brahmanical ascetic discipline, an observance by this name appears to be the earliest ritual involving sexual contact documented in the corpus of Śaiva *tantras*, with possible Atimārga roots. In its tantric adaptation, an orthodox practice for the cultivation of sensory restraint was transformed into a means for supernatural attainment (*siddhi*). Diachronic study of the observance in three early Śaiva texts—the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, and *Brahmayāmala*—reveals changes in ritual emphases, women's roles, and the nature of engagement in eroticism. Analysis of the *vrata* thus sheds light on the early history of tantric sexual rituals, which, as I show, by the end of the first millennium had become highly diverse. Within Śaivism, the observance became increasingly obsolete with the rise of sexual practices more magical, ecstatic, or gnostic in orientation.

The remaining chapters of part I (4–6) comprise an extended analysis of *BraYā* 83. In chapter 4, I examine the narratives of *BraYā* 83 in their cultic context, and alongside tellings of the Origin of the Lingam (*liṅgodbhava*) and Skull of Brahmā (*brahmakapāla*) myths in the *purāṇas*, Śivadharma corpus, and tantric literature. The chapter aims to identify *BraYā* 83's sources, discuss their relative chronology and interrelationships, and to elucidate the ways in which the *BraYā*'s redactors reshaped Śaiva myth to their distinctive cultic vision. A key question is the degree to which this narrative tradition may harken back to the elusive Atimārga Kāpālikas. Based on scattered evidence from sources such as the *Skandapurāṇa* and *Āvantyakhaṇḍa*, I argue that *BraYā* 83 could derive from a lost Atimārga source which integrated tracts on the paraphernalia and practice of the Great Vow with tales of Mahākāla's creation of the universe from a skull, his manifestation as a skull-bearing yogin from a luminous lingam, and Brahmā's decapitation. Chapter 5, for its part, focuses on a lesser-known tale: the slaying of Khaṭvāsura and transfiguration of his corpse into Bhairava's skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*). The principal aim is to demonstrate that this section of *BraYā* 83 was redacted into chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa*, either directly or via chapter 68 of the **Brahmayāmalasāra* (*BraYāSāra*). Identifying this intertextuality

[53] A version of this essay appeared in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (Hatley 2016b).

affords some insight into the dating, circulation, and reception of the *BraYā*, as well as the redactional processes of the *Devīpurāṇa* and *BraYāSāra*.

In chapter 6, the focus shifts from narrative to material culture: the tantric skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*). *BraYā* 83's description of the *khaṭvāṅga* is uniquely detailed, bringing it to life as both material object and the locus of rich cosmological symbolism. This study identifies patterns of symbolization common to the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga* and other ritual objects, especially Śaiva tridents and Vajrayāna Buddhist *khaṭvāṅgas*. In addition, I contextualize the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga* in light of the art-historical record and representations in other texts. This leads to insight into the varieties of skull-staffs employed in the early-medieval period, as well as their historical development and sectarian contexts.

Six appendices complete this volume. The first, appendix A, serves as a table of contents for the *BraYā*'s old manuscript, providing chapter numbers, titles, folio numbers, NGMPP microfilm exposure numbers, and all colophons.[54] Appendix B is a short study of citations of the *BraYā* in Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, many of which can be identified precisely. In addition to the window these open onto the *BraYā*'s reception, they confirm Abhinavagupta's knowledge of the text in a form similar to that preserved in the old Nepalese MS. The next three appendices consist of provisional text editions: chapter 4 of the *Dīkṣottara* section of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, in appendix C; chapter 68 of the *BraYāSāra*, in appendix D; and chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa*, in appendix E. These were prepared in the course of editing *BraYā* 39, which draws upon *Dīkṣottara* 4; and *BraYā* 83, which is largely parallel to *BraYāSāra* 68 and is the principal source of *Devīpurāṇa* 119. Relevant passages, as constituted in these appendices, appear as testimonia in the respective editions of *BraYā* 39 and 83. Appendices C and E are draft "critical" editions which use multiple witnesses, while appendix D is a diplomatic edition of *BraYāSāra* 68 from its single available manuscript. A mere transcription, appendix D nonetheless marks the first publication of any portion of the *BraYāSāra*. Sections of the *Niśvāsakārikā* have appeared in print before: editions of three chapters, including one from the *Dīkṣottara* section, are published as appendices III–V to the edition of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (GOODALL et al.: 2015). However, appendix E of the present volume, surprisingly enough, represents the first attempt to critically edit any portion of the *Devīpurāṇa* on the basis of more than the most limited manuscript evidence. The results are not yet satisfying, however, even with the

[54]See also KISS (2015: 70–72).

aid of extensive parallels from the *BraYā* and *BraYāSāra*. Although incidental to the volume, it is hoped that these editions make a small contribution in their own right. A final appendix (F) presents the critically edited text of *BraYā* 1–2, 39–40, and 83 in roman script, free of all annotation.

A note is also in order concerning what is absent from this volume. Perhaps because I have studied tantric literature entirely in the age of electronic texts, I have rarely consulted and never to my recollection derived much benefit from a pāda index (an alphabetized index of verse-quarters). I have hence spared myself the trouble of preparing one. A searchable electronic text of the chapters edited in this volume, sans apparatus, will be made publicly available in due course on the basis of appendix F. Readers of my doctoral thesis will also note the near-absence of its main focus: *yoginī*s. Editions of the *BraYā* chapters concerned with these and other goddesses, as well as my historical studies on the subject, have been reserved for other publications.[55]

This is one of several planned volumes of studies and critical editions of the *BraYā*. Though ostensibly volume I, its belated completion has resulted in volume II, by Csaba Kiss (2015), being published earlier. One of the reasons for this delay is that I have been simultaneously preparing volume III, which concerns goddess pantheons and the cult of *yoginī*s.[56] Given the glacial pace of publication so far, it is hazardous to speculate about future *BraYā* volumes beyond these, although a volume is envisioned comprising paṭalas 32–38, which concern the interrelated subjects of cosmology, rites of initiation (*dīkṣā*), and the consecration of officiants (*ācāryābhiṣeka*). It would also be eminently worthwhile to devote a volume to the *BraYā*'s voluminous fourth chapter, which by way of subject matter—deity images, ritual paraphernalia, and their rites of establishment (*pratiṣṭhā*)—belongs to the canon of early *Pratiṣṭhātantra*s. A volume devoted to the core chapters on mantra (paṭalas 10–12, minimally) might also be desirable.

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[55] Those already published include Hatley: 2012; 2013, and 2015.

[56] Draft editions of some of the chapters edited in volume III may be found in Hatley (2007).

1.4 Editing the *Brahmayāmala*

1.4.1 The manuscripts

Five more or less complete manuscripts of the old *BraYā* survive: the eleventh-century palm-leaf ms. of the National Archives, Kathmandu (siglum **A**), and four Nepalese paper mss. (sigla **B**, **C**, **D**, and **E**). As intimated earlier, the paper mss. all appear to descend from **A**, and thus have limited value for constituting the text. Among these, the pairs **D** and **E**, and to a lesser degree **B** and **C**, are closely related. While other possibilities cannot be ruled out definitively, I believe that the manuscript evidence for *BraYā* 1, reported fully in the critical edition, is sufficient to sustain the premise that neither **B**, **C**, **D**, nor **E** provide variants not attributable to scribal error or, in the case of **B**, editorial activity. This view has recently been corroborated by Kiss (2015: 58). After *BraYā* 1, the critical edition uses the paper mss. selectively: the editions of *BraYā* 2 and 39 report the readings of **A**, **B**, and **D**; *BraYā* 40 reports **A** and **B**; and *BraYā* 83 reports **A** and **B**, as well as, for approximately half of the chapter, ms. $\mathbf{S_1}$ of the *BraYāSāra*. In addition to the aforementioned mss., a handful of others transmit smaller sections of the *BraYā*, though none include chapters edited in the present volume.

NAK 3-370 (reported with the siglum "A"). NGMPP microfilm reel no. A42/6. See figure 1.1. This is a palm-leaf ms. of 358 numbered folia, to which have been added five additional prefatory and one final leaves. It is dated Sunday (*ādityadina*), the 8th of Māgha (waxing fortnight), Nepal-*samvat* 172—i.e. Sunday, 12 January, 1052 C.E.[57] The final colophon identifies the scribe as Jayākarajīva, a resident of the Paśupatinātha temple area of Kathmandu.[58] This codex was first catalogued one century ago by H. P. Shastri,[59] and more recently by the NGMCP.[60] The folia measure approximately 54 x 4 cm and are perforated by two binding holes,

[57] Following the calculations of Petech (1984: 44).

[58] The same Jayākarajīva also produced a fine, undated copy of the *Svacchandalalitabhairava*, i.e. *Svacchandatantra*: Kaiser Library accession no. 9–68; NGMPP reel no. C6/5.

[59] Shastri (1915: 60–61), reprinted in Grünendahl (1989).

[60] The NGMCP entry is available online: <http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_42-6_Brahmayāmala> (accessed April 2018). For a concordance of the ms.'s folio numbers with NGMPP microfilm exposure numbers, see Kiss (2015: 70–71); see also appendix A.

which separate three sections of text.[61] Unmarked wooden covers of uncertain age enclose the MS. Although in remarkably good condition considering its antiquity, some folia are marred by worm holes, deterioration along one or more edges, or discoloured patches. Most chapter and major sectional divisions have been rubricated with orange pigment. Verso folia are numbered alphanumerically in the left-hand margin, while Newari numbers were added in the right margin by a later hand, somewhat carelessly.[62] Folio 1 *recto* is blank; the next ten folio faces each have written six somewhat compressed lines of text, while the remaining folia each have five lines. The main text was copied by a single hand, though with a number of marginal insertions in a less polished, later hand in lighter ink. For comprehensive script charts of this MS., inclusive of ornamental characters and alphanumerals, see KISS (2015: 60–69). Folio 295 may or may not be missing: the numbers skip from 294 to 296, but there is no obvious non-sequitor, while the numbers of the folios labelled 293, 294, and 296 have been altered.[63] Folia 298–99 are very likely missing, while *f.* 300 is damaged, with more than a third of its text missing. This results in loss of the end of paṭala 81, all of paṭala 82, and the beginning of paṭala 83; see the discussion of chapterization below (§1.5). For a complete index of chapter colophons, see appendix A. The final colophon, on *f.* 358*r*, reads as follows: *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale navākṣaravidhāne picumate dvādaśasāhasrake ekottaraśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ* ||❀|| *samvat a cū 2 māghaśuklāṣṭamyāṃ ādityadine rājādhirājaparameśvaraśrībaladevarājye* | *śrīpaśupativāstavya* | *śrījayākarajīvena brahmayāmalaṃ nāma śāstraṃ likhitaṃ* ||⊙||. Five out-of-sequence folios, some blank, pre-

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[61] Measurements as recorded in the title page of the NGMPP microfilm.

[62] As SHASTRI (1915: 60–61) noted, "the MS. is marked with letter numerals on the left and with Newári figures on the right. They agree up to the 129th leaf, and from the 130th the Newári figure make a mistake of 10, and the mistakes on the right side continued to be added to and subtracted from till last leaf (358) becomes 364 in the Newári side."

[63] To be more precise, the alphanumeral 293 has been corrected from 294 in what looks like the dark ink and hand of the original scribe. On the next folio, the 4 of 294 has been re-written in a lighter ink, probably by a later hand, below which is written the Newari number 294. The 6 of the alphanumeric 296 may or may not have been corrected; below this is written 296 in Newari numerals. In favour of 295 being missing, there is an entry for this in the prefatory table of contents which cannot otherwise be accounted for: *tantrarājayajananānāhomakarmma 295* ||.

cede the text proper and were probably added later. These contain a table of contents written on six folio-faces in a hand somewhat later than that of Jayākarajīva. The table of contents is functional rather than formal in character, and may have been prepared by one of the MS.'s custodians. Its entries take the form of subject matter + folio number, in alphanumerals—for instance, *guhyāmṛtaprayoga a bhra* ("Application of the secret nectar[: folio] 106").[64] These descriptive labels lack Sanskrit case endings, and frequently differ from the chapter titles given in colophons. While most of the entries refer to new chapters, some refer to major sectional divisions in large chapters. The table closes with the statement, *picumatapatrāṅka[ḥ] samāptaḥ* ("Here ends the [account of] the *Picumata*'s pagination"). In the center of another prefatory folio is copied a five-by-ten alphabetical table: the mantra-derivation (*mantroddhāra*) chart known as the *nārācaprastāra*.[65] To the very end of the MS. is appended a blank folio, which now has a modern archival imprimatur.

NAK 5-1929 (reported as "**B**"). NGMPP microfilm reel no. A165/14. Paper, Nepalese Nāgarī script; undated and unsigned. Complete in 353 folios. The initial chapters of this MS. appear to have been copied from the same highly corrupt exemplar as **C** (see below). However, the remaining chapters appear to be copied from a different, superior exemplar, on the basis of which corrections are introduced into the earlier portion of the text as well. This second exemplar is almost certainly **A** itself. However, the scribe frequently emends the text, "correcting" some of the most glaringly irregular Sanskrit. Thus far no evidence suggests that its departures from **A** reflect anything more than the editorial activity of the scribe. Although hence of little value in constituting the text of the *BraYā*, the readings of this MS. reflect the interpretive activity of an educated reader, and are reported in all chapters of the critical edition.

NAK 1-143 (reported as "**C**"). NGMPP microfilm reel no. A166/1. Paper, Nepalese Nāgarī script; undated and unsigned. Complete in 440 folios. Descended from **A**, but hopelessly corrupt, this MS. offers little to reward

[64] The system of alphanumerals differs from that of the original scribe, and may belong to a later period.

[65] This system of mantra-derivation (*mantroddhāra*) will be explained in the introduction to *BraYā*, volume III.

the labor of its transcription. Its readings nonetheless are recorded in the apparatus of *BraYā* 1 in the critical edition.

NAK 1-286 (reported as "**D**"). NGMPP microfilm reel nos. A165/13 and A1178/1 (filmed twice). Paper, Newari script; undated (the word "saṃvat" appears in the colophon, but with no number) and unsigned. Complete in 248 folios. *ff.* 210–233 are written in Nepalese Nāgarī, perhaps replacing damaged or missing leaves. This MS. is closely related to **E**, and it seems likely to descend from **A**, for in the sections collated, none of its variant readings appear to have independent value. Its readings are reported for paṭalas 1, 2, 39, and 40 of the critical edition.

NAK 6-2608 (reported as "**E**"). NGMPP microfilm reel no. A1319/4. Paper, Nepalese Nāgarī script; undated and unsigned. Incomplete, with 136 folios. The readings of this MS., written in a Newari-influenced Nāgarī, are very close to those of **D**. The two might share a (lost) examplar descended from **A**. **E**'s readings are reported for *BraYā* 1 alone.

A handful of MSS. transmit smaller portions of the text. Although not utilized in the present edition, there exists a codex of Nepalese provenance transmitting *BraYā* 4–7 housed in the Sanskrit manuscript collection of Viśvabhāratī University, West Bengal.[66] Being written on paper in Nāgarī characters, this is of no particular antiquity. Further collation is required to determine if the MS. offers any readings independent of **A**; the sample studied so far suggests otherwise. Of somewhat greater interest is a composite Nepalese palm-leaf MS. transmitting, in three folios, a section of *BraYā* 4 concerned with the fashioning of skull-vessels (*kapālalakṣaṇa*).[67] Given its substantive departures from **A**, it is unlikely to derive therefrom.[68] Though rare, this kind of independent evidence for the *BraYā* is not unique. S. N. Ghoshal SASTRI's edition of *BraYā* 43,

[66] Sanskrit Manuscript Section, Vidyā-Bhavana, Viśvabhāratī University. "Old collection;" no accession number.

[67] NAK MS. no. 1–1376; NGMPP reel no. A40/6. This composite MS. of 33 folios contains several distinct tracts: the *Kulānanda* attributed to Matsyendra; *Kapālalakṣaṇa* from the *Picumata* (i.e. *BraYā*); and those catalogued by the NGMPP as **Jalapratiṣṭhāvidhi* and **Tripurasundarīpūjāvidhi*. The *kapālalakṣaṇa* portion corresponds to *BraYā* 4.735c–87. I am grateful to Somadeva VASUDEVA for first drawing my attention to this MS., and for his transcription thereof.

[68] Note, for instance, *BraYā* 4.776d, where **A** reads *bhave tat sthalaṃ saṃpuṭaṃ* (unmetrical), and NAK 1–1376 reads *bhavet tat sthūlasaṃpuṭāṃ*.

on the subject of *mudrā*, is based entirely on an untraced MS. transcribed by the late Haradas MITRA. The text transmitted departs from **A** often and could represent an independent transmission.[69] Whether or not the MS. used by SASTRI descends from **A**, the transmission is complex: the degree of corruption and apparent reorganization of the verses suggest that the text passed through numerous copies, perhaps in a digest. Beyond these extracts from the *BraYā*, more of which might survive, important additional evidence for the *BraYā* is transmitted by the *BraYāSāra* (see §1.6 below).

1.4.2 Language, editorial method, and conventions

The late T. Gaṇapati ŚĀSTRĪ, the distinguished first editor of the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, among a great many other Sanskrit texts, offered in his preface (1920–1925: vol. 1, 2) the following apology for reproducing the text precisely as found in the only manuscript available to him:

> This is a holy work of the Buddhists and deserves to be placed along with the Vedas. As the non-observance of the rules of Vyākara[ṇ]a in regard to gender, number and case, found throughout this work is becoming of its sacred character, and as no second manuscript

[69] SASTRI (1978–83: vol. II, pt. 3). Although containing almost identical material, the order of verses in SASTRI's MS. differs significantly from **A**. Its readings also vary frequently, containing a comparatively large number of obvious corruptions. However, variants are also plentiful. Some of these are synonyms, revealing no indication of the relationship between the MSS. Many of its readings which differ from **A**'s appear to be products of secondary editing. Note for example the crude attempt to correct **A**'s *kaniṣṭhānāmikobhau tu aṅguṣṭhau parisaṃsthitau*; this contains what appears to be a non-standard contraction of *kaniṣṭhānāmikau ubhau*. SASTRI's MS. reads *kaniṣṭhānāmike dve tu aṅguṣṭhopari saṃsthitau*, which provides the correct feminine dual in the first pāda; but this still agrees with the masculine *saṃsthitau*. However, *aṅguṣṭhopari* appears likely to be the original reading, in whatever manner it was arrived at. Note also the pāda transmitted by **A** as *ubhayo hastayo [']ṅgulyā* (31c in **A**, 37a in SASTRI's MS.). Here **A**'s text arrives at the correct meter by non-standard sandhi, viz. *hastayoḥ* + *aṅg°* → *°yo 'ṅg°* (rather than → *°yor aṅg°*). In the MS. used by SASTRI, there appears the grammatical but hypermetrical *hastayor aṅgulyaḥ*, with "correct" sandhi, as well as the correct plural *aṅgulyaḥ*. While the *BraYā* allows this sort of hypermetry, there are several other cases where SASTRI's MS. violates meter in favour of grammar—in contrast with the language of the *BraYā*, where meter overrides grammar. Note for example the unmetrical "correction" of *bandhayet* to *badhnīyāt* (44d in SASTRI, 47b in **A**). In some cases SASTRI's MS. contains better readings which could but might not reflect later editorial activity. Note e.g. *unnamitau karau* (19b) for **A**'s *unnāmatau* ° (19d), and *śaramudrā* (37c) for **A**'s *suramudrā* (32a).

> has been obtained, the text in this edition is adopted exactly as it is found in the original manuscript.

It is not clear which of the two points weighed more heavily in Śāstrī's decision: the text's holiness, or the paucity of manuscript evidence. In either event, the choice spared him considerable trouble, for cases such as the *BraYā* or *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, in which the language is non-classical and manuscript evidence very limited, present special problems.

My first attempt at editing the *BraYā* (Hatley 2007) might be faulted as representing the opposite extreme. Not only did I introduce numerous emendations and conjectures, but I also tended to normalize the orthography in the direction of modern printed Sanskrit, and set what seems now rather too high a bar for retaining Middle Indicisms and other non-classical forms. My approach to orthography and language have shifted considerably, not only as a result of continued study of the literature, but also due to stimulating exchanges with colleagues in the Early Tantra project, especially Dominic Goodall, Csaba Kiss, Alexis Sanderson, and Judit Törzsök. On the other hand, my hesitation to propose substantive emendations has, if anything, diminished. To approach the *BraYā* otherwise is to embrace unintelligibility, for the readings of the principal codex are with vexing frequency implausible or incomprehensible. My views have been reinforced by the discovery of the *BraYāSāra*, whose independent readings in *BraYā* 83 reveal the degree of **A**'s corruption.[70] Considerations of sense, coherence, and context have served as the principal bases for emendation, with attention to the paleographic plausibility of scribal error as well as intra- and intertextual parallels (as adduced as testimonia in the apparatus, or in the annotation to the translation). In the case of *BraYā* 83, the editorial process has differed due to the invaluable additional data provided by the *BraYāSāra*.

The *BraYā* is written in a Middle-Indic influenced hybrid Sanskrit, a varied register of the language sometimes referred to as Aiśa, "[the language] of the Lord." In the *BraYā*'s case, the departures from Pāṇinian norms are considerable. In general character and most particulars, its language bears affinity with that of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, a highly-nondstandard idiom which Törzsök (1999: xxvi–lxix) analyses systematically in her unpublished doctoral thesis.[71] In the introduction to *BraYā*, volume II, Kiss (2015: 77–86) has

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[70] On the *BraYāSāra*, and the extensive parallels between *BraYāSāra* 68 and *BraYā* 83, see §1.6.

[71] See also Goodall's (2015: 103–25) discussion of the language of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*,

recently contributed a detailed analysis specific to the language of the *BraYā*. These general treatments of the *BraYā*'s idiom make it unnecessary to attempt the same here. Detailed notes on Aiśa forms are however provided in the annotation to the translation, with frequent reference to *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* (OBERLIES 2003) and *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (EDGERTON 1953: vol. 1), to the extent that the linguistic phenomena in question are there attested. References to these grammars take the shortened form of "OBERLIES" or "EDGERTON" plus section number (e.g. "OBERLIES §1.2.4"). An effort has been made to catalogue linguistic phenomena in the general index. Since KISS's (2015: 77–86) account of the *BraYā*'s language appeared late in the course this volume's preparation, it was not practical to cross-reference the edition with his useful list of Aiśa phenomena.

The *BraYā* is almost entirely written in anuṣṭubh verse (i.e. "śloka"), and additional remarks on meter seem warranted. Metrical concerns override grammar when the two conflict, a principle consonant with other varieties of Middle-Indic influenced Sanskrit. This is, however, carried further than in both Epic and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Particularly striking are cases in which a spurious visarga is suffixed for metrical reasons: note, for instance, its addition to the adverb *upari*,[72] the locative plural noun *dikṣu*,[73] the particle *api*,[74] and the verb *rakṣyati*.[75] Again driven largely by meter, the final *-t/d* of optative verbs and the masculine ablative singular is optionally omitted, reflecting Prakrit pronunciation. This is of course true of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as well.[76] Distinguishing the language of the *BraYā* is the dual tendency to drop some final consonants, influenced by Middle Indic and typically metri causa, but in other cases to 'restore' a spurious *-t* to word-final *-ā* as a kind of hyper-Sanskritic window-dressing. This is exemplified by the final *-t* of the *BraYā*'s

which is somewhat less irregular than that of the *BraYā*. For an older account that remains useful, based on the language of the *Kubjikāmata*, see GOUDRIAAN & SCHOTERMAN (1988: 44–109).

[72] *BraYā* 33.86cd, *īśāne cāsane sthāpya saptadhānyo**paris** tathā*.

[73] *BraYā* 45.646cd: *evaṃ dikṣu **vidikṣuś** ca āsanaṃ saṃnive[ś]ayet*.

[74] *BraYā* 1.118c, 83.168d, and 83.177a; see the annotation thereon.

[75] *BraYā* 11.125cd: *sādhakānāṃ padānāṃ tu putravad **rakṣyatis** tathā*.

[76] On the role of pronunciation in this matter, note EDGERTON's (1953: vol. 1, 5) observations concerning Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: "Word-final consonants which would be dropped in all Middle-Indic are often written. But a careful study of the metrical structure of the verses has revealed the fact that in some respects, at least, this Sanskritized spelling is a mere window-dressing, and misrepresents the actual pronunciation, which was Middle-Indic."

signature stock phrase: *nātra kārya vicāraṇāt*, for standard Sanskrit *nātra kāryā vicāraṇā* ("in this matter, one need not deliberate").[77] A case similar to this is the spurious and metrically irrelevant visarga in *kadā canaḥ*, occurring at the end of numerous even pādas.[78]

Two peculiarities of more limited scope concern meter. First, a semivowel, when attached to a consonant, does not perforce render the preceding syllable heavy. The clearest cases involve the word *nyāya*.[79] GOODALL (2004: lxxxvi) makes a similar observation concerning the treatment of conjuncts with semivowels in the *Parākhyatantra*. On the other hand, anusvāra, following a short vowel, does render a syllable heavy. Take for instance the case of *BraYā* 58.48d: *rājānaṃ ānayed vaśam*. Here, if the third syllable were light, the pāda would be unmetrical (having the disallowed *ra-gaṇa* in syllables 2–4). A number of other cases are equally clear,[80] and this phenomenon is well-attested in

[77] The phrase *nātra kāryā vicāraṇā* occurs widely in Sanskrit literature, especially the epics and *purāṇas*. In well over one-hundred occurrences in the *BraYā*, the "correct" form does not appear a single time in A. Occurring twice is the slightly more correct *nātra kārya vicāraṇā* (4.179b and 24.44b). The phrase is transmitted in the same "incorrect" form as the *BraYā* in a number of other Śaiva sources, e.g. the *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Kulasāra*, *Kulapañcāśikā*, and *Tantrasadbhāva* (where the MSS. differ, sometimes writing, e.g., *nātra kāryā vicāraṇāt*). Although the reason for *kāryā* dropping its case ending is unclear, at some point, the feminine *vicāraṇā* must have been suspected of being ablative, and its spelling frozen in the revised, hyper-Sanskritic form *vicāraṇāt*. Cf. the case of *yadṛcchayāt*, occurring for *yadṛcchayā* in *BraYā* 22.3d.

[78] A writes *kadā canaḥ* 22 times, always at the end of even pādas where meter is not impacted. The "correct" *kadā cana* is written only thrice. In one more case (71.67b), *cana* appears to have been corrected from *canaḥ*, perhaps signalling the role of scribes in the correction of Aiśa forms.

[79] *BraYā* 4.726c: (*pūrvvoktena tu nyāyena*), 32.61c (*kakṣapuṭakanyāyena*), and 17.551c (*vakṣyamānena nyāyena*). Two other cases involve the first *r* in *draṃṣṭra* or *draṃṣṭa*, as A almost always writes for classical Sanskrit *daṃṣṭra* ("fang"): *BraYā* 74.71b (*koṭarākṣī ca draṃṣṭiṇī*) and 3.165d (*dhūsro lohitadraṃṣṭavān*). In another instance, *BraYā* 83.76b, *jv* does not render the prior vowel heavy (*liṅgan dṛṣṭvā sujvālanam*, by emendation of °*sujālvanam*). It is also notable that in 45.90b (*praṇipatya vijñāpayet*), the cluster *jñā* does not make the preceding short vowel heavy (evidence for pronunciation as *gyā*, perhaps?).

[80] *BraYā* 17.32d (*sabinduṃ ādimaṃ bhavet*), 23.38a (*praṇavena samaṃ ādyaṃ*), and 45.74b (*sasiddhaṃ ādrakaṃ tathā*). However, cf. 576a, where anusvāra may or may not make the syllable heavy: *punar vinodaṃ āsthāya*. This case is ambiguous, since a correct *ma*-vipulā would be present if *-aṃ* is heavy. For a Śaiva example beyond the *BraYā*, note *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 235ab: *smaraṇaṃ aṣṭadhā jñātvā picutantrā['] samudbhavam*. Scribal inconsistency may obscure this issue. Also noteworthy are the numerous occurrence of word-final *-ṃm*; though perhaps original, these may represent scribal correction of what was earlier anusvāra alone. Typical of this is *BraYā* 32.156b, *rudrāṇāṃ tu [ś]ataṃm api*, where *-ṃm* makes the preceding vowel heavy.

Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.[81]

The *BraYā* accepts a degree of metrical freedom by allowing for verse-quarters of nine syllables, under certain conditions. Generally, hypermetrical nine-syllable pādas meet the following criteria: the "cadence" pattern of the final four syllables remains correct; and several of the initial five syllables are light/short (*laghu*). Note, for example, *gṛhayāgapūrvvakaṃ nyāsaṃ* (40.9c), where three of the first five syllables are short. Very often, hypermetry occurs in pādas with strings of three short syllables, as when are present such common words as *ḍamaru*, *smaraṇa*, and *praṇava*.[82] One could think of this phenomenon as a principle by which three short syllables are metrically equivalent to two long/heavy (*guru*), or to one short and one long syllable.[83] This overrules the requirement that syllables two and three should never both be short. Hypermetry may be found in metrically variant (*vipulā*) pādas as well as standard (*pathyā*) ones.[84] Although these observations on hypermetry are based on the language of the *BraYā*, they also seem relevant to related Śaiva texts.[85]

Two irregularities occur with such frequency that I ceased to single these out for comment: first, as in the example of *rājānaṃ ānayed*, word-final anusvāra (*-ṃ*) may be followed by a word-initial vowel. This is particularly common

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[81]As observes EDGERTON (§2.69), "It is absolutely standard practice in all verses to use final *m* before a following initial vowel if meter requires a short final syllable, but *ṃ* if a long is required. No editor has seen this clearly; all editions are confused and inconsistent in this respect."

[82]E.g. *BraYā* 4.796c: *ḍamarukaṃ pūjayen mantrī*.

[83]In some cases of hypermetry, one might wonder whether this is driven by ellision of post-consonantal *a*, as is common in modern Indo-Aryan. Take for example the following odd-pāda: *balavikaraṇī dakṣakukṣau* (*BraYā* 12.46c). Although this appears to be a 10-syllable metrical oddity, when pronounced as it might be in modern Hindi, *bal'vikar'ṇī*, we find not only eight syllables, but a correct metrical variant (the *bha*-vipulā). Of course, this pāda might be allowed for on the basis of possessing five *laghu* syllables. Other cases of hypermetry might suggest pronunciations such as *ḍamru* for *ḍamaru*, and *praṇva* for *praṇava*. The evidence for this is weak, however. Cf. the discussion of KISS (2015: 84).

[84]For a case of a hypermetrical *na*-vipulā, note *BraYā* 14.141a: *caturakṣaran tu hṛdayaṃ*.

[85]Note, for example, *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 146c (*anayor madhye suṣumnā tu*), and the following verse, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 6.5, with hypermetrical odd-pādas: *paramāṇum ucyate nātho sa śivo vyāpakaḥ paraḥ | sa jīvaḥ paratarо yas tu sa haṃsaḥ śakti pudgalaḥ* (NGMPP A48/13). (Here, the *visarga* is omitted from *śaktiḥ*, metri causa.) Cf. the remarks of GOODALL (2004: 143, n. 18) on the constitution of *Parākhyatantra* 1.14a (*karaṇāny etāni tatkartur*): "note that this *pāda* has too many syllables; but this particular type of hypermetry, in which the first two short syllables are probably intended to be read rapidly together and must count for one, appears to be not uncommon in this sort of writing."

when an odd-numbered pāda ends in anusvāra, which seems in this position to be preferred over *-m*, regardless of what follows. This is probably because, as mentioned, anusvāra renders a syllable heavy, and is thus conducive to hiatus between pādas. There is a tendency, as in Epic Sanskrit, to treat each pāda "as a separate syntactic and metrical unit" (Oberlies §1.1), and it is my impression that, in the *BraYā*'s language, the hiatus after an odd pāda (*a* and *c*) is only somewhat weaker than that at the end of even pādas (*b* and *d*). Second, in keeping with this, the application of other kinds of sandhi across the boundary between odd and even pādas is optional.

The limited manuscript evidence for the *BraYā* and its highly non-standard language lead to difficult choices in constituting the text. There is often little basis for deciding whether an apparent case of irregular Sanskrit, such as confusion of gender or loss of a final consonant, is original. Moreover, there are sometimes grounds to suspect that regular Sanskrit forms are not original. Case endings are particularly fluid in ms. **A**, as is vividly evident in instances where the same phrase or passage occurs multiple times.[86] In his recent discussion of the language of the *BraYā*, Kiss (2015: 75) has highlighted the potential role of uninflected stem forms, suggesting that these were more prevalent in an earlier phase of transmission. He suggests that scribes "Sanskritized" many of these haphazardly, contributing much to **A**'s inconsistency. This is a compelling suggestion, though difficult to prove; as Kiss mentions, "an inflected form does not betray anything about its past history." Aside from the near-arbitrary inflection of stem forms, there is some evidence for correction of other irregularities, though this has not been carried out very far. This process can be inferred through comparison with parallels in the *BraYāSāra*: the latter sometimes preserves non-standard forms that, for metrical or semantic reasons, are clearly preferable to the readings of **A**.[87]

In the present edition, I have generally adopted **A**'s irregular readings when these involve omissions, particularly the absence of word-final consonants. There are exceptions. I always restore final visarga or anusvāra when metrically required, and tend to do so when their omission is not readily explicable (e.g., in a string of otherwise uniform nouns or adjectives). "Spurious" visargas and anusvāras have been treated on a case-by-case basis, for some may be original,

[86]One of the longer passages in this category concerns "initiation into the [course of] ontic levels" (*tattvadīkṣā*), which occurs as both *BraYā* 33.307c–16 and 37.54c–62. Note also the discrepancies of this kind between the parallel passages of *BraYā* 83 and *BraYāSāra* 68.

[87]See §1.6.

while some are likely to be mere scribal window dressing. I have not hesitated to make minor emendations: there is simply too much evidence of carelessness to be confident in accepting **A** at face value. Confirmation of particular readings is sometimes possible through meter, parallels, or by the sheer frequency with which a form occurs. While it is possible that at least some of the irregular Sanskrit readings which I have retained are not original, irregularities of the same type are attested throughout the text.

In presenting the text, the edition adheres in large measure to the orthography of the old manuscript, rather than normalizing the text as per the conventions of modern printed Devanāgarī.[88] In this respect, I have followed the editors of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, a similar case in which the constitution of the text depends largely upon a single early manuscript:

> Rather than prepare both a diplomatic transcription and a polished edition, which would make for a bulky volume whose extra weight would help readers little and would have slowed the editors down considerably, we have tried to combine what is required from both into a single edition.[89]

This approach is not without problems: some discrepancies and difficult choices ensue, and readability arguably suffers. Appendix F addresses the latter issue to some extent, presenting the text in roman script free from annotation and with spaces inserted between words, where possible, while also hyphenating sandhi consonants. Manuscript **A** is inconsistent in its orthography—rather more so than the old MS. of the *Niśvāsa*, which belongs to the latter half of the ninth century (GOODALL et al. 2015: 105–8). A key reason for **A**'s inconsistency may be its incomplete adaptation of evolving tenth- to eleventh-century orthographic norms. Periodically one encounters vestiges of earlier conventions: before *p-*, word-final visarga in rare cases still appears as the *upadhmānīya* (*-f*), and quite often visarga appears as *-s* before *s-*, resulting in doubling (viz. *-s s-*). On the other hand, visarga is so frequently omitted before the unvoiced consonants *ka/kha*, *pa/pha*, and *sa*, that this must have been perceived as correct at some point in the text's transmission. Presumably many of these elided

[88] I would like to thank Csaba KISS for stimulating discussions on this issue. His edition (KISS 2015) takes a somewhat different approach, presenting the text in reader-friendly Roman script with normalization of homorganic nasals, hyphens to indicate sandhi consonants, etc. On the other hand, he is perhaps more circumspect in the matter of emendation.

[89] GOODALL et al. (2015: 100).

visargas were earlier written with the *upadhmānīya* or *-s*. Some in fact must be restored to avoid metrical faults. Also, **A** has a definite, if inconsistent preference for the use of homorganic nasals. While I suspect that these were pervasive at an early stage of transmission, **A** does write anusvāra frequently as well.

Although the critical edition generally adheres to **A**'s orthography, there are some limitations and exceptions. Thus, the edition follows **A** in geminating some consonants before and after *r* (e.g. *sarvva* and *arddha*), and in degeminating others before *v* (e.g. *tatva* rather than *tattva*). I have, however, silently degeminated consonants at the beginning of words: e.g. where **A** reads *ebhir ddevair nna saṃśayaḥ* (39.55d), I have printed *ebhir devair na saṃśayaḥ*. Similarly, I have restored initial consonants lost through degemination: e.g. *yatvayā* (39.4b) has been printed as *yat tvayā*. In all cases **A** is followed in printing *ūrddha* for *ūrdhva*, these being written identically. In **A**'s orthography and probably the language of the *BraYā* as well, *ri* and *ṛ* are largely interchangeable (likewise *rī* and *ṝ*). In this matter, the edition reflects **A**'s inconsistency. **A** also haphazardly interchanges the sibilants *śa* and *sa*, and to a lesser degree *ṣa*; I have, however, normalized these according to Sanskrit spelling conventions, reporting such changes in the apparatus. Similarly, I have corrected *na* occasionally when this appears for *ṇa*. On the other hand, I have often followed **A** in its confusion of *ṭ* and *ṭh*; for instance, the orthography *ghaṇṭhā* (for Sanskrit *ghaṇṭā*) occurs so often that it seems authorial.

In some cases, **A** is ambiguous and requires interpretation. For instance, *ṅg* and *dg* are indistinguishable, and I have adopted the contextually plausible reading silently, unless there is scope for doubt. Similarly, *tt* and *nt* are usually indistinguishable and require interpretation: thus, on occasion, there may be doubt as to whether **A** intends *tattra* (i.e. *tatra*) or *tantra*. These issues are discussed in the annotation, as required. One major normalization is carried out silently throughout: *b* and *v* have been rendered as per classical Sanskrit spelling conventions. None of the MSS distinguish between them. This normalization may be justified on the basis that a distinction between *ba* and *va* does exist in the *BraYā*'s language, if not in writing, as is evident from accounts of *mantroddhāra* ("extraction of mantras").[90] Also, **A** almost never writes the *avagraha*, which I have silently added for clarity, as per modern conventions. **A**, of course, is written continuously; I have inserted spaces for clarity, when possible, again following modern Devanāgarī conventions. In reporting **A** and other

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[90] This is the case, for instance, in the *nārācaprastāra* ("the Arrow Chart"), analysed in *BraYā*, volume III.

MSS. in the apparatus, spaces are inserted when the intended word divisions are reasonably clear. In all cases of emendation, I have tried to appromixate **A**'s orthographic conventions.

A maximum of three registers appears in the critical apparatus. When all are present, the top register contains notes on the witnesses utilized for the edition, including their foliation, damage, and lacunae. Given that most readers of MS. **A** are, for the time being, likely to be reading from scans of the NGMPP microfilm, the latter's exposure numbers are noted in this register, in addition to folio numbers. The second register provides testimonia and parallel passages; in practice, this is typically the top register. Parallel passages of less relevance are reserved for the annotation to the translation. The third register specifies the readings of the manuscripts, when these differ from the text adopted. The apparatus is fully positive, indicating the reading adopted (followed by the lemma sign "]") and its source, and reporting all manuscript variants faithfully (followed by their sigla and separated by semicolons). However, if the paper manuscripts disagree with **A** only in minor orthographic details—gemination/degemination, use or non-use of homorganic nasals, etc.—these discrepancies are not usually noted. This results in a degree of falsification. When the adopted reading departs from the witnesses only in incidental details, primarily orthography, the reading is identified as a correction (*corr.*). More substantive departures are marked as emendations (*em.*), and discussed in the annotation to the translation. Emendations more speculative in nature are marked as conjectures (*conj.*). This distinction no doubt has a subjective element: the degree of my conviction factors heavily. However, emendations marked as conjectural typically lack a clear and compelling justification based in paleography or parallel passages. The most doubtful readings appearing in the critically constituted text, whether or not these are emendations, are signalled as such by wavy underlining (e.g. भैरवं). Crux marks (†...†) identify passages deemed corrupt for which I have been unable to offer a sufficiently plausible conjecture. Folio changes are signalled for **A** alone in the main text, indicated by "→" followed by the new folio number.

In the apparatus, poorly legible syllables are enclosed by wavy vertical lines (≀ ...≀). If uncertainty arises due to damage to the tops or bottoms of akṣaras, this is indicated parenthetically; for instance, "≀देवी≀ (*no tops*)." Wholly illegible syllables are represented by en-dashes (– – –). When an MS. is ambiguous, two or more alternative interpretations are sometimes enclosed in angle brackets, separated by a front slash (for instance, "⟨मा/मो/सा/सो⟩"). Pre- and

post-correction readings are indicated by the superscript abbreviations ^{ac} (*ante correctiononem*) and ^{pc} (*post correctionem*). Short interlinear and marginal insertions are enclosed within a pair of plus signs (+...+). When a rejected reading of **A** is unmetrical, it is noted as such in the apparatus ("*unmet.*"). When an emendation proposed by another scholar has been adopted, this is indicated in following format: "शिवं] *em.* (ISAACSON)." Plausible suggestions not incorporated into the main text are instead discussed in the annotation.

Given the *BraYā*'s poor state of preservation, nonstandard language, elliptical style,[91] obscure subjects, and the dearth of well-studied, closely related literature, its interpretation is often conjectural. The translation in this volume is intended as a guide to my interpretation of the text, as constituted, and is more integral to the volume than might be the case in some other critical editions.[92] My commentary on the constitution and interpretation of the text is embedded entirely as annotation to the translation, which I hope has not made the volume unwieldy. One undoubtedly quirky convention adopted is the use of a pair of question marks, in parentheses, to mark the beginning and end of a translated passage in which I consider the degree of uncertainty particularly high. The first of the pair is inverted—i.e. "(¿)."

Some conventions in the annotation are applicable to the volume as a whole. In quotations from commentaries, words from the text commented upon are set in bold typeface. Primary source citations are always from the edition or manuscript listed in the bibliography. In cases in which more than one edition or manuscript is listed, the source is specified. Translations of quoted passages are the present author's unless indicated otherwise. Quotations from the *BraYā* are of course frequent, and in most cases, the text is constituted solely on the basis of **A**. Unless particularly relevant, I usually avoid commenting on the (sometimes considerable) linguistic peculiarities of the passages cited, and upon some of the problems of interpretation. Passages quoted from the *BraYā* are cited by verse number rather than folio; appendix A provides a concordance of the text's chapters and the folio numbers in **A**. Verse numbers from chapters not yet edited have generally been determined by mechanical division of the text into verses of four quarters (*pāda*). It is likely that the numbering will change slightly in future editions. In very short quotations from the *BraYā*, an

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[91] Cf. GOUDRIAAN's remarks on the text's "cryptic ways of expression, rambling style and bad grammar" (GOUDRIAAN & GUPTA 1981: 44).

[92] Cf. KISS (2015: 75): "Translating the Sanskrit texts has proved to be much more important, and the apparatus less important, here in this volume than in an ordinary critical edition."

orthographic normalization (especially the correction of *ś* to *s* and vice versa), a minor emendation (e.g. *ā* for *o* or vice versa), or the addition of an anusvāra (*ṃ*) or visarga (*ḥ*), is indicated by enclosing the character in question in square brackets. A critical apparatus is sometimes provided for longer passages, and in cases where more significant emendations or conjectures are proposed.

1.5 Missing folia and problems in the text's chapterization

As transmitted in the old manuscript (**A**), the *BraYā* appears to have comprised one-hundred and four chapters, although this is not immediately evident. It designates its chapters by the term *paṭala* ("mass" or "layer"), as is typical of Śaiva *tantra*s. Numbering discrepancies begin in the scribal colophons after chapter 50:[93] chapter numbers become and remain off-sync by three, such that what should, in sequence, be paṭala 51, is labelled 48—a pattern that appears to continue until the final chapter, labelled 101. Moreover, an entire chapter (82) appears to have been lost with **A**'s missing folia, as discussed below. In my initial transcription of the text, the latter problem went unnoticed, compounded by the fact that I had inadvertently skipped transcription of folio 134 *recto* (microfilm exposure 138 lower), on which paṭala 29 ends.[94] As a result, the chapterization of the *BraYā* has shifted from that of my doctoral thesis (Hatley 2007). Citations of the *BraYā* by other scholars may reflect different understandings of the text's chapterization, for instance following the scribal colophons, which become inaccurate after chapter 50.

Problems in the text's chapterization are foregrounded by *BraYā* 83, "Chapter on the origins of the skull and skull-staff" (*kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpattipaṭala*). Its colophon assigns this the number eighty (*aśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ*), which, if the misnumbering pattern is consistent, should be eighty-three. This chapter, edited in the present volume, must have commenced on either folio 298 or 299, both of which are now absent from **A**.[95] What is preserved of the text begins on a folio numbered 300,[96] which is badly damaged, with more than one third of

[93]One additional glitch in the numbering is that the colophon of *BraYā* 42 labels this chapter 40.

[94]I am grateful to Csaba Kiss, who first noticed this problem (personal communication).

[95]As discussed above in the description of ms. **A**, *f.* 295 may also be missing.

[96]In the left margin of the verso face is written 300, in alphanumerals, by the original scribe;

the leaf broken off entirely and additional damage near both perforation holes. This folio came to be placed out of sequence near the end of the manuscript, and its two sides were filmed by the NGMPP as exposures 364 (upper folio face) and 365 (also upper). Unfortunately, none of the later manuscripts preserve text from the missing folia 298–299, nor from the damaged areas of folio 300; this is conclusive evidence that they descend from **A** subsequent to its damage. The scribe of **B**, who appears to have copied from **A** directly, signalled his awareness of the problem by leaving part of one plus three additional folio faces blank, resuming afterwards with text corresponding to **A**'s damaged *f.* 300, which he copies reasonably well (in fact, the state of preservation might have been slightly better than it is now).[97]

Prior to the two missing folios, **A**'s text on folio 297*v* (microfilm exposure 304 upper) extends through verse 98b of *BraYā* 81. In the colophonal numbering, this incomplete chapter would presumably have been labelled 78, in error for 81, but the colophon has been lost with the missing folia (298–99). The subsequent chapter—*BraYā* 82 (79)—appears to have been lost altogether. After the gap, the next intact colophon (on *f.* 304*v*) provides the chapter number 80, presumably for 83. Some indication of what the missing folia contained is provided by **A**'s table of contents, which must have been compiled while the manuscript was still intact. It lists the following topics:[98] on *f.* 298, *śivā-*

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below this, in another, much later, hand, is the number 300. The latter must have been added subsequent to the folio's damage, for numerals in this hand usually appear in the right verso margin. One might entertain the possibility that the original scribe's numbering simply went awry, and no folia are missing. However, it does not seem possible that the text of folio 297*v* continues with 300*r*. Faulty meter and semantic discontinuity rule this out: *f.* 297*v* ends with the first three *akṣara*s of an even pāda (98b: *padārthā*) on the subject of yoga, while folio 300*r* begins with a complete odd pāda on an unrelated subject (*taddakṣiṇe tathā vahniṃ*). **A**'s table of contents also takes into account the missing folia (see below).

[97]On *f.* 297*v*, after **B** writes *padārthā*, the remainder of the folio is left blank. Writing resumes towards the bottom of 299*v*, with *taddakṣiṇena tathā vahniṃ hutvā*, corresponding to the beginning of **A**'s *f.* 300*r*. The scribe of MS. **D** appears not to have noticed the missing and misplaced folios; on *f.* 208*r*, **D** proceeds from text corresponding to **A**'s *f.* 297*v* directly to *f.* 301*r*, not incorporating the text of **A**'s damaged and misplaced *f.* 300—precisely what I did in my initial transcription of **A**. There is an insertion marker around the beginning of the problematic section, and in a modern hand (that of an archivist?) is written, in the left margin, *etanmadhye patratrayagrantha[nāsti?]* (perhaps, "between these the text of three folios is absent").

[98]In the majority of cases, the table of contents has a single entry for each chapter, but sometimes contains multiple entries for longer chapters. For instance, paṭala 77 is provided with two entries: *herambhabhairava* (*f.* 286) and *herambhabhairavakarmma* (*f.* 288). The complete

mbhavidhisamayācāra ("Procedure for the Śiva water [pot, and?] conduct of the Pledges"); on *f.* 298, *kaṣākhyamantroddhāra* ("The touchstone [? *kaṣa*] method of extracting mantras"); and on *f.* 299, *kapālasādhana* ("Practice for the mastery of skulls"). The first of these, the *śivāmbhavidhisamayācāra*, may have been the final section of paṭala 81, for the topic is congruent with what precedes.[99] The "touchstone" (*kaṣa*) system of mantra-derivation may have been the subject of paṭala 82: *BraYā* 81 delineates a pantheon of mantra-deities in its intact first section, and the end of this chapter would not introduce a new mantra-system. *BraYā* 82 seems to have been relatively brief, occupying 2–3 folio faces.

As constituted in the present edition, *BraYā* 83 has two distinct sections: the heavily lacunose opening portion concerning rites for empowering and gaining *siddhi* via a human skull, referred to as *kapālasādhana* (83.1–29);[100] and a longer, largely intact section (83.30–186) narrating the mythic origins of Bhairava's skull and skull-staff. A brief gap caused by damage to folio 300*v* separates these sections. The *kapālasādhana* section must have commenced on the missing *f.* 299 (either *recto* or *verso*), while the narrative begins on *f.* 300*v*, designated in the table of contents as *kapālakhaṭvāṅgasambhava* ("Origins of the Skull and Skull-staff"). Between the two sections, damage to the MS. has caused the loss of between 35 to 47 syllables.[101] This is just enough room to account for a missing verse (36 syllables), plus eight syllables and punctuation, which may be restored as follows: [*devy uvāca* || *kasmiṃ ka*]*pālam utpannaṃ*.[102] Arguably, the gap is long enough that a chapter colophon may have been lost, for these vary widely in length (see appendix A). I am nonetheless disinclined

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list of topics for *ff.* 283–314 is as follows (NGMPP microfilm exposure 6 lower, lines 2–3): *adhyātmakaraṇa 283* | *japabhedakalākalanasaṃkhyā 284* | *herambhabhairava 286* | *herambhabhairavakarmma 288* | *āmarddaka 290* | *yoginīpṛthakyāgavidhi 291* | *pṛthakkalpavidhāna 293* | *kumbhādiyāga 294* | *tantrarājayajananānāhomakarmma 295* | *śivāmbhavidhisamayācāra 298* | *kaṣākhyamantroddhāra 298* | *kapālasādhana 299* | *kapālakhaṭvāṅgasambhava 300* | *kañcukīsādhana 304* | *utpullakādhikāre srodaya 306* | *śaktitrayavidhāna 310* | *mūlasūtravidhāna 312* | *aṣṭau kṣetramantra 314* |

[99] Paṭala 81 chapter concerns "Deities of [the Nine Pantheons, *viz.*] the water-pot, etc." (*udakumbhādidevatā[ḥ]*, 81.b).

[100] The expression *kapālasādhana* occurs in *BraYā* 83.24cd: *kapālasādhanenāyaṃ dvitīya iva bhairavaḥ*. I follow the author of the table of contents in using this to designate the topic of the lacunose first section of *BraYā* 83.

[101] This is the range of syllables present in the identical position of nearby verso folios, viz. line three of the rightmost third. I also factor in the possibility that one syllable was lost from the middle section of line three.

[102] See the annotation to *BraYā* 83.30 (note 34) concerning this restoration.

to this possibility, as the missing colophon and ornamental *puṣpikā* would have been unusually compressed.[103] An additional argument for these sections comprising a single chapter is the fact that the *BraYāSāra* treats them as such: it includes both topics in *BraYāSāra* 68, though reducing the *kapālasādhana* to a mere three verses (68.1–3).

1.6 Multiple *Brahmayāmalas*? Apropos the **Brahmayāmalasāra*, a recension of three-thousand five-hundred verses

In addition to the twelve-thousand verse *BraYā* transmitted by MS. A and its descendants, a homonymous, shorter text of eighty-one chapters survives in two paper Nepalese manuscripts, only one of which is complete. The short recension appears to be based upon the longer, partly mirroring the later in structure and content, while abbreviating and simplifying it in various ways. The MSS. are as follows:

NGMPP E1527/6 (reported as "S_1"). This legibly-written Newari paper MS. is from a private collection of Pāṭana, and is dated 762 Nepal *saṃvat* (1642/43 C.E.). It transmits a text of eighty-one chapters in approximately 104 folios. Marginal corrections and some insertions are made in the same or a similar hand. A small number of folia appear to be missing, and some were filmed out of sequence. A number of folia are difficult to read in the microfilm owing to darkened areas. The final colophon is written in Sanskrit and Newari on an unnumbered verso folio, possibly 104.[104]

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[103] This is nonetheless possible; note the unusually brief colophon to paṭala 69: *iti picumate añjanayoga ṣaṭṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

[104] The Sanskrit portion of the colophon reads thus: *iti mahābhairave vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale navākṣaravidhāne picumate utkrāntipaṭala ekāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ* ||❀|| *samāpt\am i\daṃ* || *saṃ 762 picutantra.* What follows is written in the Newari language, of which I am ignorant. As this may be of historical interest, I nonetheless attempt a provisional transcription: *śrībakhani⟨kṣ/hm⟩ayā śrīhariṇātharāmabalāni\kṣ\ayā śrīviśvapatini śrītuṃthivantāyā ukṛvadevanatuṃthivantāyā devarājanamayā siṃhayā kekāyāva\śva\te sena vekhani\kṣ\ayā śrīviśvanātharāmayā ājñānacoyā⟨śv/th⟩anahvathudanayaṃ namayā siṃhapati\hv\āvahara samayakāyā śubham astu* || *sarvvadā* || 0 ||

NAK I-1557 (reported as "S_2"). NGMPP reel A165/16. This undated paper manuscript, in Newari script, consists of twenty-one folios. The scribe appears not to have completed his task, or else to have copied from an incomplete exemplar: the copy abruptly ends on line two of *f.* 21*v*, at the beginning of the twelfth chapter. The writing is legible and the paper well-preserved. S_2's readings are independent from S_1's, as became evident in preparing an edition of the second chapter (perhaps to be published as an appendix to volume III of the *BraYā*).

A number of observations can be made concerning the relationship between the short recension of the *BraYā* and the twelve-thousand verse recension **A** transmits. In its final chapter, the former explicitly refers to itself as the *sāra* or "essence" of the twelve-thousand verse *BraYā*, much as the latter is the essence of a vast, one-hundred and twenty-five thousand-verse recension. This is my understanding of 81.3–4b (transmitted by MS. S_1 alone), the text and syntax of which are somewhat doubtful:

> *sapādasya tu lakṣasya sahasradvādaśaṃ yathā*[105] |
> *sāram etan*[106] *mahādevi sahasratrayanisṛtaṃ* ||
> *śatapañcādhike tantre nisṛtaṃ sāranirṇṇayaṃ* |
>
> "Just as the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* is the essence of the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand*, this, O Mahādevī, coming forth as a *tantra* of three-thousand five-hundred verses, emerged as the definitive essence (*sāranirṇaya*) [of the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand*]."

Cf. the text's closing verse (81.17):

> *bhāṣitaṃ picutantran tu sahasratrayasaṃmitam*[107] |
> *śatapañcādhikenaiva*[108] *kṣurikāntaṃ mahāmatam* |
> *etan tu tantrasadbhāvaṃ na deyaṃ*[109] *yasya kasya cit* ||
>
> "The *Picutantra* has been spoken, measuring[110] three-thousand and five-hundred verses, the great Doctrine Tantra (*mahāmata*)

[105] *yathā*] conj.; *tathā* S_1
[106] *etan*] em.; *en* S_1
[107] °*saṃmitam*] conj.; *samammataṃ* S_1 (alternatively, read *saṃmatam*).
[108] °*ādhikenaiva*] em.; °*ādhike caiva* S_1
[109] *deyaṃ*] em.; *deya* S_1
[110] Or "held to be," if one reads *saṃmatam*.

> ending in the [procedure of the] Knife.[111] This essence of the *tantras* must not be given to just anyone."

As suggested by this passage, the shorter recension designates itself by the same principal titles as the longer: *Picumata* or *Picutantra*, *Navākṣaravidhāna* ("Method of the Nine Syllables"), and *Brahmayāmala*.[112] In order to differentiate the two, I propose referring to the derivative short recension as the **Brahmayāmalasāra* (hereafter *BraYāSāra*). This title does not occur in any colophon, but reflects the text's self-representation as the "essence" (*sāra*) of the longer *BraYā*.

Its explicit acknowledgement of debt leaves little doubt concerning the *BraYāSāra*'s derivation from the longer *BraYā*. In structure and content, the former loosely mirrors the latter. Its chapter names are largely calqued on those of the *BraYā*, from which much of its content is lifted directly,[113] oftentimes in a manner that reduces bulk at the cost of sense. While drawing from all sections of the text, the *BraYāSāra* is mainly incorporative of material from the second half of the *BraYā*, comprised of paṭalas 51–104.[114] This is illustrated by the fact that in place of the *BraYā*'s second chapter, which delineates the mantra-deities of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, chapter two of the *BraYāSāra* instead outlines the Arrow Chart mantra-system (*nārācaprastāra*), which the *BraYā* utilizes only from paṭala 54 onwards. On the other hand, some chapters of the *BraYāSāra* appear to be novel compositions, including the long and interesting *Kālacakranirṇṇaya* (paṭala 75 of the *BraYāSāra*).

Given the *BraYā*'s cumbersome size and inherent difficulties, the production of an abbreviated redaction gives little surprise. The very possibility of such is inherent to the *BraYā*'s model of revelation, which emphasizes the text's contigency: the twelve-thousand verse *tantra* is but one of many manifestations of the primordial scriptural wisdom (*jñāna*) appearing in time's endless cycles.[115] Intriguingly, a comparable situation might obtain with the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, another early *tantra* of the Vidyāpīṭha. TÖRZSÖK (1999: iv–v)

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[111]The final chapter of the *BraYāSāra* is called *utkrāntipaṭala* ("the chapter on yogic suicide"). This echoes in abbreviated form the principal teaching of *BraYā* 103, the longer recension's penultimate chapter, called "the blade method" (*kṣurikāprayoga*). This is a technique for *utkrānti*, "yogic suicide," on which see VASUDEVA 2004: 437–45. (Cf. *Skandapurāṇa* 182, which also teaches the *kṣurikā* method for *utkrānti*.)

[112]On these and other titular epithets, see chapter 2 below.

[113]For instance, *BraYāSāra* 12.1–16 ≈ *BraYā* 6.1–17ab.

[114]I.e. *Ṣaṭka* II, the second "sextet." On the structure of the *BraYā*, see §1.7.1–2 below.

[115]See the revelation narrative of paṭala 1, and its analysis in §2.4–5.

argues that the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*'s extant MSS. transmit a text lacking numerous passages quoted by the Kashmirian exegetes, who must have possessed a longer recension with some stylistic differences. Her provisional conclusion is that the long recension likely preceded the shorter one, a possibility to which the existence of the *BraYāSāra* lends credence.

The *BraYāSāra* has proven valuable to the present volume, for paṭalas 83 of the *BraYā* and 68 of the *BraYāSāra* are extremely close. In particular, *BraYāSāra* 68.65–158 is parallel to *BraYā* 83.94–186, to such a degree that I have reported the readings of MS. S_1 of the *BraYāSāra* in the main apparatus of *BraYā* 83.[116] These parallels were discovered late in the process of preparing the present edition—in June 2015—and the new evidence facilitated notable improvement to an edition already once-revised. Though poorly transmitted, S_1 contains many readings which seem independent from and in some cases preferable to those of MS. **A** of the *BraYā*. In a number of places, the *BraYāSāra* confirmed emendations or allowed for the rejection of others, enabled lacunae to be filled, or provided plausible readings which had not previously been contemplated. An additional level of interest lies in the fact that *BraYā* 83 and *BraYāSāra* 68 have substantial parallels in chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa*. Although I had originally concluded that the *Devīpurāṇa* adapted material directly from *BraYā* 83, *Devīpurāṇa* 119 proves in fact to be much closer to *BraYāSāra* 68. This issue is analysed in §5.3.

Several kinds of variant readings provided by the *BraYāSāra* for *BraYā* 83 stand out: first, in places the *BraYāSāra* (MS. S_1) provides a semantically appropriate reading, where MS. **A**'s reading may be explained as a corruption or is simply implausible. Second, there are several places where the *BraYāSāra* writes nonstandard Sanskrit forms that appear to have been corrected in **A**'s line of transmission. Third, the *BraYāSāra* in some cases contains variant readings which are more or less synonymous with those of **A**, where neither can clearly be identified as original. In such cases, I have generally deferred to **A**. More numerous are the places where S_1 is simply corrupt. A sampling of significant variants follows:

- In 83.108ab, in a list of ontic levels or principles (*tattva*), **A** reads *evan tu niyatiḥ kālo māyā ca varavarṇṇini*. This is intelligible and I had no reason to suspect corruption. S_1 reveals, however, that **A**'s unremarkable

[116]The *BraYāSāra*'s incomplete MS. S_2 is unavailable for this chapter.

evaṃ tu conceals a *tattva* otherwise missing from the list: S_1 reads *evaṃ pun niyatiḥ kālo* .... Here *pun* = *puṃs*, i.e. the *tattva* of the soul, *puruṣa*.

- In 83.122cd, A reads *svaśarīrapramāṇena karttavyam adhikan tathā*. This is somewhat confusing, with two options for the skull-staff's length connected by *tathā* ("and/likewise") rather than *vā* ("or"). S_1, however, in 122d reads *adhikaṃ pi vā*. It seems almost certain that A's line of transmission has revised this, to the detriment of sense, in order to be rid of a non-standard form: the Middle-Indic particle *pi* (for Sanskrit *api*).

- In 83.145, **A** is quite corrupt, reading *brahmaṇasyottamāṅgan tu atīvāsyulbaṇam mahat | pañcamantrasamudbhūtan tena saṃcchāditam japet* ||. After reading my provisional transcription of **A**, Phyllis Granoff (2009: 10) proposed that *japet* should be emended to *jagat*. This led me to observe that *pañcamantra°* is also corrupt, and should be emended to *pañcaman tu*, while *atīvāsyulbaṇam* should be corrected to *atīvātyulbaṇam*. S_1 provided confirmation for all three emendations.

- In 177a, **A** transmits the unmetrical and semantically doubtful *yady api sucikarmastha*. S_1's reading solves the problem of the second and third syllables both being light, revealing **A**, as I had suspected, to have dropped a metrical visarga: the text must have originally read *yady apiḥ*.[117] More importantly, for **A**'s *sucikarmastha* ("abiding in pure ritual"), S_1 reads *sa vikarmmasthaḥ* ("abiding in bad acts"), which is considerably more appropriate to the context. Although **A**'s reading was plainly dubious, and the remedy minor—confusion of *ca* and *va* is common in **A**—the solution had not occurred to me.

- In 182, S_1 provides what in hindsight appears to be an obvious solution to a simple problem. **A** reads *brahmaṇenāpi deveṣu pranaṣṭeṣu mahāvratam | caritvā dhāritaḥ pūrvvam ahaṃ suravarārccite | mayā tuṣṭena tasyāśuḥ punar vedāḥ prakāśitāḥ*. In 182c, S_1 transmits *caritvā-rādhito*, revealing **A**'s corrupt text to be a matter of two inverted consonants.[118] The same applies to another problem, which in this case I had overlooked. In 182b, S_1 reads *vedeṣu* ("when the Vedas [were lost]")

[117] On the metrical visarga, for which the evidence in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit seems limited, see Edgerton §2.93.

[118] S_1's Middle-Indic frozen *-o* ending is also likely original.

> where **A** reads *deveṣu* ("when the gods [were ruined]"). The latter initially appears plausible, but *vedeṣu* is clearly preferable in light of 182f (*punar vedāḥ prakāśitāḥ*: "the Vedas were revealed again").

Altogether, the parallels discovered in the *BraYāSāra* confirmed nine significant emendations and contributed an equal number of new ones, while also facilitating or confirming many minor corrections and emendations. In addition, the new evidence stimulated a number of conjectures where the readings of **A** and $\mathbf{S_1}$ both seemed unsatisfactory. $\mathbf{S_1}$ also allowed for the restoration of *BraYā* 83.30–31, where **A** is lacunose.[119] Nonetheless, the evidence of the *BraYāSāra* must be treated with caution, for $\mathbf{S_1}$ is on the whole rather corrupt, and the text's redactors regularly made minor departures from the phrasing of the old *BraYā*.

Study of the *BraYāSāra* contributes important insight into the transmission of the *BraYā*. First, it likely proves that **A**'s line of transmission has to some degree engaged in regularizing the Sanskrit by expunging Aiśa forms. The scale of this process is nonetheless modest, especially in comparison to the extensively-revised Kashmirian recensions of the *Svacchandatantra* and *Netratantra*.[120] Moreover, the *BraYāSāra*'s readings suggest a degree of fluidity in the text's transmission: frequent, minor changes in phrasing, such as the use of synonyms, or changes in case and number, may have been more prevalent in the text's transmission than one might expect of scripture. Crucially, the *BraYāSāra* also sheds light on the scale of MS. **A**'s corruption, despite the latter's antiquity and the care with which it was copied. This situation vindicates a somewhat aggressive approach to emendation, while simultaneously forcing one to confront the fact that some problems are unlikely to be solved or even diagnosed. Regrettably, the *BraYāSāra*'s parallels extend only to some sections of the *BraYā*, for the remainder of which **A** is the sole important witness.

1.7 Content, structure and textual strata

The *BraYā* consists of one-hundred and four chapters (*paṭala*) of considerable variety and variable length, spanning more than twelve-thousand verses. At one

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[119] All of this is documented on a case-by-case basis in the annotation to the translation.

[120] Concerning differences between the Kashmirian and Nepalese recensions of the *Netratantra*, see SANDERSON (2005b: 243).

extreme, chapter seven contains only eleven verses, while *BraYā* 4, on the subject of religious images and ritual paraphernalia, extends almost nine-hundred and fifty verses, a length greater than that of numerous entire *tantras*.[121] In form, the *BraYā* is cast as a dialogue between Bhairava and the "Great Goddess" (*mahādevī*) or "Supreme (*parā*) Śakti," designated principally by the names Bhairavī, Aghorī, and Caṇḍā Kāpālinī. The Goddess poses questions which Bhairava answers, these didactic responses constituting most of the text. Chapters usually begin with a new question, although there are numerous exceptions; within chapters, further questions often inaugurate new subjects. The primary departures from the dialogue mode are occasional third-person asides, such as the common "Thus did speak Bhairava" (*evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt*). Apart from several mantras given in prose and a smattering of verse in the *sragdharā* meter,[122] the text consists entirely of the thirty-two syllable *anuṣṭubh* verses typical of *tantras*, *purāṇas*, and much other Sanskrit religious literature.

Prescriptive in orientation, the overwhelming bulk of the text consists of instructions for the performance of ritual (*karman*, *vidhi*/*vidhāna*), punctuated by a handful of narratives, expositions of doctrine, and other ancillary topics. The cohesion of this sprawling compendium of rituals lies in the leitmotiv of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā and its mantra-deities, which suffuse and pattern the basic rites and their countless inflections. A precise technical vocabulary distinguishes various forms and elements of ritual, a jargon which, though shared in the main with other early tantric Śaiva texts, is distinctive enough to cause difficulties of interpretation, particularly in the area of mantra.[123] A number of chapters delineate composite ritual forms, such as *dīkṣā* ("initiation," *BraYā* 33) or *vrata* ("ascetic observance" of fixed duration, *BraYā* 21 and 40), while other chapters concern specific elements of ritual, such as *mantroddhāra* ("derivation of mantras"), *nyāsa* ("installation" or "placement" of the mantra-deities upon a substrate, e.g. the body), *japa* (mantra-incantation), *dhyāna* (meditative visualization, especially of the deities), or *mudrā* (ritual gestures/signs).[124]

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[121] Other lengthy chapters include *BraYā* 45, on the disciplines of *sādhakas* (674 verses in Kiss's edition [2015]), and *BraYā* 35, on the preparatory "collation" or "binding together" (*śṛṅkhalā*, *saṅkalana*) of mantras (approximately 800 verses).

[122] The verses in *sragdharā* meter (the four quarters of which contain twenty-one syllables, with caesuras after the seventh and fourteenth) are the opening benediction, and two verses plus a stray quarter in the closing section of *BraYā* 66.

[123] The technical vocabularly of the *BraYā* features in numerous articles of *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III (2013), as well as future volumes currently under preparation (IV–V).

[124] *Mantroddhāra* is discussed below. On the subject of *nyāsa*, note in particular *BraYā* 42,

Some composite ritual forms such as fire-sacrifice (*homa* or *agnikārya*, *BraYā* 20)[125] are themselves variable elements of major rites such as *sādhana* ("rite of mastery")—the demanding transgressive performances of the *sādhaka* for attainment of magical perfection (*siddhi*). Arguably, the most fundamental form of ritual is that designated by the term *yāga*, which has the dual sense of both "deity pantheon," i.e. a particular configuration of mantra-deities, and "deity worship." In the latter sense, *yāga* is synonymous with *yajana*. Mantra-deity pantheons (*yāga*) are arrayed spatially in their syllabic forms in "wheels" (*cakra*) on a variety of substrates and with countless inflections, accounting for much of the *BraYā*'s bulk. In contrast, yoga, in the broad sense of meditative disciplines, is a comparatively minor ancillary element of the *BraYā*'s systems of practice.[126] Volume II of the *BraYā* (KISS 2015) affords an in-depth view of the *BraYā*'s ritual disciplines, presenting editions of key chapters: those delineating the initiation maṇḍala (*mahāyāga*, *BraYā* 3), preparatory ascetic observances (*vrata*, *BraYā* 21), and the *sādhaka*'s total disciplinary regimen (*BraYā* 45).

In structure, the *BraYā* is a text of two principal parts: paṭalas 1–50 (*Ṣaṭka* I), and paṭalas 51–104 (*Ṣaṭka* II), as analysed below. While a number of related chapters cluster together, exceptions are numerous, and no discernable pattern governs the sequence of topics as a whole. The text commences with the narrative of its revelation, which is complemented by *BraYā*'s 39's account of the Śaiva scriptural canon. Both chapters are edited in the present volume. Chapters two and three introduce key topics: the Nine-Syllable Vidyā of the Goddess and the pantheon of mantra-deities this embodies, in *BraYā* 2 (edited in this volume); and in chapter three, the fully elaborated form of the deity maṇḍala, associated particularly with initiation (edited by KISS [2015]). Chapters 4–9 are interrelated, insofar as these concern the construction and installation-rites

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the *nyāsapaṭala* ("Chapter on Mantra-installation"), which provides general instructions, and *BraYā* 12, which elaborates upon the *nyāsa* of the extended mantra-deity pantheon taught in the preceding chapters (10–11). General procedures for mantra-recitation, *japavidhāna*, are expounded in detail in a chapter bearing this title, *BraYā* 18. This provides, for instance, a threefold classification of *japa* and technical terms for mantras when inflected in particular ways. *Mudrā* forms the exclusive subject of chapter 43, while mantras of the main *mudrā*s are expounded in *BraYā* 26. *Mudrā*s of two distinct goddess pantheons are delineated in chapters 55–56; the former is called the *Mahākālamata* as well as *Mudrāpīṭhādhikāra* ("The Seat of Mudrās Section"). Several chapters and sections focus specifically upon *dhyāna*, meditation on the visual forms of the deities; note especially *BraYā* 8–9.

[125] Note also *BraYā* 52, a brief chapter explaining which meats should be offered in fire sacrifice for particular purposes.

[126] On the role of yoga in the *BraYā*, see HATLEY (*forthcoming* b).

Table 1.1: Principal topics of *Brahmayāmala, Ṣatka* I

PRINCIPAL TOPIC	CHAPTERS
Scriptural revelation	1 (*tantrāvatāra*), 39 (*srotranirṇaya*)
Mantra	2, 10–11, 23, 26
Pantheon worship (*yāga/yajana*)	3, 12–14, 17, 19, 25, 27–31
Cosmology (*prakriyā*)	32
Initiation and consecration	33–35, 37–38
Ascetic observances (*vrata*) and sexual practices	21–22, 24, 40
Disciplines of the *sādhaka*	45
Mortuary *sādhanas*	15, 46–48, 50
Various components of ritual	18 (*japa*), 20 (*agnikārya*), 42 (*nyāsa*), 43 (*mudrā*)
Various yogic techniques	8–9 (*dhyāna* & *lakṣabheda*), 36 (*nāḍīsañcāra*), 41 (*bindu*), 44 (*krīḍākarma*)
Rites using *yantras*	5, 7, 49
Icons and paraphernalia	4 (*pratiṣṭhā*), 6 (*pratimā*), 16 (*puṣpa*)

(*pratiṣṭhā*) of deity images and ritual paraphernalia (paṭala 4), the manipulation of two- and three-dimensional deity images (*yantras* and *pratimās*, respectively) for various results (5–7), and the same via visualization (8–9). Chapters 10–31 are diverse, but predominantly concern explication of the core and extended system of mantras, and worship of various mantra-deity configurations (*yāga*). *BraYā* 32–38 comprise a cycle of chapters on the subjects of initiation and consecration, including cosmology (*BraYā* 32). A majority of chapters in the range of 40–50 concern advanced ritual disciplines (*vrata*, *sādhana*), at the heart of which is a monumental treatise on *sādhakas* (*BraYā* 45, edited in volume II).

A detailed summary of chapters 1–25 is available in appendix 1 of *BraYā*, volume II (Kiss 2015: 315–36). Some idea of the text as a whole can be gleaned from MS. A's chapter colophons, provided in appendix A. For an overview of the structure of *BraYā*'s first half, see table 1.1, which groups chapters 1–50 based on their principal topics—necessarily involving simplification. For reasons explained subsequently, the *BraYā*'s eclectic second half (*Ṣatka* II, paṭalas 51–104) is more difficult to characterize and to present in tabular form. However, a sizeable number of its chapters, especially in the range of 54–85, expound the

Table 1.2: Forms of Bhairava in the *Brahmayāmala*

DEITY	CHAPTER
Kapālīśabhairava	*passim*
Vijaya-/Tripādabhairava	28
Manthānabhairava	46
Rurubhairava	54
Mahākāla	55
Kaṅkālabhairava	63
Phetkārabhairava	68
Picubhairava	69
Garttābhairava	70
Yāmalabhairava	72
Hairambhabhairava	77
Mahāmardakabhairava	78
Utphullakabhairava	85
Jhaṅkāra-/Ekapādabhairava	93

worship of deities only tenuously connected to the *BraYā*'s core pantheon based on the Nine-Syllable Vidyā. These include at least eleven forms of Bhairava (table 1.2) as well as multiple sets of *yoginī*s. Closer examination of the second half of the *BraYā* proves crucial to understanding the text's redactional process and possible textual strata.

1.7.1 On the twofold division of the *Brahmayāmala* into *ṣaṭka*s

The opening section of chapter fifty-one signals closure of one section of the text and announces a new set of topics. This passage (*BraYā* 51.1–13) recapitulates the subjects of several earlier chapters, after which the Goddess poses a new set of questions; these new questions in turn presage the subjects of subsequent chapters, up to and including *BraYā* 85 (on Utphullakabhairava). Chapter fifty-one's introduction refers for the first time to the *BraYā* as a text of two parts, although ambiguously. It may use the term *ṣaṭka* ("sextet") to refer to its two halves—thus designated because of consisting of approximately six-thousand verses, i.e. half of the *Dvādaśasāhasra* (*Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses*), one of

the principal names of the *BraYā*.[127]

The first part of this key passage (*BraYā* 51.1–7) presents several difficulties:

devy uvāca ||
śrutaṃ dvādaśasāhasraṃm evaṃ tu dviguṇaṃ vibho |
yantramantrasamopetaṃ karmaiś ca bahubhiś citam ||1||
sādhanārādhanair yuktaṃ mudrāmantrasamanvitam |
karmaiś ca vividhākāraiḥ sadyapratyayakārakaiḥ ||2||
śrutaṃ bhagavatā pūrvvaṃ mantraṃ mataprakāśakam |
navātmakavidhānañ ca navayāgasamanvitam ||3||
mudrāmaṇḍalamantraiś ca vratacaryāsamanvitam |
sādhanārādhanair yuktaṃ nānāguṇa-m-alaṃkṛtam ||4||
nikhilañ ca śrutaṃ śambho tatra karmāṇy anekaśaḥ |
idānīṃ daśasāhasre dvibhiś caraṇasaṃyute ||5||
ṣaṭke tu prathame deva khyātaṃ karmasahasrakam |
khecarīṇāñ ca sarvvāsāṃ bhūcarīṇāñ ca sādhanam ||6||
pratimālakṣaṇaṃ nātha pratiṣṭhā tadanantaram |
kalpasādhanakarmañ ca nānāvastusamanvitam ||7||

2a °ārādhanair] *corr.*; °ārādhanaiḥ **A** yuktaṃ] *em.*; yukta **A** 4c yuktaṃ] *em.*; yuktā **A** 5a idānīṃ] *em.*; idānī **A** 5b karmāṇy] *em.*; karmāny **A** anekaśaḥ] *conj.*; ake?tama? **A** °saṃyute] *conj.*; °saṃyutaiḥ **A** 6a prathame] *conj.*; prathamaṃ **A** 6c sarvvāsāṃ] *em.*; sarvvāsā **A**

"I have heard [that] the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* is thus twofold, O lord, possessing *yantras* and mantras, with numerous rituals, with *sādhanas* and rites of worship, together with *mudrās* and mantras, and with rituals of diverse kinds which produce immediate signs of success. I previously heard from the Lord the [Nine-Syllable] mantra which illuminates the *[Picu-]mata*, and the Procedure of Nine Syllables, together with the Nine Pantheons, *mudrās*, maṇḍalas, and mantras, along with the practice of ascetic observances, together with *sādhanas* and rites of worship, adorned with various good qualities. I have heard it entirely, O Śambhu; therein the rituals are manifoldly (?). Now, in the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand*, endowed with two feet, in the first sextet (*ṣaṭka*), O god, you have taught a chiliad of rituals: the *sādhana* of all aerial

[127] See §2.5.

> and terrestrial goddesses, the characteristics of images, followed by rites of installation, and *kalpas*, *sādhanas*, and rituals possesed of numerous worthy matters (*vastu*)."

The next six verses outline, in question form, a number of topics treated in the *BraYā*'s second half, including the "ocean of *yantras*" (*yantrārṇṇava*), the subject of the remainder of *BraYā* 51.

The hypothesis that this passage uses the term *ṣaṭka* to refer to two divisions of the *BraYā* rests upon the emendation of *prathamaṃ* ("first") in 6a to the locative *prathame*, agreeing with *ṣaṭke* (i.e. "in the first sextet"). Understanding *prathamam* as an adverb ("firstly") might also be possible, though this renders *ṣaṭke* unintelligible. Nowhere else does the *BraYā* use the term *ṣaṭka* in this sense, although another major Vidyāpīṭha text, the *Jayadrathayāmala*, explicitly divides itself into four *ṣaṭkas*. There can nevertheless be little doubt that this passage envisions the *BraYā* as twofold: 1ab refers to the *Dvādaśasāhasra* as being *dviguṇa*, "double," in the sense of "twofold;" and despite the odd Sanskrit and possible corruption, this is echoed by 5d's apparent reference to the *BraYā* possessing two feet (*dvibhiś caraṇasaṃyut[e]*, i.e. *dvicaraṇayute*[128]).

A new major section of the *BraYā* thus commences with chapter fifty-one. This marks the halfway-point chapter-wise, yet lies in actual verse count almost two-thirds into the text. While one might expect a degree of arbitrariness in the text's division, the two halves—for which I henceforth use the terms *Ṣaṭka* I and *Ṣaṭka* II—in fact have notable differences, as the ensuing discussion highlights. These may in fact roughly correspond to distinct textual strata. Virtually all integral facets of the *BraYā* and its ritual systems are taught within the first fifty chapters, from the primary mantra systems to initiation and consecration. On the other hand, *Ṣaṭka* II has a miscellaneous character, containing a large number of short, often untitled chapters, as well as quasi-independent texts of the *kalpa* genre devoted to deities often marginal to or absent from the *BraYā*'s core pantheon, as defined by the initiation maṇḍala of *BraYā* 3. It also contains several long, eclectic, and more or less self-contained chapters which arouse the suspicion of being later compositions, possibly even indendepent *tantras* subsequently redacted into the *BraYā*. Tellingly, *Ṣaṭka* II introduces new, complex codes for the derivation of mantra (*mantroddhāra*) unrelated to the simple methods of *Ṣaṭka* I. These are primarily the Arrow Chart (*nārācaprastāra*), explicated in *BraYā* 55 and used in numerous chapters of the range 51–86; and

[128] On the non-standard form *dvibhiḥ*, see Edgerton §19.4.

the Tortoise Chart (*kūrmaprastāra*) of *BraYā* 91. In addition, *Ṣaṭka* II contains material suggestive of second-order reflection and commentary, such as discussions of the meanings of the titles *"Brahmayāmala"* and *"Picumata."*[129] As I will propose in the subsequent sections, the *BraYā*'s second *ṣaṭka* is likely to have been formed, in part, through additions composed subsequent to *Ṣaṭka* I, and through adaptation of material from multiple sources, including earlier works of Śaiva and possibly even Buddhist literature.

1.7.2 Addendum Tantras: the *Uttaratantra* and *Uttarottaratantra*

Adding to *Ṣaṭka* II's heterogenous appearance, this contains two further sectional divisions. Chapter eighty-seven styles itself as the *Uttarādhikāra* ("Addendum Section") or *Uttaratantra* ("Addendum Tantra"), which continues through *BraYā* 90. This is followed, in chapter ninety-one, by the *Uttarottaratantra* ("Latter Addendum Tantra"), which apparently encompasses the remainder of the text.[130] The contents of the *Uttaratantra* and *Uttarottaratantra* are not intimated in the introduction to *BraYā* 51. Of all the material in the *BraYā*'s second half, these chapters arouse the greatest suspicion of being subsequent additions. The *Uttaratantra* opens in *BraYā* 87 by restating the topics of several preceding chapters of the second *ṣaṭka*; the Goddess then asks to be taught "an exposition on the Root Tantra, joining together in one place whatever has been said or unsaid."[131] Her question anticipates the topics of several remaining chapters, including material from both the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantras*.[132] This suggests that the latter two sections were composed as a single unit.

The structure of the *BraYā* thus appears fourfold: 1) the first fifty chapters, which represent the text's core material, thematically and perhaps also historically; 2) the section from chapters fifty-one to eighty-six, characterized by a

[129] See §2.1–2.

[130] Passages in several subsequent chapters make explicit that these belong to the *Uttarottaratantra*, e.g. *BraYā* 92.51e (*uttarottaratantre tu viśeṣan tava coditaṃ*) and *BraYā* 94.3cd (*saviśeṣam pravakṣyāmi tantre 'smiñ cottarottare*).

[131] *BraYā* 87.9c–9b: *samastaikatra yogena mūlatantravinirṇṇayaṃ* ||8|| *kathayasva prasādena uktānuktañ ca me prabho* |. This passage is quoted below in full (note 138).

[132] In particular, note the reference to "the conduct of *sādhakas*" (*sādhakānāṃ vṛttaṃ*, in 7a) in the list of future topics, which appears to intimate chapters 94–97; for some remarks on these chapters, which concern a fourfold classification of practitioners, see p. 112.

profusion of *kalpa*-texts devoted to deities beyond the core pantheon; 3) the *Uttaratantra* of chapters 87–90; and 4), the *Uttarottaratantra*, chapters 91–104, these latter two sections forming a closely connected unit. Although evidence for the *BraYā*'s use of the term is limited, the text may also be viewed as comprising two *ṣaṭka*s (groups of six-thousand verses) corresponding to chapters 1–50 and 51–104.

1.7.3 The problem of *sūtras*

Further complicating the issue of the *BraYā*'s structure, the closing verses of its final chapter make the additional claim that the text consists of five "*sūtras*." To quote *BraYā* 104.31–32:

> *brahmayāmalatantredaṃ lakṣapādādhikāgatam* |
> *śatakoṭyujjvalāt tantrāt sārāt sāratarottaram* ||31||
> *sthitaṃ dvādaśasāhasraṃ pañcasūtrojjvalaṃ matam* |
> *mayā te kathitam bhadre bhadrasiddhipradāyakam* ||32||

> 31b °pādādhikāgatam] *em.*; °pādādhikāṃ gataṃ **A**; °pādādhikāṃśataḥ *conj.* (Sanderson)   31c °koṭyujjvalāt] *em.* (Sanderson); °koṭyajvalā **A**

> "O good woman, I have taught you the *Brahmayāmalatantra*, which grants felicitous *siddhi*s, and emerged from the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand*. The *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* exists (*sthita*) as the highest essence of essences from the Tantra endowed with a billion [verses]. It is held to be (*-mata*) endowed with five *sūtras*" [alternatively: "it is the Doctrine Tantra (*-mata*) of Five Sūtras"].[133]

One might expect these *sūtra*s to be sections of the text, for the division into books called *sūtra*s has precedent in the venerable *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, which consists of a *Mūlasūtra*, *Uttarasūtra*, *Nayasūtra*, and *Guhyasūtra*, prefaced by a fifth section, the *Mukhāgama*. Each of these is further divided into chapters. In addition, the *Niśvāsakārikā*, which belongs to a somewhat later period and of which the *BraYā* had knowledge, declares itself to be the fifth *sūtra* of the

[133] The emendation *lakṣapādādhikāgatam* in 31b is supported by the colophon of the *Matasāra*, quoted in §2.6 (note 174). Alexis Sanderson's edition of these verses has been published in Goodall (1998: lxxiii–iv).

Niśvāsa.[134] The notion of the *BraYā* consisting of five *sūtras*, affirmed by the *Jayadrathayāmala*,[135] may thus be calqued on the *Niśvāsa* corpus.

How precisely the hundred and four chapters of the *BraYā* could be divided into five sections called *sūtra*s is never explicated. The text nonetheless contains multiple nebulous references to containing or consisting of *sūtras*,[136] and may refer to specific sections of the text as such. The expressions *mūlasūtra* and *pūrvasūtra* occur throughout the *BraYā*; the latter, however, occurs mainly in the fixed expression *pūrvasūtreṇa coditam*, which seems simply to mean "stated previously."[137] On the other hand, *mūlasūtra* might refer to a specific section of the text, although no part of the *BraYā* identifies itself as such.

The passage most explicitly identifying sections of the *BraYā* as *sūtra*s occurs in the opening of *BraYā* 87, the beginning of the *Uttaratantra*. Here, as mentioned earlier, the Goddess asks for "an exposition on the Root Tantra" (*mūlatantravinirṇaya*). In recapitulating preceding subjects, this passage (*BraYā* 87.1–11) contrasts a *mūlasūtra*-section (= root tantra?) with at least two other text sections:

> *devy uvāca* ||
> *mūlasūtravibhāgan tu uttaraṃ vinayātmakam* |
> *kalpaskandhavidhānan tu śāsanan tu yathā sthitam* ||1||
> *kathitaṃ saṅgrahaṃ sūtraṃ kulakālaṛtūjvalam* |
> *mahāmaṇḍalayāgan tu tantre 'smiṅ kathitaṃ tvayā* ||2||[138]

Some sense can be made of this obscure passage: *mūlasūtra* must refer to some

[134] On the *Niśvāsakārikā*, see Goodall et al. (2015: 23–27) and Sanderson (2006: 152–53). On the *BraYā*'s likely knowledge of the *Dīkṣottara* section of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, see below (§1.9.1).

[135] *Jayadrathayāmala* II, 2.24cd refers to the *BraYā* as "The Doctrine Tantra of Five Sūtras" (*pañcasūtrojvalamate yā sā pūrvaṃ prakāśitā*); see below as well (p. 57).

[136] Note, e.g., *BraYā* 60.77: *ucchuṣmasambhavaṃ tantraṃ devyāś* [corr.; *devyā* A] *cocchuṣmasambhavāḥ* | *tvayoktaṃ tu mahādeva sūtrādibhi maheśvara* || ("O Mahādeva, through *sūtras* and so forth, you have taught the *tantra* arising from Ucchuṣmabhairava, and the goddesses arising from Ucchuṣmabhairava, O Maheśvara").

[137] Note for instance the opening verse of *BraYā* 13: *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi pūrvvasūtreṇa coditāḥ* [em.; *coditā* A] | *navayāgā mahādevi tan me nigadataḥ* [em.; *nigaditaḥ* A] *śṛṇu* || ("Hereafter, I shall teach the Nine Pantheons indicated previously [*pūrvasūtreṇa coditāḥ*], O Great Goddess; listen while I explain this"). The Nine Pantheons—the subject of *BraYā* 13—were first listed without elaboration in *BraYā* 3.2–4, to which the present verse probably refers.

[138] The passage continues as follows (*BraYā* 87.3–11), partly lacunose on account of damage to A. The text and interpretation of this passage—presented "as is"—are doubtful in several instances:

core portion of the first half of the text, whether the entire first *ṣaṭka* or a smaller unit thereof.[139] It is unclear how many different sections the remainder of the passage was intended to demarcate; possibly as many as four: the *Uttara[sūtra]* ("Addendum Sūtra"), *Vinaya[sūtra]*, *Kalpaskandhavidhāna* ("Rites of the Collection of Mantra-manuals"), and *Saṅgrahasūtra* ("Digest Sūtra"). However, *uttaraṃ* in 1b might be adverbial ("subsequently," i.e. following the *mūlasūtra*) or modify *vinayātmakam*, either or both of which could agree with *kalpaskandhavidhānaṃ* (1c). If *uttaraṃ* refers to a text section, this is presumably the *Uttara-* and perhaps *Uttarottaratantra*s. It is conceivable that the *Vinayasūtra* is *BraYā* 63, for this chapter once appears to call itself "the *vinaya*."[140] This title may be based on that of the *Nayasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*. If *kalpaskandhavidhāna* (corrupt for *-vibhāga*?) specifies a text section, this should refer to the numerous mantra-manuals (*kalpa*s) included among *BraYā* 54–85. As for *saṅgrahasūtra*, this is surely *BraYā* 62, a remarkably self-contained treatise called the *Tilaka* or

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vaśuyogavi⟨vikt⟩ — ⏓ / ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ |
⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — *⟨hi⟩ tantre 'smiñ cottare vibho* ||3||
viśvacakrasuśobhāḍhyañ cārodayasamanvitam |
yogimātṛgaṇopetaṃ yāgañ ca picusambhavam ||4||
mantroddhārañ ca deveśa sarvvāvaraṇasaṃyutam |
saṃkṣiptatarayogena yogasadbhāvalakṣaṇam ||5||
saṅgrahārthavibhāgena samayā ye viśeṣagā |
caravas tu yathā proktā ṛtujaṃ kusumāmṛtam ||6||
sādhakānān tathā vṛttañ ca⟨ṣ⟩ – ā⟨sthā ṣaṭkasādhanam |
dīkṣāśeṣavidhānan tu sarvvatomukham eva ca ||7||
yāgakṣettreśvarāṇāñ ca navayāgarasādhanam |
samastaikatra yogena mūlatantravinirṇṇayam ||8||
kathayasva prasādena uktānuktañ ca me prabho |
bhairava uvāca ||
mūlasūtrādikānān tu kramaṃ sādhanalakṣaṇam ||9||
durlabhaṃ ttriṣu +lokeṣu+ samayācārapālanam |
yāgaṃ vidhis tathā jñānañ cakraṃ yogañ ca sobhanam ||10||
kathayāmi mahādevi yat tvayā coditaṃ balam |

[139]Problematizing the possibility that *mūlasūtra* refers to all of *Ṣaṭka* I (*paṭala*s 1–50), the phrase *mūlasūtra* occurs in *BraYā* 34.77ab: *pūrvvāsanaṃ mahādevi mūlasūtreṇa coditaṃ*. This probably means, "[one must prepare] the aforementioned deity-seat (*āsana*), as taught by the Root Section (*mūlasūtra*), O Mahādevī." Also, in 38.4b (*mūlatantre pracoditaṃ*) the expression *mūlatantra* may be synonymous with *mūlasūtra*, although this is not its usual meaning (as discussed in §2.4).

[140]*BraYā* 63.64d: *vinaye 'smiṃ mahātmane*. But perhaps *vinaye* is corrupt for *vimale*; see §2.6.

Saṃgrahatantra, discussed in some detail below (§1.7.4).

While the *BraYā* certainly contains multiple sections, the notion that it consists of *sūtra*s appears contrived, and perhaps belongs to a late phase of its redaction. Indeed, references to the *BraYā* consisting of *sūtra*s belong to the concluding sections of the text, probably its final textual stratum. Moreover, there can be little certainly concerning the names and intended demarcation of the five *sūtra*s envisioned in the *BraYā*'s final verses (104.31–32). Two factors might have contributed to this conception: a smattering of vague references in the text to *sūtra*s, and the *sūtra* model of the *Niśvāsa* corpus. More specifically, the latter could have led some redactors to an unlikely interpretation of the former. In turn, the statement in *BraYā* 104 that the text consists of five *sūtra*s appears to have stimulated further speculation within the tradition, for such is evident in the *Jayadrathayāmala*. As notes SANDERSON, chapter forty-four of the latter's first *ṣaṭka*, called the *Brahmayāmalanirṇaya* ("An Exposition on the *Brahmayāmala*"), claims that texts of the *Brahmayāmala* cycle contain five *sūtra*s: a *mūla-*, *guhya-*, *naya-*, *uttara-*, and *uttarottarasūtra*.[141] This appears to be an attempt to reconcile several things: the claim that the *BraYā* consists of five *sūtra*s, the five-*sūtra* model of the *Niśvāsa* corpus, and the actual sectional divisions of the *BraYā*—for unlike the *Niśvāsa*, the *BraYā* possesses both an *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantra/sūtra*. It is possible that the *BraYā*'s *vinaya* section was in this schema considered analogous to the *Niśvāsa*'s *Nayasūtra*. The *Jayadrathayāmala* does not, however, conceive of the *BraYā*'s *sūtra*s strictly as sections: on the contrary, it describes the *mūlasūtra*, for instance, as the words *"athātaḥ,"* with which begin many of the *BraYā*'s chapters and sections, while the *guhyasūtra* is said to consist of teachings on secret matters, such as the yogic body's channels and the clans of *yoginī*s.[142]

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[141] Concerning the *BraYā*'s purported division into *sūtra*s, and the elaboration of this in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, SANDERSON expresses the following opinion (quoted in GOODALL 1998: lxxiii–iv): "in the case of the BY the schema of the five sūtras has nothing to do with the sequence of sections seen in the Niśvāsa. For it has no sequential divisions other than its paṭalas. It seems, therefore, that the JY understands the sūtras to be five classes of teaching within the otherwise unitary Tantra, in the same way that it claims to have four Pādas, though it lacks a corresponding division into a sequence of four parts bearing their names." This assessment of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s understanding of the *BraYā*'s *sūtra*s is convincing; as discussed, however, the *BraYā* does contain several divisions, beyond its division into chapters.

[142] *Jayadrathayāmala* I, 44 (Viśvabhāratī codex, folio unnumbered):

> *athātaḥ śabdamūlaṃ tu sarvatantrārthasūcakam |*
> *tat mūlaṃ svalpasūtraṃ ca guhyaṃ guhyavivecakam |*

1.7.4 Has the *Brahmayāmala* incorporated independent *tantras*?

Several chapters of the second half of the *BraYā* appear remarkably self-contained. This is in part because a number belong to the *kalpa* genre: treatises setting out the practices of mantra-propitiation connected with a particular deity, many of whom do not feature in the *BraYā*'s core pantheon. However, at least two lengthy chapters arouse the suspicion of being independent or at least quasi-independent *tantras* subsequently redacted into the *BraYā*. This is a phenomenon attested, for instance, in case of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, a Vidyāpīṭha scripture even more extensive than the *BraYā*.[143] The two chapters in question are *BraYā* 62, the *Tilakatantra*; and *BraYā* 85, the *Utphullakamata*. Both of these titles match those of texts quoted by Abhinavagupta.

The *Utphullakamata*, *Utphullakatantra*, or *Utphullādhikāra*,[144] a chapter

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nirācārāvadhūtārthaṃ nāḍīnāḍigatiḥ kramāt |
bindubījakalāyoganavayāgavivecakam |
mantrajīvāmṛtākarṣayoginīkulakīrttitam |
guhyasūtraṃ tad uddiṣṭaṃ bāhyādhyātmārthavācakam |

°gatiḥ kramāt] *em.*; °gatikramāt *cod.* °navayāga°] *em.*; °vayāga° *cod.*

"*athātaḥ* is the root of speech, indicating the meaning of all *tantras*; and it is the very pithy *mūlasūtra*. *Guhya* indicates secrets: the meanings of 'beyond regulation' (*nirācāra*) and 'unblemished' (*avadhūta*), the channels [of the subtle body] and movements of the channels, in sequence; it [also] indicates *bindu*, *bīja*-mantras, the *kalā*s, yoga, and the Nine Pantheons; [it is that] by which are proclaimed mantra, extraction of the nectar of living beings, and the clans of *yoginī*s. This is called *Guhyasūtra*, expressing [both] external and internal meanings."

This chapter of the *Jayadrathayāmala* makes the additional claim that the *BraYā* contains seven *sūtras*, from which derive eight *Matatantras*:

brahmayāmalam etad dhi sūtrair bhinnaṃ tu saptabhiḥ |
saptamaṃ ca dvidhā bhinnaṃ ato jñeyaṃ matāṣṭakam |

"For the *Brahmayāmala* is divided according to seven *sūtras*, and the seventh is divided in two; because of this the *Matatantras* are known as an octad."

Codex of Viśvabhāratī University (Manuscript Division, Department of Sanskrit). This is a Devanāgarī-script paper manuscript of Nepalese provenance, written on twenty-six folios and containing chapters 35–42 of *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* I. Cf. the discussion of the Viśvabhāratī codex of the *BraYā* in §1.4.1.

[143] See note 184 below.

[144] The title *Utphullakamata* is first intimated in *BraYā* 51.9d, in a list of topics to be addressed

of roughly 195 verses, teaches practices connected with the deity Utphullakabhairava and the nine-syllable *utphullakamantra*, which mirrors the *BraYā*'s Nine-Syllable Vidyā. Sanderson (1981) first suggested the intriguing possibility that this chapter derives from an independent *tantra* by this name. A text entitled *Utphullakamata* is listed in the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* as the seventh of eight *Matatantra*s, a list which includes two other texts closely related to the *BraYā*: the *Raktāmata*, named after the first of the *BraYā*'s Four Devīs; and the extant *Piṅgalāmata*, which, as discussed below, ascribes its origin to the *Brahmayāmala*.[145] A related list of *Mata*s in the *Jayadrathayāmala* includes all three of these texts, and identifies them as divisions of the *Brahmayāmala*.[146] No quotations of the *Utphullakamata* appear to survive, and only one outside reference reveals anything about its contents. In *Tantrāloka* 29.166a, Abhinavagupta cites the *Utphulla*, identified by the commentator as the *Utphullakamata*, alongside scriptures such as the *Śrīsiddhā* (= *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*) and the lost *Nirmaryādatantra* ("The Tantra of No Constraints"), as sources for the erotic *ādiyāga* initiation—the subject of *Tantrāloka* 29. This does not establish a clear link to the *Utphullatamata* preserved as *BraYā* 85, which describes no such rit-

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in *Ṣaṭka* II; two references to this title occur within chapter 85 itself (11d and 17b). In addition, the chapter calls itself the *Utphullakatantra* in its opening verse (*ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi tantramm utphullakaṃ param*, 1ab), while its colophon gives the name *Utphullādhikāra* ("Section on Utphulla[ka]"). Paṭala 70 of the *BraYāSāra* contains a short redaction of what it calls the *Utphullakatantra*.

[145] *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā*, as quoted by Jayaratha commenting on *Tantrāloka* 1.18. The verses listing eight *Matatantra*s appear to be absent from the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* transcription of Hanneder (1998).

[146] *Jayadrathayāmala*, I, 40.163–165, as edited and translated by Sanderson (2007b: 249 [n. 54]):

> *tad ekaṃ saptadhā bhinnaṃ brahmākhyaṃ śrāvakecchayā |*
> *raktādyaṃ pecikādyaṃ ca sṛgālīmatam eva ca |*
> *śāmbaraṃ nīlakeśākhyaṃ bhāruṇḍākhyaṃ ca piṅgalam |*
> *śambaraṃ tu dvidhā bhinnaṃ bhedenotphullakena tu |*
> *evam etāni cāṣṭau ca matāni kathitāni tu |*
> *vistīrṇāni kuraṅgākṣi tantre 'smin brahmayāmale |*
>
> "This one *Brahma[yāmala]* has divided into seven to meet the wishes of those to whom it was to be taught: *Raktāmata*, *Pecikāmata*, *Sṛgālīmata*/*Pherāmata*, *Śambarāmata*, *Nīlakeśīmata*, *Bhāruṇḍāmata*/*Bhāruḍīmata*, and *Piṅgalāmata*, together with the *Utphullakamata* (for the *Śambarāmata* has this as one of its two divisions). Thus, O doe-eyed one, I have told you the eight extensive Mata texts that are within this Tantra *Brahmayāmala*."

ual. (Neither, for that matter, does the extant *Siddhayogeśvarīmata.*)

Given this paucity of evidence, it is difficult to ascertain how the *BraYā*'s *Utphullakamata* relates to the text which circulated independently by this title. In favour of their identity, the *BraYā*'s *Utphullakamata* forms a self-contained unit with multiple subdivisions, and would make for a reasonably plausible *tantra*. Indeed, its opening half-verse announces itself as such: "Next I will teach the ultimate *tantra*, the *Utphullaka*" (*ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi tantram utphullakaṃ paraṃ*). Its elaborate "Wheel of the Nine-syllable Mantra" (*navātmaka cakra*) contains astrological elements unique among the *BraYā*'s chapters, supporting the possibility of an independent origin.[147] At the same time, in the form transmitted, the chapter clearly identifies itself as part of the *BraYā*,[148] contains no blatant traces of an independent origin, and lacks a key element attributed to it by Abhinavagupta, suggesting a potentially complex history.

Chapter sixty-two of the *BraYā* possesses several titles: *Tilaka* (perhaps, "[Tantra] of the [Magical] Bindi"),[149] *Saṅgrahatantra* or *Saṅgrahasūtra* ["The Digest Tantra/Sūtra"), and *[Saṅgraha]sūtrādhikārapaṭala*.[150] About two-hundred and seventy-seven verses long, this chapter represents itself as the essence (*sāra*) of the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala*,[151] while nonetheless introducing

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[147] This elaborate *cakra*, featuring Utphullakabhairava in a circle of four *devī*s and four *dūtī*s—hence mirroring Kapālīśa's maṇḍala—includes representations of the signs of the zodiac (*rāśi*), calendrical dates (*tithi*), constellations (*nakṣattra*), and planetary conjunctions (*yoga*) in syllabic form.

[148] Reference to "the *Brahmayāmala*" occurs, for instance, in 85.101cd (*lakṣapādādhike khyātaṃ viśeṣād brahmayāmale*).

[149] The significance of this title word is ambiguous. Application of magical bindis (*tilaka*) is the focus of only one brief section of the chapter (237c–49), which might nonetheless be the source of its name. Less probable, the title could be connected to the term *tilakā*, used as an epithet of the supreme Śakti in another chapter, *BraYā* 58.12 (*tilakākhyā mahāśakti jñānarūpā manonmanī | sā śivā śivasaṃyuktā aghorī ghoranāśanī ||*). *Tilaka* might instead be intended in the sense of "decorative forehead dot" (bindi)—the chapter therefore being a "decorative ornament" to the *BraYā*, which it claims to synthesize. Cf. the title *Śāradātilaka[tantra]*—"The Ornament of Śāradā Tantra."

[150] The title *"Sūtrādhikārapaṭala"* is given in the chapter colophon, while *"Saṅgrahatantra"* occurs in 145ab (*tad atra saṃgrahe tantre saṃkṣiptara ucyate*). In a synopsis in the opening verses of *BraYā* 87, the chapter is referred to as the *"Saṅgrahasūtra"* (*kathitaṃ saṅgrahaṃ sūtraṃ*, 2a). The colophonal title, *Sūtrādhikārapaṭala*, seems likely to be an abbreviation of *Saṃgrahasūtrādhikārapaṭala* ("Chapter of the Digest Sūtra Section").

[151] See for instance *BraYā* 62.6–9ab:

> *bhairava uvāca ||*
> *sādhu sādhu mahābhāge jñānavijñānasampadam |*

novel material.[152] The Goddess opens her questions by asserting that she has already heard the *Yāmalatantra*,[153] while other passages too draw a distinction between the *Tilaka* and the *Picumata* or *BraYā*, clear indications of the independence of this section.[154] Consistant with its self-identification as the "essence" (*sāra*) and "digest" (*saṅgraha*) of the *BraYā*, the *Tilaka* has the appearance of a

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saṃgrahārthaviśeṣaṃ tu kathayāmi tavākhilam ||6||
jñāte picumate tantre daśa dve ca sahasrake |
tatra sthitam mahādevi śaktijñānamahodayam ||7||
tantrasya sārabhūtaṃ tu tad atra tilakaṃ matam |
ye na jānanti tantrajñās te bhramanti viḍambakāḥ ||8||
kāryasiddhiṃ na paśyanti na ca yānti parāṃ gatim |

6b °sampadam] *em.*; °sampado **A** 7c sthitaṃ] *em.*; sthita **A**

"Bhairava spoke: 'Excellent, O fortunate woman, excellent. I shall teach you a special digest treatise (? *saṅgrahārtha*) in its entirety, replete with wisdom and knowledge. When the *Picumatatantra*, the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand [Verses]*, has been learnt, therein lies a treasure of knowledge of the Śakti, O Great Goddess, the essence of the *tantra*—known here as this *Tilaka*. Those who do not know [this] wander about as impostors, [even if they] know [other] *tantra*s. They do not see the fruition of their rites, nor do they attain to the highest goal'."

(On the possible use of the term *artha* as "treatise" or *tantra*, see the annotation to the translation of *BraYā* 1.65.) Compare also verses 250–51:

jñātvā picumataṃ tantraṃ tilakaṃ cāpy apaścimam |
palālam iva dhānyārthī tyajet mantrām aśeṣataḥ ||250||
mūlatantrārthasadbhāvaṃ samastīkṛtalakṣaṇam |
saṃkṣepavistaraṃ jñātvā tato mantrī prasidhyati ||251||

251a °sadbhāvaṃ] *conj.*; °sa⟨ – aṃ⟩ **A**

"After learning the *Picumatatantra*, and the *Tilaka* as well, which has nothing afterwards (? *apaścimam*), one should give up [all other] mantras entirely, like a vegetarian [would give up] meat. After learning the essence of the meaning of the Root Tantra, with [all] its characteristics brought together [in the *Tilaka*], both in abbreviation and at length, the *mantrin* then attains *siddhi*."

For *tilakaṃ cāpy apaścimam* (250b), perhaps read *tilakaṃ cāpi paścimam*, "and finally the *Tilaka* as well." This passage is echoed by 87.222, the present chapter's epigram.

[152] A striking example is the introduction of the *navātmamantra*, a ninefold mantra-pantheon characteristic of the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, which *BraYā* 62 appears directly or indirectly to draw upon. See the discussion below (§1.9.1).

[153] *BraYā* 62.1a–c: *ṛtumatī mahādevī bhairavī vākyam abravīt* | *prāk [ś]rutvā yāmalaṃ tantraṃ* ("The menstruating Great Goddess, Bhairavī, spoke the following words: 'having earlier heard the *Yāmalatantra*, …' ").

[154] See verses 7–8 and 250, quoted above (note 151), and verse 35:

self-contained treatise, containing concise accounts of topics spanning initiation and the initiatory vows (*samaya*), a mantra-system (*mantroddhāra*) and its associated maṇḍala and worship, substances and objects used in ritual, yoga, and more. By all appearances, the *Tilakatantra* was composed subsequent to the core materials of *BraYā*, *Ṣaṭka* I, which it synthesizes and augments selectively; it may even have circulated as an independent *tantra* prior to its inclusion among the eclectic chapters of *Ṣaṭka* II. A *Tilakatantra* in fact figures in lists of scriptures in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā*, intimating the existence of a *tantra* by this title distinct from the *BraYā*.[155] As with the *BraYā*'s *Utphullakamata*, the grounds are weak for identifying the *BraYā*'s *Tilakatantra* with the *Śrītilakaśāstra* cited by Abhinavagupta.[156] Whether it was originally

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naimittike ca deveśe caravo yāgasaṅgatāḥ |
yāmale tu purā siddhā[s] tilake prakaṭīkṛtāḥ ||35||

"And the food offerings connected with the [Nine] Pantheons in the occasional rites, established earlier in the *Yāmalatantra*, have been made explicit [here] in the *Tilaka*."

[155] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.16d, and *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* 223, 245–246 (numbering as per the manuscript transcription by Hanneder [1998]); the latter two lacunose verses refer to a *Vidyātilaka* and *Bhairavatilaka*, suggesting that *Tilakatantra*s comprised a scriptural genre, like the *Yāmala*s and *Mata*s.

[156] In the *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, Abhinavagupta attributes to the *Śrītilakaśāstra* the idea that assiduous practice of the "nondual" rites of heroes causes one's *glāni* ("lassitude," or here perhaps "inhibition") to vanish suddenly, effecting the merger of individual identity (*āveśa*) into the heart of Bhairava. After quoting the *pratīka* of *Spandakārikā* 3.8 (*glānir vilumpikā dehe*), he remarks, *seyaṃ yadā jhaṭiti vigalitā bhavati tadā nirastapāśavayantraṇākalaṅko bhairavahṛdayānupraviṣṭo bhavatīti sarvathaitadabhyāse yatitavyam* | *śrītilakaśāstre 'yaṃ bhāvaḥ* | ("When this very [*glāni*] suddenly dissolves, then, being one who has cast off the blemish that is the bound soul's limitation, he becomes merged into the heart of Bhairava. One must hence in every respect endeavor in this practice [of the *ādiyāga*]. This is the idea in the *Śrītilakaśāstra*"). *BraYā* 62 enjoins one to perform ritual with a "nondual" mental disposition, but no particular statement correlates closely with the idea and phrasing Abhinavagupta attributes to the *Tilakatantra*. Note for instance *BraYā* 62.26-27ab:

kulasiddhiprasidhyartham devīnāṃ agrataḥ sthitaḥ |
advaitabhāvasampannaś carukarmaṇy aśaṅkitaḥ ||26 ||
tena prāśitamātreṇa khecarīsiddhim āpnuyāt |

26b agrataḥ] *corr.*; agrata **A** °sampannaś] *em.*; °sampanna **A** 26d karmaṇy] *em.*; karmaṃny **A** aśaṅkitaḥ] *corr.*; asaṃkitaḥ **A** 27a prāśita°] prāsita° **A**

"For the sake of attaining the clan *siddhi*s, [one should remain] standing before the goddesses in a state of nonduality, without apprehension about the rites

an independent supplement to or an integral part of the *BraYā*, the *Tilaka* is deeply anchored in its root text, as is illustrated by its focus upon such characteristic topics as the Nine Pantheons and the *smaraṇa*-mantra.[157] Moreover, as transmitted, *BraYā* 62 has links to the preceding chapter, which suggests that they were likely redacted together.[158]

Evidence for the independent existence of the *BraYā*'s *Utphullakamata* and *Saṃgrahasūtra* is hence tenuous; it cannot be said with any certainty that the *BraYā* incorporated these or other *tantras*.[159] Nevertheless, internal evidence from both chapters, especially *BraYā* 62, supports the view that the *BraYā* came to include new material in the course of its transmission, and is thus a text of multiple strata. Similarly, another chapter which arouses suspicion of having been an independent treatise is *BraYā* 55, the *Mahākālamata* ("Doctrine of Mahākāla") or *Mudrāpīṭhādhikāra* ("The Seat of Mudrās Section").[160] The former title matches that of a scripture mentioned by Bāṇa in the early seventh century, though little beyond this links the texts.[161] Especially in its system of mantra, this chapter has close connections to those that precede and follow, chapters 54–59 forming a discrete section of the *BraYā* dedicated mainly to *yoginī* pantheons. Conceivably, this entire block of chapters could have been incorporated from another source, as is likely the case with *BraYā* 64–65 (discussed in §1.9.4).

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with [impure] gruel; by the mere consumption of this, one would obtain the *siddhi* of the flying *yoginī*s (*khecarī*)."

[157] On the *BraYā*'s Nine Pantheons (*yāga*), associated with the nine principal deities, see KISS (2015: 16–18); on the *smaraṇa*-mantra (HŪṂ), see §2.3.

[158] The closing verse of *BraYā* 61 states, "Thus spoken to by the great Bhairava, her mind intent upon the Digest Treatise, she will [next] entreat Hara [concerning this]" (*BraYā* 61.20c–f: *evoktā tu mahādevī bhairaveṇa mahātmanā | saṃgrahārthodyatamanā* [em.; °*mano* A] *haraṃ vijñāpayiṣyati* ||). This is picked up in the opening section of *BraYā* 62, quoted in part above (note 151). Also linking the two chapters is their preoccupation with two obscure technical terms, *ṛtukāla* and *nīlasūtra*.

[159] Another possibility is that either or both of these texts, though composed as part of the *BraYā*, subsequently circulated independently, perhaps being significantly reworked in the process.

[160] The colophon of *BraYā* 55 provides the chapter title *Mudrāpīṭhādhikāra* ("The Seat of Mudrās Section"), while verse 11cd gives this as *Mahākālamata* (*mahākālamataṃ hy etad yat surai[ḥ] paripūjitam*).

[161] The 'Dravidian' ascetic of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is described as "one by whom the *Mahākālamata* had been copied, as instructed by an old Mahāpāśupata" (*jīrṇamahāpāśupatopadeśalikhitamahākālamatena*). See SANDERSON (2001: 13); HATLEY (2007: 73–82).

1.7.5 Redactional discontinuities and textual strata

The evidence reviewed above concerning the structure of the *BraYā* provides some indication that this is a heterogenous text which incorporated new material over time. A number of discrepencies in the *BraYā*'s content also suggest redactional discontinuity. One of these, elucidated below (§1.9.3) in discussing the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvara*'s debt to the *BraYā*, concerns typologies of the *sādhaka*: while a threefold classification of the *sādhaka* is presupposed in the earlier chapters, especially *BraYā* 24–45, the *Addendum Tantra*s explicate a fourfold typology that appears to be a subsequent innovation.[162] Such development seems evident in the area of yoga as well, with the *BraYā*'s latter chapters introducing novel teachings which may belong to a later period.[163] Some other discrepancies suggest heterogeneity but not necessarily historical development. For instance, the *BraYā* has two chapters—56 and 74—treating the subject of *chommā*, coded communication by means of verbal and non-verbal signs. Strikingly, these chapters overlap in ritual context and in many particulars, but give no indication of belonging to the same system.[164] As mentioned earlier, *Ṣaṭka* II also introduces systems of mantra-derivation alien to the first fifty chapters. These kinds of heterogeneity may in some cases indicate redactors separated in time, while in other cases suggest the integration of disparate sources.

Important to the question of the *BraYā*'s stratification is the conception of the text containing twelve-thousand verses—hence its epithet, *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand*. This idea first appears in the opening of the revelation narrative (*BraYā* 1.2–3d), and features prominently in the text's self-representation, as explored in §2.5. As it comes down to us, the *BraYā* actually consists of upwards of thirteen-thousand verses.[165] Of these, a little less than eight thousand belong to *Ṣaṭka* I, while chapters 51–86 of *Ṣaṭka* II contain three thousand and a few hundred; sixteen-hundred odd verses comprise the

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[162] On the threefold classification of *sādhaka*s (as *carubhojin*, *miśraka*, and *tālaka*) explicated in *BraYā* 45, see KISS (2015: 35–55). A fourfold *sādhaka* typology features primarily in *BraYā* 87–97 of the *Addendum Tantras*. However, the closing verses of *BraYā* 75 first intimate this typology, making reference to the practitioners called *ārādhaka* and *sarvātman* (*ārādhakas tu deveśe sarvaiḥ sarvātmaka[ḥ] smṛtaḥ*, 211ab).

[163] For initial observations on this complex issue, see HATLEY (*forthcoming* b).

[164] In particular, *BraYā* 56.101–37 and 74.16–40 overlap considerably; the *chommā*s of these sections often involve similar secret signs made in similar contexts, for which distinct ritual meanings are nonetheless provided. Critical editions and analyses of these chapters will be provided in *Brahmayāmala*, volume III (for provisional drafts, see HATLEY 2007).

[165] See §2.5.

Addendum Tantras (*BraYā* 87–104). The notion of the text consisting of 12,000 verses thus presupposes the existence of the entire first *ṣaṭka* and at least most of *Ṣaṭka* II. On the other hand, the brevity of the *Addendum Tantras*—eighteen chapters, but only sixteen-hundred odd verses—in no way rules out the possibility that these were added subsequently. It should also be noted that, aside from *BraYā* 1 and chapter colophons, the idea that the *BraYā* contains 12,000 verses is not mentioned in *Ṣaṭka* I, and could conceivably have been absent from text's earliest stratum.

Although this could prove premature, I will at this point propose a working hypothesis on the text's development. Broadly speaking, the text's primary sections represent consecutive strata in its development: the core of the old text consists of most of *BraYā* 1–50, to which, in the next stage, materials extending through *BraYā* 86 were added. The final stage of redaction is probably represented by the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantras*, chapters 87–104. Simplistic though this may seem, the text appears to have grown in part through cumulative addition, more or less in sequence, perhaps along the lines of the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*.[166]

To be more specific, I would propose that in an early phase, the text consisted mainly of the first *ṣaṭka*, minus much of chapter 1, perhaps ending with what is now *BraYā* 46, "[Chapter of the Rite of] the Great Churning" (*Mahāmanthāna*). This chapter possesses an unusually lengthy conclusion which, after lauding its eponymous rite,[167] segues into a passage which gives the appearance of ending the text. Its final words are, "The *Method of Nine Syllables* (*Navākṣaravidhāna*), which emerged forth from the *Mahābhairavatantra*, has been spoken" (*kathitan navākṣaravidhānan tu mahābhairavanirgatam*). *Navākṣaravidhāna* is one of the principal titular epithets of the *BraYā*,[168] which this statement seems intended to conclude. I quote the passage in full (*BraYā* 46.124–30):

> *pūrvvam eva mayākhyātam ucchuṣmottarabhairave* |
> *mahāmanthānavidhānaṃ vistareṇa yaśasvini* ||124||
> *saṃkṣiptaṃ tantrasadbhāvaṃ sarahasyasamuccayam* |
> *dadhno ghṛtam ivoddhṛtya sārāt sārataraṃ śubham* ||125||
> *na deyaṃ pāpaśīlāya krūrāya na śaṭhāya ca* |

[166] On the strata of the *Guhyasūtra*, see Goodall (*forthcoming*).
[167] On the 'rite of the great churning,' see §4.3.2, and also Törzsök (2011: 360; 2013).
[168] As analysed in the next chapter (§2.3).

piśunāya na dhūrttāya na caivāpriyavādine ||126||
avratasya na dātavyaṃ pañcamudrāvivarjite |
aparīkṣye na dātavyaṃ dātāro narakaṃ vrajet ||127||
aprakāśyam anirddeśyaṃ sugopyaṃ prāṇavad budhaiḥ |
atha kiṃ bahunoktena tantrasāraṃ vadāmy ahaṃ ||128||
yāvan na dīkṣayed devi asmin tantre tu deśikaḥ |
tāvan na dāpayed vidyāṃ guravasyāpi śobhane ||129||
rakṣitavyaṃ prayatnena gūḍhaṃ śaṃsanti raśmayaḥ |
gopitavyaṃ prayatnena yadicchej[169] *jīvituṃ naraḥ* |
kathitan navākṣaravidhānan tu mahābhairavanirgatam ||130||

125b sarahasya°] *em.*; sarahasyaṃ **A** 125c dadhno] *em.* (Kiss); dadhnā **A** 125c ghṛtam ivoddhṛtya] *em.*; ghṛtavivodhṛtya **A** 127c aparīkṣye] *em.*; aparīkṣyā **A** 129b deśikaḥ] *corr.*; desikaḥ **A** 129d śobhane] *corr.*; sobhane **A** 130b śaṃsanti] *conj.*;[170] saṃrakti **A** 130b raśmayaḥ] *corr.*; rasmayaḥ **A**

"Previously, I had taught the Rite of the Great Churning at length in the *Ucchuṣmottarabhairava*, O woman of renown. The essence of [that] *tantra*, along with its collected secrets, [is here] abbreviated. [This] auspicious essence of essences has been extracted like ghee from yoghurt. It should not be given to someone of sinful conduct, or someone cruel, hateful, or deceitful, nor to a back-biter, rogue, or one of unpleasant speech. It should not be given to someone not observing the [Great] Vow, devoid of the Five Insignia. It should not be given to someone untested; the giver would go to hell. This must not be revealed, must not be expounded. The wise must protect it like their very lives. What more could be said? I speak the essence of the *tantras*. As long as an officiant has not initiated someone into this *tantra*, O goddess, he should not bestow [on him] the Vidyā [of Nine Syllables], even to [another] guru, O beautiful woman. [This *tantra*] must be protected carefully, (¿) [for] the Rays [of *śakti*] extol [this] secret (?).

[169] I.e. *yady icchet*. This ungrammatical expression occurs nine times in the *BraYā*—e.g. 3.207cd, *gūhitatavyaṃ prayatnena yadicche dīrgha jīvituṃ*. In this case note also the loss of the final *-d* of the optative (see p. 30 above), and the adverbial use of the stem form *dīrgha*.

[170] Cf. *BraYā* 14.70a–c: *gūhitavyaṃ prayatnena gūḍhaṃ śaṃśanti rasmayaḥ* | *yoginyaś cābhinandanti ...*

> It must be guarded carefully if a man wishes to live. The *Method of Nine Syllables*, which emerged forth from the *Mahābhairavatantra*, has been spoken."

This passage at first seems to laud the merits of the 'rite of the great churning,' the chapter's singular topic, and warn against its wrongful transmission. By the passage's end the scope has widened, extending to the text as a whole (*asmin tantre*): verse 129 warns against wrongfully imparting the Vidyā [of Nine Syllables]—the *BraYā*'s quintessential teaching—while 130 declares that the *Method of Nine Syllables* "has been spoken." The anomolous finality of this passage suggests that it may originally have served to complete the text. A difficulty with this proposal, however, is the close affinity between *BraYā* 46 and the subsequent two chapters (47–48), which share much in theme, ritual structure, and terminology, forming a clear unit.[171] If *BraYā* 46 did originally end the text, chapters 47–48 may have been appended shortly thereafter, or else, in my opinion more likely, the sequence of chapters was revised in the course of transmission.

If my hypothesis is correct, the 'original' *BraYā* formed a more or less unitary text consisting of most of the first *ṣaṭka*. This referred to itself as the *Brahmayāmala* and *Navākṣaravidhāna*, but not as the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses*—a stature it was yet to attain—nor yet as the *Picumata*. The latter, distinctively obscure title will be examined in §2.2. Suffice it to say that no chapters of the first *ṣaṭka* show awareness of the title *Picumata* or *Picutantra*, except in their colophons, which are not reliably original; this title first finds mention in *BraYā* 62, from which point references to it become common. Neither the *Picumata* nor indeed any *tantra*s with the appellation *-mata* find mention in *BraYā* 39's account of the Śaiva revelation. Distinguishing the hypothetical early *BraYā* are its comparatively cohesive pantheon and ritual systems, based on the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, as well as its close relationship to a lost text: the *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra*. So close is the *BraYā*'s identification with this that *Ucchuṣmabhairava* and its variants figure among the *BraYā*'s own titular epithets. Several chapters of *BraYā, Ṣaṭka* I refer to the *Ucchuṣmabhairava* as their

[171] *BraYā* 47–48 share structural, stylistic, and terminological affinities with *BraYā* 46. All three chapters teach macabre, virtuoso rites (*sādhana* or *siddhisādhana*) which culminate in the manifestation of Aghorī herself, and the *sādhaka*'s apotheosis as a *bhairava*. All three also, for instance, share the expression *mahāvratatanu* ("having one's body empowered by [the accoutrements and mantras of?] the Great Vow"), which occurs nowhere else in the *BraYā*.

immediate source, including the closing passage of *BraYā* 46, quoted above.[172] Attributions of this kind are absent from chapters of the second *ṣaṭka*, and the text's direct influence appears confined to chapters of *Ṣaṭka* I. A passage from *BraYā* 60 may even explicitly identify *Ṣaṭka* I with the *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra*: the Goddess poses a question in which she speaks of the *Ucchuṣmatantra* in the past tense, as something Bhairava had previously revealed, while seeming to refer to material occurring earlier in the *BraYā*.[173]

The second major phase in the *BraYā*'s redaction was marked by the addition of chapters 51–86, and perhaps others. This appears decisive to the text's history, for this represents the transformation of the original *Navākṣara-vidhāna-Brahmayāmala*, closely connected with the *Ucchuṣmabhairava*, into the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*, a.k.a. *Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses* (*Dvādaśa-sāhasraka*). This "*Picumata* stratum" integrated teachings belonging to the tradition of the old *BraYā*—some newly-composed and some of which may have circulated independently—with materials apparently adapted from extraneous sources. This process may initially have begun with the appending of manuals (*kalpa*) on deities only loosely connected to the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, such as the *mātṛ* and *yoginī* pantheons of *BraYā* 54–57.

While representing a secondary layer of the text, some materials redacted into the *Picumata* stratum nonetheless seem strikingly archaic. Among these stands out a cluster of chapters, *BraYā* 63–66, which concern magical practices and deities of an archaic flavour having numerous parallels in such early sources as the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and Buddhist *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*.[174] Two of

[172]A full account of references to the *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra* (and/or *Ucchuṣmottara-bhairavatantra*) is provided in the next chapter (§2.6), where I also discuss what can be gleaned of the nature of this source and its relationship to the *BraYā*.

[173]*BraYā* 60.77: *ucchuṣmasambhavaṃ tantraṃ devyā cocchuṣmasambhavāḥ* | *tvayoktan tu mahādeva sūtrādibhi maheśvara* || ("O Maheśvara, you have taught the *tantra* arising from Ucchuṣmabhairava, as well as the goddesses arising from *Ucchuṣmabhairava*, by way of *sūtras*, etc."). This statement introduces a section concerned with the etymology of *ucchuṣma*. On the *BraYā*'s putative division into *sūtras*, see §1.7.3. "Goddesses arising from Ucchuṣmabhairava" refers to the *BraYā*'s core pantheon of female deities, as first stated in *BraYā* 1.9ab. Cf. *BraYā* 4.253, which refers to the Four Devīs or Guhyakās as having been taught in the *Ucchuṣmatantra* (*raktā karālī caṇḍākhyāṃ mahocchuṣmā tathaiva ca* ||252|| *ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānāṃ na saṃśayaḥ* |).

[174]As discussed in §1.9.4, these chapters concern the (seemingly archaic) male deities Kaṅkālabhairava (in *BraYā* 63), Kambilarudra and Kiṅkararāja (in the *sakhāmitra-kiṅkarādhikāra*, *BraYā* 64), practices for the mastery of dryads (*yakṣiṇīsādhana*, *BraYā* 65), and the preparation of magical pills (*guḍikāsādhanādhikāra*, *BraYā* 66). On some of the parallels

these chapters, *BraYā* 64–65, may contain material ultimately derived from an unknown Śaiva medical *tantra* or Buddhist *Kriyātantra*, as I argue below.[175] *BraYā* 83, the "Chapter on the Origins of the Skull and Skull-staff," has close parallels in *BraYā* 66,[176] which is closely related to *BraYā* 63, all three of which may have been redacted together. Early forms of these and some other chapters could in fact predate much of the first *ṣaṭka*. On the other hand, the *Picumata* stratum also contains commentarial and digest treatises which reflect the organic growth of the *BraYā*'s tradition and have a far less archaic "feel." These include the *Tilakamata* or *Saṃgrahasūtra* and *Utphullakamata*, discussed above, as well as chapters such as *BraYā* 67, the *Picutantranirṇaya* ("*Exposition on the Picumata*"); *BraYā* 69 and 72, concerned with the deities Picubhairava and Yāmalabhairava, respectively; and the eclectic *BraYā* 75. These chapters are highly conscious of the text's identity as the *Picumata* and *Brahmayāmala*, and include exegetical passages on topics such as the text's titular epithets and technical terms, especially *picu* and *smaraṇa*.[177]

As for the *Addendum Tantras* (*BraYā* 87–104), no specific evidence demonstrates that their contents postdate the *Picumata* stratum, though some factors point in this direction. These chapters make no use of the Arrow Chart system of mantra-derivation (*nārācaprastāra*) which characterizes earlier chapters of *Ṣaṭka* II, and their subjects are missing from those listed in the introduction of *BraYā* 51, at the beginning of *Ṣaṭka* II. *BraYā* 87.3c–8 introduces a new series of topics, though in an obscure manner; these include the subjects of select chapters of both the *Uttaratantra* (*BraYā* 87–90) and *Uttarottaratantra* (91–104), which suggests that the two sections form a single unit. The topics of the last six or more chapters are not clearly intimated, however, which leaves open the possibility of their subsequent addition; after *BraYā* 95, no chapter explictly identifies itself as belonging to the *Uttarottaratantra*. The *Addendum Tantras* contain some of the more difficult and poorly transmitted material in the *BraYā*, and further insight into these must await careful editing. In general character, these chapters seem more or less congruent with the non-archaic chapters of the *Picumata* stratum, such as the *Tilakatantra* and *Utphullakamata*. In the area of yoga, in particular, the *Latter Addendum Tantra* has four chapters

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with the *Niśvāsa* and *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, see Goodall & Isaacson (2016).

[175] See §1.9.4.

[176] See this volume's edtition of *BraYā* 83.1–29 and the annotation thereon, e.g. ad 83.14–15b.

[177] As discussed in §2.2 and §2.3, respectively.

with have a late, one might say "proto-Kaula" feel about them.[178]

I have little to say at this point concerning the development and stratification of the *BraYā*'s first *ṣaṭka*. Csaba Kiss (2015: 20–22) argues cogently that *BraYā* 3 may be comparatively archaic, for its delineation of the extended deity-maṇḍala is peculiarly lacking in references to the supreme goddess, Aghorī or Caṇḍā Kāpālinī. He suggests that this chapter "may belong to an early phase of the cult of Kapālīśa," prior to the subsumption of the male deity and his female retinue into the sonic being of the Goddess, in the form of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā (ibid.: 22). At the other end of the spectrum, chapter 1 may have been revised or even composed during a late redactional phase. This chapter makes no mention of the title *Picumata*, but does conceive of the *BraYā* as a text of twelve-thousand verses, probably implying the existence of *Ṣaṭka* II (or a portion thereof). The *tantra*'s conclusion, *BraYā* 104.20–32, may also belong to this stratum. This could have been relocated from nearly any previous position, for it is entirely disconnected from what precedes it in *BraYā* 104.1–19 (which concerns a yogic technique for *kālavañcana*, "cheating death"). Structurally, *Ṣaṭka* I is diffuse, and may have been re-organized at various points. A possible trace of this process appears in *BraYā* 40, which seems to refer to a passage in *BraYā* 45 as having been stated previously.[179]

When the *BraYā* was first expanded to become a text of two *ṣaṭka*s, it is possible that *Ṣaṭka* I consisted of forty-seven chapters rather than fifty. What may suggest this is that the colophonal numeration of chapters in the second *ṣaṭka* is off by a factor of three throughout: the fifty-first chapter, sequentially, is labelled forty-eight, a pattern which continues through the final chapter, *BraYā* 104, which is labelled 101 in its colophon.[180] At a subsequent point, perhaps very late in the text's redaction, three additional chapters may have been inserted into *Ṣaṭka* I, perhaps but not necessarily towards the end, without any adjustment to the colophonal numbering in *Ṣaṭka* II. The purpose for expanding or restructuring the text in this manner is unclear—perhaps a longer chapter was simply divided up—but the process results in relatively equal numbers of chapters in each *ṣaṭka*, and a round number of chapters (50) for *Ṣaṭka* I.

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[178]These include the yoga of the five voids (*vijñānapañcaka*, *BraYā* 99), yoga of the clans (*BraYā* 100), the *kṣurikāprayoga* (*BraYā* 103), and *kālavañcana* (*BraYā* 104).

[179]The tantric consort (*dūtī*) is said in 40.2a to be *pūrvvalakṣaṇasaṃyuktā*, "possessing the characteristics described previously;" this most likely refers to a passage on *dūtīlakṣaṇa*, *BraYā* 45.186–189ab. See the annotation to the translation of 40.2ab.

[180]As I argue in §1.5, *BraYā* 82 (which would have been labelled 79) is missing.

In summary, if my assessment is correct, the vulgate *Picumata-Brahmayāmala* represented by MS. **A** was preceded by a shorter redaction comprising most of *BraYā* 1–50, which we might refer to as the *Navākṣaravidhāna-Brahmayāmala*. This drew heavily upon an earlier *tantra* known as the *Ucchuṣmabhairava*. As for the vulgate text, this likely achieved its present form in multiple stages, the reconstruction of which remains speculative. In the broadest terms, chapters 51–86 and 87–104 (the *Addendum Tantras*) seem likely to represent distinct, consecutive redactional phases, but these may have complex histories of their own, as no doubt does the first *ṣaṭka* (chapters 1–50).

1.8 Parameters for dating the *Brahmayāmala*

Although its redactional process and stratification remain in many respects opaque, the *BraYā* certainly has the appearance of a layered and composite text. Its production must have involved multiple individuals potentially separated in time and place. Nonetheless, while its language is utterly non-classical, it is more or less consistently so, betraying no jarring linguistic or stylistic discrepancies from section to section. This relative stylistic uniformity might point toward production within a more or less continuous textual community. Reconstruction of the chronological, geographic, and social parameters of the text's redactors and redactional process presents formidable challenges which I can only begin to address here.

No specific evidence I am presently aware of makes it possible to date the *BraYā* with precision. A variety of factors, however, points towards the seventh to eighth centuries as the period within it would most plausibly have been composed, though somewhat earlier and later dates cannot definitively be ruled out. Quotations of the *BraYā* in the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, who flourished in the decades before and after the turn of the eleventh century, establish the existence of the text by this period, at the very latest. The distribution of Abhinavagupta's citations, which are drawn from most sections of the *BraYā*, suggests that he knew the text in a form close to that preserved in the Nepalese manuscripts, as demonstrated in appendix B. Manuscript **A** was in any case copied not long afterwards, in 1052 C.E.[181] Considerable historical development separates the Śaivism of Abhinavagupta from that of the *BraYā*—most notably the corpus of Kaula scripture attributed to various directional trans-

[181] See pp. 3–4 (note 1).

missions (*āmnāya*), which finds no place in the *BraYā*'s account of the Śaiva canon—but this separation is difficult to quantify. Several sources of evidence nonetheless suggest with a high degree of probability that the *BraYā* existed in some form two centuries or more prior to Abhinavagupta.

In the tenth century are attested works of tantric literature that place themselves within the tradition of the *BraYā*, illustrating that it was by this time considered an important authority. The *Piṅgalāmata*, a scripture of the *Pratiṣṭhātantra* genre that claims origin from the *BraYā*,[182] appears to have received a commentary by an important mid tenth-century Saiddhāntika exegete, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha.[183] Another Śaiva *tantra* revealing intimate knowledge of the *BraYā* is the *Jayadrathayāmala*. The first of its four books (*ṣaṭka*s) gives considerable importance to the *BraYā* in its description of the Śaiva scriptural canon, to the extent of containing a chapter entitled *Brahmayāmalanirṇaya*, "An Exposition on the *Brahmayāmala*." The dating of the heterogenous *Jayadrathayāmala* is problematic; portions seem likely to be relatively early, including the first *ṣaṭka* and part of the third, while its final form might postdate Abhinavagupta.[184] Attested earlier is the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, a scriptural text ascribing its origin to the *BraYā*. This survives in a single Nepalese manuscript which, on paleographic grounds, could date to the middle or late ninth century.[185]

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[182] Note for instance a colophon in the (incomplete) Viśvabhāratī codex of the *Piṅgalāmata* (*f.* 11*r*): *iti brahmayāmale jayadrathādhikāre piṅgalāmate pratimādhikāro nāma prathamaprakaraṇe* [em.; *prakaraṇaś* cod.] *caturthaḥ* ("Thus ends the fourth [chapter], entitled the 'Section on Images', in Book One of the *Piṅgalāmata*, in the Jayadratha-[yāmala?] Section of the *Brahmayāmala*").

[183] This was first noted by SANDERSON (2003: 441), who remarks that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha "appears to have written a commentary on the *Piṅgalāmata*, since it is mentioned and attributed to him by the twelfth-century South-Indian Śaiva authority Trilocanaśiva in his commentary on the *Somaśambhupaddhati* ..." The relevant passage of the *Somaśambhupaddhativyākhyā* (p. 99) reads as follows (as quoted by SANDERSON [ibid., n. 334]): *tad uktaṃ piṅgalāmataṭīkāyāṃ nārāyaṇakaṇṭhena pīṭhāntaṃ pīṭhavyāpīti*. See also SANDERSON (2007b: 248–50).

[184] The *Brahmayāmalanirṇaya* chapter, mentioned above (§1.7.3), is *Jayadrathayāmala* I, 40. SANDERSON argues that at least two early independent works may have been redacted into the *Jayadrathayāmala*: the (originally *vāma*) *Śiraścheda* (SANDERSON 2014b: 38), and the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* (incorporated into *Ṣaṭka* III as the *Yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa*; SANDERSON 2009: 187).

[185] *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, NAK 5-687 (NGMPP reel B27/21). I quote the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*'s references to the *BraYā* in the next chapter (notes 74, 116, and 117). This text is in all likelihood identical to the *Bhairavī* listed in the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* as first of the *Maṅgalatantra*s (verses 276c–78 in the numbering of HANNEDER [1998]). It is described as *picutantrasamudbhavā* ("arising from the *Picumata* [i.e. *Brahmayāmala*]," 276d).

One or more of these sources seems very likely to predate the tenth century, perhaps by a considerable margin, and their treatment of the *BraYā* as a revered authority all but rules out a post-ninth century dating for the text. Its *terminus ante quem* can be pushed back further, but the sources pointing in this direction require detailed discussion, taken up in subsequent sections of this and other chapters. For instance, SANDERSON (2001, 2009) makes a compelling argument, which I discuss and add to below (§1.9.3), that a substantial tract of the *BraYā* has been incorporated into the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, probably the earliest and most authoritative scripture in the cycle of Buddhist *Yoginītantra*s focused upon the deity Cakraśaṃvara. Another major early-medieval work from beyond the corpus of Śaiva *tantra*s also bears the *BraYā*'s imprint: the *Devīpurāṇa*. As I demonstrate in chapter 5, this draws heavily upon *BraYā* 83, either directly or via the **Brahmayāmalasāra*. Both the *Devīpurāṇa* and *Laghuśaṃvara* have long been supposed to predate the ninth century, although the evidence for this proves somewhat thin on closer analysis. Nonetheless, even the most conservative estimates for dating the aforementioned sources—the *Piṅgalāmata*, *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, *Ṣaṭka* I of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, and *Devīpurāṇa*, as well as the *Tantrasadbhāva* (see §1.9.2)—seem by their cumulative weight to push the *BraYā*'s *terminus ante quem* into in the first half of the ninth century. On balance, even this period begins to seem rather late: one or more of these five texts might belong to the eighth century.

Besides the above-mentioned sources, which refer to or draw upon the extant *BraYā* with little ambiguity, there are several earlier, more nebulous references to a text entitled *Brahmayāmala*. A hymn entitled *Bhairavīvardhamānaka*, of which several manuscript folios appear to date to the early-ninth century, refers to the Goddess as "Brahmayāmalā," apotheosis of the scripture by this name.[186] Probably the earliest source mentioning a *Brahmayāmala* is the

Concerning the Nepalese manuscript (NAK 5-687), Diwakar ACHARYA has suggested that it may date to the mid-tenth century (personal communication, January, 2007), while SANDERSON (2014: 5 [n. 14]) proposes a ninth-century dating. A date in the middle or latter half of the ninth century seems most plausible to me, although my reasons for suggesting this may prove superficial. The MS. writes the archaic forms of final *-t* and *-m* which GOODALL et al. (2015: 106–8) observe in the Cambridge *Pārameśvara* manuscript of 819 or 828 C.E.; these consist of a miniaturized version of the letter above a diagonal stroke (the *virāma*). On the other hand, it writes the more developed form of *ja* which they note (ibid.) as prevalent in the *Niśvātattvasaṃhitā* MS. of *circa* 850–900 C.E.

[186]Sanderson (2001: 19 [n. 21]) remarks that "the *Bhairavīvardhamānaka*, the hymn to the Goddess of which some folios are preserved with the *Pārameśvara* codex of A.D. 827/28

original *Skandapurāṇa*, which, in its Māhātmya ("Glorification") of Koṭīvarṣa in chapter 171, lists a series of texts designated *Mātṛtantras* ("Tantras of the Mother-goddesses"). As SANDERSON first recognized,[187] these are in fact Śaiva *tantras* of the *Yāmala* genre, headed by the *Brahmayāmala* itself (*brāhmaṃ … yāmalam*).[188] Transmitted in a manuscript dated 810 C.E., the *Skandapurāṇa*

…knows a *Brahmayāmala*, *Viṣṇuyāmala*, and *Rudrayāmala*, since it refers to the Goddess as the embodiment of these (f. 53r1): *tvaṃ brahmayāmalā tvaṃ viṣṇuyāmalā tvaṃ rudrayāmalā*." More recently, SANDERSON (2014: 40) has re-assessed the Cambridge *Pārameśvara* codex's dating, proposing 819 C.E.

[187]The historical importance of the *Skandapurāṇa*'s reference to *Mātṛ-* or *Yāmalatantras* was discussed first by SANDERSON in correspondence quoted by R. ADRIAENSEN, et al. (1998: 7) in volume 1 of the *Skandapurāṇa*. In a subsequent article, SANDERSON (2001: 11) added further reflections on this passage in reviewing early evidence for Tantric Śaivism.

[188]*Skandapurāṇa* 171.127–32b, edition of BHAṬṬARĀĪ:

> *ahaṃ brahmā ca viṣṇuś ca ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ* |
> *mātṛtantrāṇi divyāni mātṛyajñavidhiṃ param* ||127||
> *puṇyāni prakariṣyāmo yajanaṃ yair avāpsyatha* |
> *brāhmaṃ svāyaṃbhuvaṃ caiva kaumāraṃ yāmalaṃ tathā* ||128||
> *sārasvataṃ sagāndhāram aiśānaṃ nandiyāmalam* |
> *tantrāṇy etāni yuṣmākaṃ tathānyāni sahasraśaḥ* ||129||
> *bhaviṣyanti narā yais tu yuṣmān yakṣyanti bhaktitaḥ* |
> *narāṇāṃ yajamānānāṃ varān yūyaṃ pradāsyatha* ||130||
> *divyasiddhipradā devyo divyayogā bhaviṣyatha* |
> *yāś ca nāryaḥ sadā yuṣmān yakṣyante sarahasyataḥ* ||131||
> *yogeśvaryo bhaviṣyanti rāmā divyaparākramāḥ* |
>
> "Myself [Śiva], Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and sages rich in penance shall create holy Mother Tantras through which you shall receive the highest worship, the rites of sacrifice to the Mothers (*mātṛyajñavidhi*): the *Brahmayāmala*, *Svāyambhuvayāmala*, *Kumārayāmala*, *Sārasvatayāmala*, *Gāndhārayāmala*, *Īśānayāmala*, and *Nandiyāmala*—these *tantras* of yours, and others too by the thousands, through which men shall worship you with devotion. You shall grant boons to the men worshipping. You shall become goddesses who bestow divine *siddhi*, possessing divine yoga. Those women who always worship you, secretly, shall become *yogeśvarīs*, lovely women of divine valour."

On the interpretation of this passage, SANDERSON (2001: 7 [n. 4]) remarks, "I propose that *yāmalaṃ* in 128d is to be understood with all (*sarvaśeṣatayā*), so that the titles indicated are *Brahmayāmala*, *Svāyambhuvayāmala*, *Kumārayāmala* (=*Skandayāmala*), *Gāndhārayāmala*, *Īśānayāmala* and *Nandiyāmala*. For of these seven all but the *Svāyambhuvayāmala* and the *Gāndhārayāmala* are found in the scriptural lists of *Yāmalatantras* known to me …". I consider this proposal all but certain. In the same note, SANDERSON (ibid) presents seven lists of *Yāmalatantras* which he discovered in Śaiva literature, all of which include the *BraYā* or texts derived therefrom. For an updated discussion of some of this evidence, see SANDERSON (2014:

largely took shape in the sixth to early seventh centuries in northern India, an historical horizon first proposed by its editors in 1998 and confirmed by further studies.[189] Hans BAKKER (2014: 3–4) has recently presented a more detailed assessment in which he proposes that the Māhātmya of Koṭīvarṣa—the last of those included in the *Skandapurāṇa*—belongs more or less to the final phase of redaction,[190] in which "the geographical and religious scope of the composers reached its maximum span." He argues that this occurred prior to the end of the seventh century. This timeline gives particular weight to the *Skandapurāṇa*'s paucity of references to Mantramārga Śaivism, a circumstance that would be particularly difficult to reconcile with an eighth-century dating.

The question does arise as to whether the *Brahmayāmala* of which the *Skandapurāṇa* speaks must be identified with the extant text. Given the proliferation of "*Brahmayāmalas*" in later times, I would by no means rule out the possibility that the extant *BraYā* supplanted an older text by this name, one perhaps focused directly on the cult of the Seven/Eight Mothers rather than the *BraYā*'s more esoteric deity pantheon (which does also include the Mothers).[191] However, whatever little the *Skandapurāṇa* intimates concerning the nature of the *Mātṛ-/Yāmalatantra*s seems reasonably congruent with the extant *BraYā*: these texts teach "rites of sacrifice to the Mother-goddesses" (*mātṛyajñavidhi*) linked to the attainment of magical perfection (*siddhi*) and, for female practitioners, apotheosis as *yoginī*s/*yogeśvarī*s. The latter represents a key premise of Vidyāpīṭha goddess cults.[192] In the absence of further evidence, such as the discovery of a more archaic variety of *Mātṛtantra*, it thus seems likely that the *Skandapurāṇa* attests to the existence of the extant *BraYā*, in some form, by the early eighth century, at the latest. Vague reference to "*tantra*s by the thousands" suggests that even at this early date there existed a large and varied corpus of Mantramārga literature,[193] a picture consistent with that reconstructed by SANDERSON (2001, 2009, 2014) on the basis of exhaustive reviews of period evidence.

40, [n. 150]).

[189] See the introductions to *Skandapurāṇa*, vols. I and IIA, and BAKKER (2014).

[190] That is to say, the last phase of the original recension, as preserved in the MS. of 810 C.E.

[191] On the *BraYā*'s pantheon, see the editions of *BraYā* 2–3, and the discussion in the next chapter (§2.3).

[192] For an overview of the figure of the *yoginī* and Vidyāpīṭha *yoginī* cults, see TÖRZSÖK (2009) and HATLEY (2007; 2013).

[193] *Skandapurāṇa* 171.129c–30a: *tantrāṇy etāni yuṣmākaṃ tathānyāni sahasraśaḥ || bhaviṣyanti* ....

Such external evidence for the *BraYā* provides basic parameters for dating the text, with the late-sixth to eighth centuries emerging so far as the most plausible period for its redaction—a process which likely occurred in multiple phases. The mid-sixth and early-ninth centuries also remain within the realm of possibility, especially for the text's earliest and final layers. Narrowing this range further requires consideration of more complex parameters: reconstruction of how the *BraYā* fits chronologically into the historical development of Śaivism, and how this relative chronology maps to what we know of the early-medieval religious landscape. In what follows, I seek to establish the *BraYā*'s relationship to a number of specific textual sources, including those it names explictly and others which may be shown to draw upon or otherwise possess knowledge of the *BraYā*.

1.9 Situating the *Brahmayāmala* in tantric literature

A vast text, the *BraYā* provides all manner of material of potential value for situating it in chronological relation to the extant Śaiva literature. Early though it may be, the *BraYā* describes a developed and diverse scriptural canon, providing a detailed picture of the forms of Tantric Śaivism it claims to transcend. Internal evidence from the domains of ritual, doctrine, cosmology, mantra, and so forth also provide indications of the text's relative archaism, although considerable work remains to be done in these areas.

Chapter thirty-nine of the *BraYā*, edited in the present volume, sets forth a model of Śaiva revelation and the scriptural canon which complements the revelation narrative of the opening chapter. This is invaluable, for it provides a veritable catalogue of scriptural genres and *tantra*s known to the text's redactors. A full account of the texts and text-genres delineated in *BraYā* 39 appears in tables 1.3–6, organized by scriptural stream. Like other Śaiva accounts of revelation, the *BraYā* posits 'scriptural wisdom' (*jñāna*) as a transcendental essence which descends in streams or currents (*srotas*) from its primordial source at the apex of the hierarchy of ontic levels (*tattva*), taking on concrete, linguistic form according to the capacities of its various redactors and audiences.[194]

[194]For an overview of Tantric Śaiva conceptions of revelation, see HANNEDER (1998: 3–23). "Scriptural wisdom" has been selected as the rendering of *jñāna* (also *śivajñāna*, *śivaśāstra*, etc.), given the textual connotations the term carries in this context (e.g. *BraYā* 39.16a). The word

As describes chapter one (vv. 1–7ab, 33–44), the supreme Śakti, Śiva's volition, awakens *bindu*, the primordial substance of cosmic sound, from which emerges the undifferentiated (*niṣkala*) totality or "flood" of scriptural wisdom (*jñānogha*). This takes the form of a body of mantra (*mantravigraha*) situated at the level of the *sadāśivatattva* in the pure universe (*śuddhādhvan*). At the time of creation, Sadāśiva causes the scriptural wisdom to descend from this primordial state to the level of language. He then transmits this to Śrīkaṇṭha, who reveals the scriptural wisdom to humankind in countless abbreviated redactions.[195]

Elaborating on this model, the *BraYā*'s *srotranirṇayapaṭala* ("Chapter of the Exposition on the Streams [of Revelation"])[196] shifts focus from the genesis of scripture in general, and of the *BraYā* in particular, to the delineation and hierarchical ordering of the Śaiva canon. From the primordial *jñānogha* emerge three streams of revelation: the *Bhairavatantra*s of the rightward stream (*dakṣiṇasrotas*), *Vāmatantra*s of the leftward stream (*vāmasrotas*), and *Siddhāntatantra*s of the middle stream (*madhyamasrotas*). Following Sadāśiva's transmission of this tripartite scriptural wisdom to Śrīkaṇṭha, the latter transmits it to the world in ten streams in the ten directions, with *tantra*s by the millions (39.91–93). Much of *BraYā* 39 consists of an enumeration of the scriptures of these streams (vv. 32–90), which correspond to major historical divisions of tantric Śaiva literature.

The *Brahmayāmala*'s vision of the Śaiva revelation differs notably from the comparatively well-known model in which Sadāśiva's five faces emanate scriptural streams in the four cardinal directions and upwards. Fivefold schemata of this nature are attested as early as the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*.[197] In the most

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is sometimes synonymous with *tantra*, "scripture;" note for instance *BraYā* 98.18: *kulajñānāni yāvanti aśeṣādhvasthitāni tu | vetti sarvāṇi deveśi dadāti ca tadarthinām ||* ("He [becomes one who] knows all the Clan scriptures [*kulajñāna*]—as many as exist in the entire universe—and gives [these] to their seekers, O Queen of the gods").

[195] *BraYā* 1.34–42.

[196] In the vast majority of its occurrences, *srotas* ("stream, current") is thematized as an *a*-stem (*srota*) in the *BraYā*, or appears in an even more nonstandard form, *srotra* (on which see the annotation to 39.1).

[197] According to *Mukhāgama* 1.47c–50, the first, western stream is that of *laukika* ("exoteric") religion, beyond which is the Veda, revealed by Vāmadeva, the northern face. Still higher is the southern revelation of Aghora, consisting of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems. The penultimate revelation is that of Tatpuruṣa, the eastern face, who teaches the Śaiva Atimārga. Finally, from the upward Īśāna-face emerge the scriptures of Tantric Śaivism proper. Although the streams are oriented spatially, the fivefold pattern is nonetheless hierarchical, ordering competing systems in an ascending series, from popular religion to esoteric Śaivism. The *Niśvāsa*'s *Guhyasūtra*

commonly attested model, the upward stream of the *Siddhāntatantra*s, southern stream of the *Bhairavatantra*s, and northern stream of the *Vāmatantra*s are augmented by *Bhūtatantra*s, in the west, and *Gāruḍatantra*s in the east, scriptural corpora having exorcism and the magical cure of snakebite, respectively, as characteristic concerns. Kaula sources, in turn, often posit their origins in a hidden, sixth stream, further divided into directional lineages (*āmnāya*).[198] In contrast, the *BraYā*'s model envisions the three primary streams of revelation becoming tenfold, in the ten directions, through the agency of Śrīkaṇṭha, though nonetheless originating from Sadāśiva. Here, the southern (*bhairava*) and northern (*vāma*) streams are augmented by the Vedic revelation, which comprises the eastern stream. The *Siddhāntatantra*s (table 1.3) are distributed among seven streams, with ten Śiva-division (*śivabheda*) *tantra*s emanating upwards (v. 83) and the core eighteen *rudra*-division *tantra*s perhaps westwards, with additional *rudra*-division *tantra*s in the intermediate directions and downwards.[199] Unlike Kaula systems, in which the revelation of the hidden face of Sadāśiva is regarded as the highest and most esoteric, the *Brahmayāmala*'s "lower stream" (*adhasrota*, i.e. *adhaḥsrotas*) is lowly indeed: its contents include what appear to be *Bhūta*- and *Gāruḍatantra*s, as well as Vaiṣṇava *tantra*s and treatises on alchemy and magical herbs.[200]

(12.17–18ab) also associates the tantric revelation (*śaivam*) with the upward face, transcending four divisions of the Atimārga. The model common by the time of the tenth- to eleventh-century Śaiva exegetes, in contrast, is based on five (or more) divisions internal to Tantric Śaivism.

[198] On the Kaula *āmnāya*s, see SANDERSON (1988: 679–90). This sixth, esoteric stream is said to emanate from what is variously designated the "lower face" (*adhovaktra*), "face of the Yoginī" (*yoginīvaktra*), "netherworld face" (*pātālavaktra*), or "*picu* face" (*picuvaktra*). See s.v. *picuvaktra* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

[199] The content of the western stream is not entirely clear; verse 77 specifies that it is impelled by the Vāmā and Madhyamā Śaktis and spoken by Sadāśiva's western face: *vāmamadhyamayā caiva coditena tathaiva hi | paścimena tu vaktreṇa bhāṣitāni tridhāśrayāḥ ||*. It seems that *bhāṣitāni* agrees with *tantrāṇi* from v. 76c, which refers to the *Siddhāntatantra*s revealed by the upper face, impelled by the Madhyamā Śakti.

[200] *BraYā* 39.84c–90. Perhaps fortuitously, the divine anatomy from which the lower stream emerges remains unstated. The list of works of the lower stream appears to consist of genre names rather than actual text titles.

[201] By conjecture; see the annotation to 39.50c.

Table 1.3: The Ten Streams of Revelation according to *Brahmayāmala* 39

FACE OF SADĀŚIVA	PRESIDING ŚAKTI	DIRECTION	SCRIPTURAL CLASS
Southern	Dakṣiṇā	S	*Bhairavatantras*
Northern	Vāmā	N	*Vāmatantras*
Upward	Madhyamā	Up	*śivabheda*
Western	Vāmā and Madhyamā	W	*rudrabheda*?
Eastern	Vāmā and Madhyamā	E	*Vedas*, etc.
Eastern		E, SE	*rudrabheda*
Southern		S, SW	*rudrabheda*
Western		W, NW	*rudrabheda*
Northern		N, NE	*rudrabheda*
N/A?		Down	*rudrabheda*

Table 1.4: *Siddhāntatantras* of the Middle Stream (*madhyamasrotas*)

ŚIVABHEDA	RUDRABHEDA (list 1)	RUDRABHEDA (list 2)
Sarvakāmika	Vijaya	Vijaya
Yogodbhava	Niśvāsa	Niśvāsa
Acintya	Svāyambhuva	Svāyambhuva
Kāraṇa	Vāthula	Vīrabhadra
Ajita	Candrahāsa	Āgneya
Dīptābha	Raurava	Raurava
Sūkṣma	Mākuṭa	Mākoṭya
Sāhasra	Vīreśa	Candrabhāsa
Aṃśumā[n]	Āgneya[201]	Vīra
Suprabha	Candrajñāna	Jñāna
	Bimba	Mukhabimba
	Prodgīta	Prodgīta
	Lalita	Lalita
	Siddhi	Siddhi
	Santānaka	Santāna
	Sarvodgīta	Kiraṇa
	Kiraṇa	Sarvodgīta
	Pārameśvara	Pārameśvara

Table 1.5: Tantras of the Leftward Stream (*vāmasrotas*) and Lower Stream (*adhaḥ-srotas*)

LEFTWARD STREAM	LOWER STREAM
Saṃmoha	
Naya[202]	Vibhūti
Nayottara	Avyaya[203]
Śaukra	Mākuṭa

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE MĀKUṬA[204]
Nārasiṃhavidhāna
*nidhānakṣetrakalpa*s[205]
*vivarāntargatakalpa*s
Vārāhavidhi
Pañcarātravidhāna
Vaikuṇṭhavidhi
Garuḍavidhāna
bhūtantrādi
*oṣadhikalpa*s
Rasāyanavidhi

There is reason to suppose that the *Brahmayāmala*'s model of the canon is archaic, predating the "standard" five-stream model accepted by the exegetes. Had the latter served as the basis for the *BraYā*'s ten-stream schema, the *Gāruḍa-* and *Bhūtatantra*s would be expected to retain their directional associations, with the additional scriptural streams layered upon the standard five. Moreover, the inclusion of non-Śaiva (Vaiṣṇava) and non-tantric (Vaidika) revelations has an archaic quality reminiscent of the classification schemata of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. In contrast to the *Niśvāsa*, however, the *BraYā*'s model of revelation has no place for pre-tantric, Atimārga Śaivism of any variety, suggesting composition in an environment where Atimārgic Śaivism had fallen into desuetude.[206]

[202] By conjecture; see the annotation to *BraYā* 39.75b.

[203] By conjecture; see the annotation to *BraYā* 39.85b.

[204] The subdivisions of the *Mākuṭa* listed in *BraYā* 39.87–89 seem to be genres rather than specific texts; some are given in the singular, others in the plural (italicized in the table).

[205] By conjecture; see the annotation to *BraYā* 39.87b.

[206] On the *Niśvāsa*'s account of the Atimārga, see SANDERSON 2006b. One passage in the *BraYā* makes reference to "*yogaśāstra*s," in contrast to the Veda and Siddhānta; might this be

Table 1.6: *Bhairavatantras* of the Rightward Stream (*dakṣiṇasrotas*)

VIDYĀPĪṬHA			MANTRAPĪṬHA
EIGHT BHAIRAVAS	EIGHT YĀMALAS	OTHER	
Svacchanda	Rudrayāmala	Prapañcayoginījāla	Vīrabhairava
Krodha	Skandayāmala	Yoginījāla	Caṇḍabhairava
Unmatta	Brahmayāmala	Yoginīhṛdaya	Guḍikābhairava
Ugra	Viṣṇuyāmala	Siddhā	Mahāvīreśabhairava
Kapālin	Yamayāmala	Mantramālinī	
Jhaṅkāra	Vāyuyāmala	Aghoreśī	
Śekhara	Kuberayāmala	Aghoreśvarī	
Vijaya	Indrayāmala	Krīḍāghoreśī	
		Lākinīkalpa	
		Mārī	
		Mahāmārī	
		Ugravidyāgaṇa	
		Bahurūpa *(twofold)*	
		Aghorāstra	

The *BraYā* builds upon and reconfigures a model of the canon implicitly centered upon the *Siddhāntatantras*, revelation of Sadāśiva's transcendent upper face, Īśāna. In doing so it inverts the streams' hierarchy, in part through introducing an unusual triad of *śakti*s governing the genesis and ordering of scripture: Dakṣiṇā (also designated Raudrā and Ādyā), Vāmā, and Madhyamā.[207] Correlated with the *guṇa*s of Sāṅkhya, the triad of *śakti*s forms the basis for a taxonomy of tantric initiates and scripture. Impure (*aśuddha*) individuals dominated by *tamoguṇa* are fit only for the revelation impelled by Madhyamā Śakti, the *Siddhāntatantra*s of the middle stream (*madhyamasrotas*). In a polemic echo of the Saiddhāntika doctrinal emphasis on removal of impurity (*mala*) as the means of liberation, the *BraYā* claims that individuals dominated by Ma-

a vague reference to the Atimārga? *BraYā* 90.50–51b, describing the *smaraṇa* (HŪṂ) as source of all mantras and scriptures: *asmin mantrās samudbhūtāḥ ye ke cit prathitā bhuvi | sāstrāṇi ca vicitrāṇi vedā siddhāntam eva ca ||50|| yogaśāstrāṇi cānyāni sarvvam āvṛtya tiṣṭhati |*.

[207] Mantras of these *śakti*s are explicated in *BraYā* 11.81–108ab and paṭala 27, "the Chapter of the Pantheon of the Śakti Triad" (*śaktitritayayāgapaṭala*). This set has no explicit relation to the more usual triad of Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī, despite the partial overlap in nomenclature.

dhyamā are covered completely, like the silkworm, by a mass of *mala* accumulated over many lives. Those among them free of desire (*kāma*) may nonetheless experience Śiva's grace in the form of the "descent of *śakti*" (*śaktipāta*)—but that of the Madhyamā Śakti, never the supreme, Ādyā Śakti. Such individuals obtain "mere liberation," deprived of magical attainment (*siddhi*; 39.9c–11). Those governed by the Vāmā Śakti, on the other hand, have a little *mala* remaining, the purification of which is likened to processing rice from paddy. Only individuals of the greatest purity qualify for the *dakṣiṇasrotas* and its non-dual ritual; they, governed by the Dakṣiṇā Śakti, are like husked rice ready to be washed and cooked (39.12–13).[208]

As the preceding highlights, the canon of *Siddhāntatantra*s looms prominently in the *BraYā*'s model of relevation, appearing as the normative mainstream against which the *BraYā* defines itself. This would accord well with a situation as early as the seventh century: by the beginning of this period, a number of key *Siddhāntatantra*s were likely in circulation, while multiple rulers attest to receiving Saiddhāntika initiation in the second half of the seventh century. An eminent early Saiddhāntika exegete, Sadyojyotis, may also have been active in the period 675–725 C.E.[209] *Tantra*s of the *vāmasrotas* are also strikingly conspicuous in the *BraYā*'s account of revelation (table 1.5); few in number, these nonetheless constitute one of three major revelatory streams. In addition, *BraYā* 39 displays awareness of what appear to be ritual manuals of some form of the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra. None of the titles match those of known texts, and are generic enough to arouse the suspicion of being spurious (e.g. *Nārasiṃhavidhāna*, "Rites of the Man-lion").[210] Similarly, the *BraYā* lists generic names or genres rather than specific titles in referring to the *Bhūta-* and *Gāruḍatantras*.[211] How the existence of this array of scripture might impact

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[208]This threefold taxonomy on the basis of purity (*śuddhi*) is further extended for classifying practitioners within each scriptural stream, as reflected in the threefold typology of *sādhaka*s explicated in *BraYā* 45; see KISS (2015).

[209]On the pre-seventh century dating of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, earliest of what would come to be the *Siddhāntatantras*, see GOODALL et al. (2015: 30–84). This contains valuable remarks on the relative chronology of the early *Siddhāntatantras*, on which see also GOODALL (1998: xxxvi–lxxvi; 2004: xxxv–lviii). Concerning evidence for royal initiation in this period, see SANDERSON (2001: 8–10 [n. 6]); for the date of Sadyojyotis, see SANDERSON (2006).

[210]On some of the problems in dating the extant Pāñcarātrika literature, and its relation to Tantric Śaivism, see SANDERSON (2001: 35, 38 [n. 50]; 2009: 58–70). Concerning the newly-discovered early Pāñcarātra literature preserved in Nepalese manuscripts, see ACHARYA (2015).

[211]On this literature, see SLOUBER (2016).

the *BraYā*'s dating remains uncertain: it may seem to point toward a later, perhaps eighth-century date, but on the other hand, the *Bhūtatantra* genre seems to be attested already in the first half of the seventh century, and *tantra*s of the *vāmasrotas* even earlier.[212] As for omissions, no *tantra*s of the poorly-preserved Saura tradition find mention in the *BraYā*'s account of scripture, nor do Buddhist *tantra*s or Śaiva *tantra*s attributed to Kaula *āmnāya*s of the four directions. These absences need not be read in strictly historical terms; yet the absence of Kaula literature, in particular, would be difficult to reconcile with a tenth-century period of composition, if not the ninth, when these traditions were prevalent. By way of contrast, the *Matasāra*—a Kaula text placing itself in the tradition of the *BraYā*—makes reference to initiation into Vaiṣṇava, Saura, and Buddhist *tantra*s, among others.[213] Paradoxically, the *BraYā* thus knows a large and varied canon of tantric scripture, while nonetheless advancing a model of revelation and catalogue of scriptures with archaic qualities that seem to place it among the earliest extant non-Saiddhāntika *tantra*s.

1.9.1 The *Brahmayāmala* and the *Niśvāsa* corpus

Several demonstrably early *Siddhāntatantra*s that survive in manuscript or quotations are listed in *BraYā* 39: the *Niśvāsa*, *Kiraṇa*, *Pārameśvara*, *Raurava[sūtra-*

[212] SANDERSON (2001: 13–14) observes that Bhāruci, perhaps of the early seventh century, mentions *Bhūtatantra*s in his commentary on the *Manusmṛti* "as sources teaching rites for the mastering of Vetālas." Concerning the *vāmasrotas*, see below (1.9.2).

[213] *Matasāra*, chapter four (NAK 3-379, *f.* 37, lines 1–2; transcription courtesy of Somadeva VASUDEVA):

> *siddhānte dīkṣitā ye ca vaiṣṇave ye ca dīkṣitā[ḥ] |*
> *pañcasrotodbhave tantre saṃmohe caiva dīkṣitā[ḥ] |*
> *saure ca gāruḍe devi bauddhe ye caiva dīkṣitāḥ |*
> *athāpi pāśavaḥ sarve asmin tantre na dīkṣitā[ḥ] |*
>
> asmin tantre na] *conj.*; yasmin tantreṇa *cod.*
>
> "Those initiated into the Siddhānta, those initiated into the Vaiṣṇava [*tantra*s], those initiated into the *tantra*s of five streams and the *Saṃmoha* [of the *vāmasrotas*], those initiated into the Saura, Gāruḍa, or Buddhist [*tantra*s]—all of them are still bound souls [if they are] not initiated into this *tantra*."

What precisely *pañcasrotodbhave tantre* refers to here is unclear; possibly some combination of *Bhairavatantra*s and *Kulatantra*s.

saṅgraha], and *Svāyambhuva[sūtrasaṅgraha]*.[214] In only one case so far identified does the *BraYā* clearly draw on one of these sources: it would appear that the *BraYā* has incorporated several verses from the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, whether directly or through an intermediary source.

The text in question occurs in *Uttarasūtra* 1.10–13 and *BraYā* 62.272c–75, juxtaposed in table 1.7. This passage places the syllables of a mantra called "The Ninefold" (*navātman*) in correlation with a hierarchy of ontic levels (*tattva*). Both the *navātman*-mantra and this nine-*tattva* series, given in table 1.8a, are distinctive to the *Niśvāsa* corpus.[215] In the *BraYā*, on the other hand, this particular nine-*tattva* series (table 1.8b) stands out as unusual: *īśvaratattva*, the seventh of the series, figures only rarely in the *BraYā*'s accounts of the "pervasion" (*vyāpti*) or "purification" (*śodhana*) of the *tattva*s. In this position, the *BraYā* normally places *śaktitattva*, between *vidyātattva* and *sadāśiva*, as illustrated by tables 1.9c–d. The particular nine-*tattva* series correlated with the *navātman* occurs elsewhere in the *BraYā* only once, in chapter 56 (table 1.9a). Within the *BraYā*, the *navātman*-mantra is also anomalous, despite the text's affinity for all things ninefold. Moreover, the *BraYā*'s passage on the *navātman* appears at the very end of a chapter—the eclectic *Tilakatantra* or *Saṅgrahasūtra* chapter (see §1.7.4)—with no elaboration on its application. This combination of factors suggests that the *BraYā* has assimilated the *navātman* passage from another source, which precise correlations in wording identify as the *Uttarasūtra*.[216]

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[214]On the evidence for the antiquity of these five *Siddhāntatantra*s, see GOODALL (1998: xxxvi–xlvii).

[215]This series of nine *tattva*s is, for instance, presented in relation to the nine constituents of the letter A, and nine parts of the body, in the *Niśvāsa*'s *Nayasūtra* (1.1–20).

[216]Note in particular the distinctively-phrased verse-quarter *kṣakāro vidya eva tu* (*Uttarasūtra* 1.11b, *BraYā* 62.273d), which exhibits irregular metrical shortening of *vidyā*, and the non-application of sandhi.

[217]ūkāraḥ] **A**^{pc}; ūkāra **A**^{ac}

[218]prakṛtir] *em.*; prakṛti **A**

[219]vakāro] *em.*; vakāra **A**

[220]vindyāl] *em.*; vindyā **A**

[221]°tattvaṃ] *em.*; °tatva **A**

[222]hakāras] *em.*; hakāros **A**

[223]navamaḥ] *em.*; navamo **A**

[224]tattveśvaraṃ] *em.*; tatteśvaraṃ **A**

[225]°tattvoktān] *em.*; °tattvoktā **A**

[226]Referent unclear.

[227]Likely anusvāra; see GOODALL et al. (2015: 340–41).

Table 1.7: A parallel passage in the *Brahmayāmala* and *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*

UTTARASŪTRA 1.10–13	BRAHMAYĀMALA 62.272c–75b
īśvara uvāca |	
ūkāraḥ prakṛtir jñeyā	ūkāraḥ[217] prakṛtir[218] jñeyā
yakāraḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |	yakāraḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ ||272||
vakāro niyatir vidyāl	vakāro[219] niyatiṃ vindyāl[220]
lakāraḥ kāla ucyate ||10||	lakāraḥ kāla ucyate |
māyātattvaṃ makāras tu	māyātattvaṃ[221] makāraṃ tu
kṣakāro vidya eva tu |	kṣakāro vidya eva ca ||273||
rakāra īśvaro jñeyo	repham īśam iti prokto
hakāras tu sadāśivaḥ ||11||	hakāras[222] tu sadāśivaḥ |
dehavyāpī ca navamo	dehavyāpī tu navamaḥ[223]
śaktiś ca daśamā smṛtā |	
akathyaś ca arūpī ca	
kāraṇaḥ sa śivaḥ paraḥ ||12||	kāraṇaḥ parameśvaraḥ ||274||
ete tattvāḥ samākhyātāḥ	etat tattveśvaraṃ[224] devaṃ
sadāśivasamudbhavāḥ |	tritattvoktān[225] prakalpayet |
etair eva jagat sarvaṃ	
dreśyādreśyañ carācaram ||13 ||	

Table 1.8: The *Navātman* in the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and the *Brahmayāmala*

(a) The *tattvas* of the *navātman* mantra according to the *Uttarasūtra*

TATTVA	AKṢARA
paraśiva	
śakti	
The Ninth[226]	*dehavyāpin*[227]
sadāśiva	HA
īśvara	RA
vidyā	KṢA
māyā	MA
kāla	LA
niyati	VA
puruṣa	YA
prakṛti	Ū

(b) 'Lord of Nine *Tattvas*' (*nava-tattveśvara*) according to *BraYā* 62

TATTVA	AKṢARA
parameśvara	*dehavyāpin*
sadāśiva	HA
īśvara	RA
vidyā	KṢA
māyā	MA
kāla	LA
niyati	VA
puruṣa	YA
prakṛti	Ū

Table 1.9: The Nine Tattvas in the *Brahmayāmala*

(a) *Tattvas* of nine goddess clans (*kula*) in *BraYā* 56

TATTVA	KULA
śiva	
sadāśiva	*devīs*
īśvara	*bhaginīs*
vidyā	*śivās*
māyā	*rudraḍākinīs*?
kāla	*ḍākinīs*?
vidyā	*dūtīs*
puruṣa	*yoginīs*
prakṛti	*mātṛs*

(b) Purification of the Nine Pantheons according to *BraYā* 37 (*tattvadīkṣā*)

TATTVA	MANTRADEVATĀ
śiva	Śiva
sadāśiva	Bhairava-Bhairavī
śakti	Māheśvarī
īśvara	Brahmāṇī
vidyā	Vaiṣṇavī
māyā	Kaumārī
kāla	Vivasvatī
niyati	Māhendrī
puruṣa	Cāmuṇḍā
prakṛti	Parā Śakti

(c) Purification of the *tattvas* according to *BraYā* 33 (*dīkṣā*)

TATTVA	MANTRADEVATĀ
śiva	Bhairava
sadāśiva	Mahocchuṣmā
śakti	Caṇḍākṣī
vidyā	Karālā
māyā	Raktā
kāla	*astras*
niyati	Dūtīs
puruṣa	Yoginīs
prakṛti	Mātṛs

(d) Pervasion of the *tattvas* by the Nine Śaktis according to *BraYā* 30.56c–65

TATTVA	MANTRADEVATĀ
sadāśiva	Mahocchuṣmā (PĀ)
śakti	Caṇḍākṣī (KĀ)
vidyā	Karālinī (ḌE)
māyā	Raktā (CA)
kāla	*astras*
kalā	Karālā (LI)
niyati	Danturā (NI)
puruṣa	Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ)
prakṛti	Mahābalā (HĀ)

This debt to the *Uttarasūtra* helps only marginally in situating the *BraYā* historically, given that the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* may be the oldest of all extant Śaiva *tantras*, likely dating to the sixth century as a whole and perhaps even earlier in parts.[228] Nevertheless, another text of the *Niśvāsa* corpus proves invaluable. Chapter thirty-nine of the *BraYā*, the *srotranirṇayapaṭala*, discussed above (§1.9), has extensive parallels in the fourth chapter of the *Dīkṣottara*, which is transmitted as a nineteen-chapter "book" (*prakaraṇa*) of the *Niśvāsakārikā*.[229] The latter has been described as "a voluminous 'appendix' [to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*] of uncertain date" (Goodall & Isaacson 2007: 5 [note 4]). It appears to survive only in South Indian manuscripts, and as transmitted, the text is often garbled.[230] The parallels occur in *BraYā* 39's description of the canon of *Siddhāntatantras*, which is the subject of the *Dīkṣottara* 4, the "Chapter on the Descent of Scripture" (*tantrāvatārapaṭala*). In particular, the twenty-six verses of *BraYā* 39.47–72 have close parallels in *Dīkṣottara* 4.18–39 and 78–82, although groups of verses occur in different sequences and exhibit differing degrees of similarity. This is discussed in the annotation to the edition of *BraYā* 39, which includes the *Dīkṣottara* parallels as testimonia. A provisional edition of *Dīkṣottara* 4 is included in the present volume as appendix C.[231]

Parallel text in both sources delineates a canon of twenty-eight *Siddhāntatantras*, ten belonging to the Śiva-division (*śivabheda*) and eighteen to the *rudra*-division (*rudrabheda*). Both texts link these to specific expounders (*praṇetṛ*) whose ranks are comprised of deities and sages. Lists of texts and their expounders extracted from the relevant *Dīkṣottara* passages are tabulated against those of the *BraYā* in tables 1.10–11. Although the *BraYā*'s two lists of the eighteen *rudrabheda* tantras and their expounders (*praṇetṛ*) vary from

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[228] See the analysis of Goodall et al. (2015: 30–84).

[229] The *Dikṣottara* is said to be a *prakaraṇa* of the *Niśvāsakārikā* in the colophon of its final, nineteenth paṭala: *iti niśvāsakārikāyāṃ dīkṣottaraprakaraṇe ekonaviṃśati[ḥ] paṭalaḥ* (ms. T_{150}; T_{17} and T_{127} read °*dīkṣottare prakaraṇe*°).

[230] The *Niśvāsakārikā*'s existence is intimated in the final verse of the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, but the *Kārikā* did not necessarily include the *Dīkṣottara* originally; see Goodall (1998: xli [n. 96]). I have consulted the *Dīkṣottara* on the basis of the mss.'s Devanāgarī transcriptions—Institut Français de Pondichéry Transcript nos. 17, 127, and 150—of which S.A.S. Sarma, Nibedita Rout, and R. Sathyanarayanan prepared electronic texts. I am grateful to all of them, and to Dominic Goodall for providing me access to these. I am also grateful to Somadeva Vasudeva, who first alerted me to possible parallels between the *BraYā* and *Dīkṣottara*.

[231] This builds upon Goodall's (1998: 405–407) provisional edition of one section, *Dīkṣottara* 4.18c–39. An edition of chapter 9 of the *Dīkṣottara* has been published as an appendix in Goodall et al. (2015), along with two other chapters of the *Niśvāsakārikā*.

Table 1.10: The tenfold *tantras* and their speakers (*praṇetṛ*) according to *Dīkṣottara* 4 and *Brahmayāmala* 39

TANTRA (*DīU*)	PRAṆETṚ (*DīU*, 2 lists)	TANTRA (*BraYā*)
Sārvakāmika	Śiva	Sarvakāmika
Lokodbhava	Īśvara or Rudra	Yogodbhava
Devyāyana?	Devī	Acintya
Kāraṇa	Brahmā	Kāraṇa
Ajita	Viṣṇu	Ajita
Dīptābha	Agni	Dīptābha
Sūkṣma	Vāyu	Sūkṣma
Sahasrāṃśa	Dharma	Sāhasra
Aṃśumān	Sūrya	Aṃśumān
Suprabha	Soma/Candramas	Suprabha

each other slightly, and from those of the *Dīkṣottara*—primarily in the matter of sequence—these exhibit much greater affinity to the *Dīkṣottara* than to any other account known to me. This is evident in comparing the early lists of *Siddhāntatantras* tabulated by GOODALL (1998: 403–404). The *Dīkṣottara* itself follows the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, as notes GOODALL (ibid.: 405). Not only do the *BraYā* and *Dīkṣottara* text lists largely concur, but they also share unambiguously close phrasing, effectively ruling out independent derivation. Table 1.12 illustrates this similarity by placing *Dīkṣottara* 4.37–39 alongside *BraYā* 39.65–68b.

The redactors of the *BraYā* likely drew directly from the *Dīkṣottara*, although the shared material's derivation from an unknown common source cannot be entirely ruled out. In particular, it appears that the *BraYā* has relied upon the *Dīkṣottara* as the basis for delineating the middle stream of scriptural revelation (*BraYā* 39.47–72), the *Siddhāntatantras*, which it has reworked and added to substantially in framing a competing, non-Saiddhāntika vision of the Śaiva canon (39.1–46, 73–93). In this process, the detailed descriptions of *Siddhāntatantras* present in *Dīkṣottara* 4.40–76 have been omitted in favour of explication of the *Bhairavatantras* and a corresponding model of revelation. While no single factor establishes the direction of influence, the scenario of the redactors of the *Dīkṣottara* drawing selectively from the *BraYā* seems unlikely for a number of reasons. In particular, it may be noted that the *Dīkṣottara* lacks

Table 1.11: The eighteen-fold *tantras* and their speakers (*praṇetṛ*) according to *Dīkṣottara* 4 and *Brahmayāmala* 39

TANTRA (*DīU*)	PRAṆETṚ (*DīU*, 2 lists)	TANTRA (*BraYā*, 2 lists)	PRAṆETṚ (*BraYā*, 2 lists)
Vijaya	Īśvaraḥ	Vijaya	Īśvara
Niśvāsa	Devī	Niśvāsa	Devī/Mahādevī
Svāyambhuva	Brahmā	Syāyaṃbhuva	Brahmā
Vātula	Ṣaṇmukha	1) Vāthula; 2) Vīrabhadra	Vīrabhadra
Vīrabhadra	Vīrabhadra/Vīra	1) Candrahāsa; 2) Āgneya	Kumāra
Raurava	Nandīśvara/Nandin	Raurava	Nandīśvara/Nandin
Mākuṭa	Mahākāla	Mākuṭa/Mākoṭya	Mahākāla
Vimala	Uśanas	1) Vīreśa; 2) Candrabhāsa	1) Nandīśvarapitṛ?; 2) Candramas
Candrabhāsa	Candramas	1) Āgneya?; 2) Vīra?	Uśanā
Jñāna	1) Bṛhaspati; 2) Aṅgirasas	1) Candrajñāna; 2) Jñāna	1) Bṛhaspati; 2) Aṅgirasa
Mukhabimba	Dadhīcī	Bimba/Mukhabimba	Dadhīci
Prodgīta	Kaca	Prodgīta	Kaca
Lalita	Lalitā	Lalita	1) Lakulīśa; 2) Lalitā
Siddhi	Caṇḍa	Siddhi	Caṇḍa
Santāna	Śātaparṇin	Santāna	Śātaparṇa
Śarvodgīta	1) Sanatkumāra; 2) Viṣṇu	1) Śarvodgīta; 2) Kiraṇa	1) Sanatkumāra; 2) Brahmā
Kiraṇa	1) Viṣṇu; 2) Brahmā	1) Kiraṇa; 2) Śarvodgīta	Viṣṇu
Pārameśvara	Parameśvara	Pāramśvara	Parameśvara

Table 1.12: A sample of parallel text in *Dīkṣottara* 4 and *Brahmayāmala* 39

DĪKṢOTTARA 4.37–39	BRAHMAYĀMALA 39.65–68b
ete tantrapraṇetāraḥ	ete tantrapraṇetārāḥ
śivajñānasya pāragāḥ |	śivajñānasya pāragāḥ |
te cāpy anye mahābhāgāḥ	tathā cānyā mahābhāgāḥ
kumārādyāś śacīpatiḥ ||37||	kumārādyāḥ śacīpatiḥ ||65||
mantrasiddhās tathā cānye	mantrasiddhās tathā caiva
ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ |	ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ |
mantrabhedapraṇetāro	mantrakalpavido devi
mantrakalpakarās tathā ||38||	śivajñānasya pāragāḥ ||66||
ebhir eva śivajñānaṃ	mantrapīṭhāt samākṛṣya
sthāpitaṃ vasudhātale |	mantrabhedair anekadhā
nāmabhedaprasaṃkhyātam(?)	śivarudravibhāgena
ārādhya pārameśvaram ||39||	śivajñānaṃ prakāśitam ||67||
	sthāpitaṃ ca mahādevi
	etair eva mahītale |

any allusion to distinctive aspects of the *BraYā*'s account of revelation: it contains no mention of directional streams (*srotas*), nor to the faces of the supreme deity as sources of scripture; no reference to *Bhairavatantra*s or any other non-Saiddhāntika scripture, nor to division of texts into *pīṭha*s, the "mounds" or corpora of *mudrā*, maṇḍala, mantra, and *vidyā*;[232] no mention of the triad of *śakti*s, nor the threefold division of recipients according to degrees of purity; and while it contains passing reference to scripture descending through several worlds (*loka*, v. 25), it does not evince a model of revelation linking the descent of scripture to the hierarchy of ontic levels (*tattvakrama*), an important theme in the *BraYā* (though more so in *BraYā* 1 than 39). One might have expected

[232]While lacking *BraYā* 39's discussions of *mudrā*s and *vidyā*s, one of the major concerns of *Dīkṣottara* 4 is to delineate "which gods and sages were initiated into the systems of which tantras and relate the numbers of *maṇḍala*s and mantras taught by each text" (GOODALL 1998: 408). Apparently responding to this concern, *BraYā* 39.43–46 (cf. 39.67) posits the *mantra-*, *mudrā-*, and *maṇḍalapīṭha*s of the *dakṣiṇasrotas* of *Bhairavatantra*s as the source of all mantra, *mudrā*, and maṇḍala, subverting the status of the *Siddhāntatantra*s of the middle stream. Incidentally, one might speculate that the influential model of four *pīṭha*s expounded in the *BraYā*—of mantra, maṇḍala, *mudrā*, and *vidyā*—builds upon the *Dīkṣottara*'s concern for the delineation of the mantras and maṇḍalas associated with particular scriptures.

even a relatively innocent redactional 'slip' should the *Dīkṣottara* have drawn upon the *BraYā*, while the opposite scenario appears entirely explicable. To put this another way, the vision of revelation articulated by the *BraYā* is more or less capable of encompassing the contents of *Dīkṣottara* 4, while the reverse is not true.

The *BraYā*'s knowledge of the *Dīkṣottara* could prove to be key evidence for establishing its *terminus post quem*. Unfortunately, the *Dīkṣottara*'s dating remains highly speculative. GOODALL et al. (2015: 23–27) argue convincingly that this work of nineteen chapters is "likely to be an addition tagged on to the *Niśvāsakārikā* at a later date." Some form of the *Niśvāsakārikā* is contemporaneous with at least the final portion of the *Guhyasūtra*, which ends by speaking of the *Kārikā* as the *Niśvāsa*'s fifth *sūtra*.[233] GOODALL et al. (ibid.: 27) are inclined to place even this stage in the development of the *Niśvāsa* prior to the end the seventh century. While it may thus be reasonable to suppose that the *Dīkṣottara* belongs to some part of the seventh century, little can be said definitively other than that it was known to Abhinavagupta,[234] and that considerable development (e.g. in cosmology) lies between it and the older *sūtra*s of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*.

1.9.2 The *Brahmayāmala* and early non-Saiddhāntika literature

While the earliest *Siddhāntatantra*s surely predate the *BraYā*, less clear is its chronology relative to other early extant works of non-Saiddhāntika literature. Its account of revelation attests to a sizeable and varied body of such *tantra*s, but few, if any, of those that survive can be demonstrated to predate the *BraYā*. This section examines its chronology relative to several surviving *tantra*s of the *vāma-* and *bhairava-* streams: the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, *Svacchandalalitabhairava*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, and *Tantrasadbhāva*.

The *BraYā*'s model of revelation gives a prominent place to the *Vāmatantra*s of the leftward stream (*vāmasrotas*), concerned with the cult of the Four Sisters (*bhaginī*) of Tumburu—Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī, and Aparājitā. Like the cult of the Seven Mothers (*sapta mātaraḥ*), this archaic system appears to predate and

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[233] *Guhyasūtra* 18.15 (as quoted by GOODALL et al. 2015: 23): *catvāro kathitā sūtrā samukhādyā varānane | pañcaman tu para[ṃ] sūtram kārikā nāma nāmataḥ | sūcitā sūtramātreṇa kārikāṃ [punaḥ pṛ]cchatha ||*.

[234] See GOODALL (1998: xli–xliii, n. 96).

perhaps even presage the *yoginī* cults and goddess-dominated maṇḍalas of the Vidyāpīṭha. *BraYā* 39.75 attributes four *tantra*s to the *vāmasrotas*: the *Saṃmoha*, *Naya* (?), *Nayottara*, and *Śaukra*, which are said to be the source of numerous derivative *tantras*.[235] An additional passage in a subsequent chapter, *BraYā* 77, lists another series of *tantra*s identifiable mainly as texts of the *vāmasrotas*. This is notable for mentioning the extant *Vīṇa*, i.e. the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, in addition to the *Naya*, *Śaukra*, and possibly a certain *Guhyatantra*.[236]

Unfortunately, among scriptures of the *vāmasrotas*, only the *Vīṇāśikha* appears to survive intact, preserved in a single manuscript.[237] Evidently predating the *BraYā*, this still does not belong to the earliest scriptures of its class, for it situates itself as revelation subsequent to the *Saṃmoha*, *Nayottara*, and *Śaukra*.[238] I am not aware of any material in the *BraYā* likely to be redacted directly from

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[235] *BraYā* 39.75: *sanmohaṃ ca tathā proktaṃ nayañ* [conj.; *bhavā* A] *caiva nayottaram* | *śaukraṃ caiva tathā proktaṃ vāmasrotād vinirgatam* | *eteṣāṃ bahavo bhedāḥ saṃśritā* †*nirgame*†*sthitāḥ* ||. See the annotation to the edition for a discussion of the emendation *nayañ*.

[236] *BraYā* 77.91–93:

> *satyam etan mahādevi na kathyaṃ yasya kasya cit* ||91||
> *bhairave tu naye caiva [ś]aukre caiva tu* †*sādhakaḥ*† |
> *mahāsanmohavīṇe ca guhyatantre sudurlabham* ||92||
> *brahmayāmalatantre tu vidyāpīṭhe tu bhāṣitam* |
> *kathitam picutantre tu prayogam ida durlabham* ||93||
>
> "This is the truth, O Mahādevī; it must not be told to just anyone. [This] is very difficult to obtain in the *Bhairava*, *Naya* [or perhaps *Bhairavanaya*], *Śaukra*, †...† *Mahāsaṃmoha*, *Vīṇa*, and *Guhyatantra*. But it has been spoken in the *Brahmayāmalatantra* in the Vidyāpīṭha; this rare procedure has been taught in the *Picutantra*."

Of these, the *Śaukra*, *Mahāsaṃmoha*, and *Vīṇa* (=*Vīṇāśikha*) are certainly *tantra*s of the *vāmasrotas*; the former two, and probably the *Naya*, are listed as such in *BraYā* 39.77, along with the *Nayottara*. As for the *Guhyatantra*, this could be an unknown *Vāmatantra*, or perhaps even the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*. Sanderson (2007b: 233) points out that the *Jayadrathayāmala* uses the expression *Guhyātantra* as a class name for *tantra*s of the *vāmasrotas*. I am hence inclined to consider the conjecture *guhyātantreṣu durlabham* in 93d (for *guhyatantre sudurlabham*). Cf. *BraYā* 88.2b: *ghoratantreṣu durllabhāṃ*.

[237] NAK 1-1076 (NGMPP reel A43/3). This is the basis for the edition of Goudriaan (1985). Traces of the *Śiraścheda*, a text mentioned in early lists of *Vāmatantra*s, may be present in the first of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s four *ṣaṭka*s, which refers to itself by this title; see Sanderson (2001: 31–32, n. 33; 2014: 38). For a review of evidence for the *Vāmatantra*s, see Sanderson (2014: 37–38, 47–50).

[238] *Vīṇāśikha* 4: *śrutaṃ sammohanaṃ tantraṃ tathā nayottaraṃ mahat* | *śiraśchedaṃ ca deveśa tvatprasādāt sudurlabham* ||.

a *Vāmatantra*. Nonetheless, there are some indications that the *Vāmatantras*' cult of the Sisters (*bhaginī*) lies in the not-so-distant background. One of these concerns the *bhaginīs*' position in cosmology: *BraYā* 56 describes a hierarchy of goddess clans (*kula*) in which *bhaginīs* occupy the penultimate position, at the level of *īśvaratattva*, just below the [Four] Devīs of the *BraYā*'s own maṇḍala (see table 1.9a).[239]

A trace of the *Vāmatantras* may also be evident in the *BraYā*'s use of maritime iconography, for this appears distinctive to the *vāmasrotas*. In the Buddhist *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* (or *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*), which contains rare and important material on the cult of *bhaginīs*, the Four Sisters are repeatedly described as mounted in a boat (*nauyānasamārūḍhāḥ*) with their brother, Tumburu, as helmsman.[240] Such maritime iconography is also attested in the *Netratantra*, which depicts the deities of the *Vāmatantras* situated on a boat in the Ocean of Milk,[241] and in the *Piṅgalāmata*, which appoints Tumburu as helmsman.[242] This manner of representing the *Vāmatantra* pantheon has close parallels in *BraYā* 4. Here one of two methods for worshipping the *BraYā*'s deities in a line (*paṅktiyāga*), as opposed to a lotus (*padmayāga*), entails arraying the Four Devīs and Four Dūtīs upon a boat in the Ocean of Milk with Bhairava as helmsman.[243] Chapters 85 and 90 also describe forms of Bhairava and the

[239] See *BraYā* 56.11–14, as edited in Hatley 2007.

[240] Note, for instance, *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* 47.23–24: *caturbhaginyeti vikhyātā … sabhrātṛsahitā nityaṃ mahodadhinivāsinaḥ* ||23|| *nauyānasamārūḍhā sabhrātṛsahapañcamā karṇadhāro 'tha cit tāsāṃ tumburur nāma saṃjñitaḥ* ||24||.

[241] *Netratantra* 11.25c–26b describes a seat (*āsana*) of several layers (*ādhāraśakti*, earth, milk ocean, and boat, from bottom to top) for the deities of the *vāmasrotas*: *nāvaṃ kṣīrārṇavaṃ corvīṃ śaktim ādhārikāṃ śubhām* || *āsanārthaṃ prayuñjīta śāntyarthaṃ sitanīrajam* |.

[242] Sanderson (2009: 51, n. 22) observes that the *Citrādhikāra* section of the *Piṅgalāmata* attests representation of the *bhaginīs* in a boat: *jayādyāś cakragās tadvat paṅktisthā vā likhet kramāt* | *nāvārūḍhāś ca vā likhyās tumburuḥ karṇadhārakaḥ* | ("He should depict Jayā[, Vijayā, Jayantī,] and [Aparājitā] forming a circle or in a line. Alternatively he may depict them on board a ship with Tumburu as the helmsman" (trans. Sanderson).

[243] *BraYā* 4.294c–99:

dvitīyaḥ paṃktiyāgas tu kathayāmi śṛṇuṣva me ||294||
devī raktā tathā caiva karālā kiṅkarī punaḥ |
punar devī karālī tu punar dūtī tu danturā ||295||
punar devī tu caṇḍākṣī bhīmavaktrā punaḥ sthitā |
mahocchuṣmā punaś caiva punaś caiva mahābalā ||296||
dvitīyaḥ paṃktivinyāso navakasya prakīrttitāḥ |
navāyāṃ kārayed devyo mahāpretasya copari ||297||
bhairavādyāḥ krameṇaiva mastakāpādayontikā |

eight goddesses aboard a boat,[244] while several other individual deities may also

> *śavopari nyased devyo nāvārūḍhā yathākramam* ||298||
> *karṇṇadhāro bhaved devo bhairavo guhyakādhipaḥ* |
> *kṣīrodārṇṇavamadhyasthāḥ krīḍayanti yatas tu tāḥ* ||299||

294c dvitīyaḥ] *corr.*; dvitīya **A** 295a devī] *em.*; devo **A** 295b karālā] *em.*; karālī **A** 295c devī] *em.*; ddevi **A** 295d punar dūtī] *corr.*; puna ddūtī 296d mahābalā] *em.*; mahābalāḥ **A** 297a dvitīyaḥ] **A**^{pc}; dvitīya **A**^{ac} 298a bhairavādyāḥ krameṇaiva] *em.*; bhairavādy?akra?menaiva **A** 298b °ontikāḥ] *em.*; °ontikā **A** 298c śavopari] *corr.*; savopari **A** 299a karṇṇadhāro] *em.*; kaṇḍadhāro **A** 299c °madhyasthāḥ] *corr.*; °madhyasthā **A** 299d tāḥ] *em.*; tāṃ **A**

"I shall [now] teach the second pantheon-worship [with the deities arrayed] in a row (*paṅktiyāga*); listen to me. The *devī* Raktā, then the *kiṅkarī* Karālā; then the *devī* Karālī and the *dūtī* Danturā; then the *devī* Caṇḍākṣī; then is placed Bhīmavaktrā; then Mahocchuṣmā, then Mahābalā. The second placement [of the pantheon] of Nine in a row has been taught. One should make the goddesses in the boat on top of a human corpse, in order, beginning with Bhairava, from its head to its feet. One should place the goddesses aboard a boat on top of a corpse in due order. The god Bhairava, lord of the *guhyakās*, would be helmsman, such that they sport in the middle of the Ocean of Milk."

[244] *BraYā* 85.162–66:

> *rūpakan tu pravakṣyāmi devīnāṃ sādhanasya tu* |
> *pūrvvoktarūpakaṃ jñeyaṃ kapālamuṇḍasaṃyutam* ||162||
> *nāvārūḍhās tu dhyātavyā nāvārūḍhās tu pūjayet* |
> *evaṃ kramavibhāgena nagnarūpāś caturmukhāḥ* ||163||
> *mahāpretasamārūḍhā devo devyaś ca kīrttitāḥ* |
> *dūtyo vai padmahastās tu trimukhāḥ ṣaḍbhujāḥ smṛtāḥ* ||164||
> *devyas tv aṣṭabhujā jñeyāḥ sādhakena tu dhīmatā* |

162c jñeyaṃ] *em.*; jñeya **A** 163c evaṃ krama°] *conj.* (= *BraYā* 12.181c, 45.631a, 53.169c); evan nagna° **A** 163d °rūpāś] *em.*; °rūpā **A** °mukhāḥ] *em.*; °mukhā **A** 164b devo] *em.*; devau **A** 164d ṣaḍbhujāḥ] *corr.*; ṣaṭbhujā **A**

"I shall teach the form of the goddesses, and of their *sādhana*. Their form should be known as stated previously, possessing skulls and severed heads. But [they] should be meditated upon as mounted in a boat; one should worship them mounted in a boat thus, in their respective order. The god [Bhairava] and [Four] Devīs are said to be naked, with four faces, mounted upon human corpses. The [Four] Dūtīs are said to have lotuses in hand, and to have three faces and six arms. But the Devīs the wise *sādhaka* should know to have eight arms."

Cf. *BraYā* 90.90–91, which, after describing the Four Devīs and an alternative set of Dūtīs (Sumanā, Jvālinī, Raudrī, and Manasā), specifies that they are to be visualized as being naked

be visualized in this manner.[245] This unusual maritime iconography may stem from the *Vāmatantras*, some of which almost certainly predate the *BraYā*. In addition, there is a possibility that the *BraYā*'s core pantheon is itself configured on the model of the *Vāmatantras*, for these share the seemingly unique pattern of having a single male deity accompanied by four goddesses referred to as *devī*s (also *bhaginī*, in the *Vāmatantras*, or *guhyakā*, in the *BraYā*) and four secondary female deities called *dūtī*s (also *kiṅkarī*, in the *BraYā*).[246]

These potential traces of *Vāmatantra*s accord with the prominence the *BraYā* assigns to the *vāmasrotas* in its model of revelation. This close contact suggests a comparatively early historical horizon. Texts of the *vāmasrotas* are among the first works of Śaiva tantric literature that come into evidence: "Tantras of the Sisters" (*Bhaginītantra*) were known to Dharmakīrti (fl. c. 550–650),[247] while two loose folia of a post-scriptural work in the tradition of the *vāmasrotas* have been discovered among the Gilgit manuscripts, perhaps dating to the mid-sixth

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in a boat:

> *siddhidāḥ kathitā devi devyo dūtīsamanvitāḥ* ||90||
> *svanāmasthānasaṃyuktāḥ pretāsanasusaṃsthitāḥ* |
> *nāvārūḍhāḥ kacair muktā nagnarūpāḥ susiddhidāḥ* ||91||
>
> 90a siddhidāḥ] *corr.*; siddhidā **A** 90b °samanvitāḥ] *em.*; °samanvitā **A** 91a °saṃyuktāḥ] °saṃyuktā **A** 91b °susaṃsthitāḥ] °susaṃsthitā **A** 91c nāvārūḍhāḥ] nāvārūḍhā **A**
>
> "O goddess, the [Four] Devīs, together with the Dūtīs, are said to bestow *siddhi*. Possessing their names and positions [as described above], situated upon corpse seats, mounted in a boat, naked, with hair unbound, they readily bestow *siddhi*."

[245]In *BraYā* 78, Mahāmardakabhairava, an androgenous (*ardhanarīśvara*) form of the deity possessing eight arms and four faces, stands upon a corpse in a boat. A similar four-faced, eight-armed Bhairava on a boat is mentioned in 71.28–29. The *yoginī* Kroṣṭukī may also be visualized in this manner (*BraYā* 79.8ab: *nāvārūḍhā tu karttavyā kapālakṛtahastikā*).

[246]Evidence for the pantheon of the *Vāmatantra*s is synthesized by Sanderson (2009: 50–51, n. 22) from the **Devītantrasadbhāvasāra*, *Devyāmata*, *Netratantra*, *Śāradātilaka*, and *Tantrasārasaṃgraha*. In most of these cases the goddesses are joined by four male deities referred to as "servants" (*kiṅkara*); the *BraYā* uses this designation in the feminine (*kiṅkarī*) as an alternative name for the *dūtī*s, while occasionally adding male *kiṅkara*s to this pantheon (they are mentioned for instance in 4.171).

[247]As observed by Sanderson (2001: 11–12), Dharmakīrti makes critical remarks concerning *Ḍākinītantra*s and *Bhaginītantra*s, the latter of which his commentator Karṇakagomin identifies as "Tantras of the Four Sisters" (*caturbhaginītantras*)—almost certainly, as Sanderson argues, scriptures of the Śaiva *vāmasrotas*.

century.[248] This early system of goddess worship appears to have fallen into desuetude in subsequent centuries, perhaps eclipsed by Vidyāpīṭha systems like the *BraYā*'s. Regarding the *Vāmatantras*' prevalence and decline, SANDERSON (2014: 49) concludes, "Up to the eighth century at least this tradition enjoyed considerable popularity in the Indian subcontinent, and also in Southeast Asia," while "evidence from the tenth century and after suggests that by then the Vāma system had faded from view" in India. The Four Sisters remained consequential enough to be mentioned by Śaṅkara, the famous Vedāntin (fl. c. 800 C.E.?), in his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*.[249]

That the *BraYā* knows of the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* could prove important to its dating. While the *Vīṇā-* postdates the earliest authorative *Vāmatantras*, an eighth-century or earlier date nonetheless seems warranted, for epigraphic records identify the text as being in circulation in Southeast Asia in the early ninth century, along with other *Vāmatantras* and the *Niśvāsa*.[250] Notably, the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* is absent from the account of the *vāmasrotas* in *BraYā* 39, yet mentioned in *BraYā* 77, which may belong to a later textual stratum. One might hence speculate that the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* was composed in the interval between the *BraYā*'s early form and its "*Picumata*-stratum." However, this discrepancy can also be explained by the fact that *BraYā* 39 presents an idealized model of revelation which must account only for the most fundamental canonical texts, a status not necessarily held by the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*.

In addition to its knowledge of the *Vāmatantras*, the *BraYā* looks out upon

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[248] This discovery was made by SANDERSON and Somadeva VASUDEVA; see SANDERSON (2009: 50–51) for a discussion of the content and dating. He provisionally refers to this post-scriptural text, written in *āryā* meter, as the **Devītantrasadbhāvasāra*.

[249] Śaṅkara's comments ad *Bhagavadgītā* 9.25 have been discussed by NAGASWAMY (1996). Commenting on 9.25c, *bhūtāni yānti bhūtejyā* ("worshippers of spirits attain to the spirits"), Śaṅkara remarks, according to the Ānandāśrama edition, ***bhūtāni** vināyakamātṛgaṇacaturbhaginyādīni **yānti bhūtejyā** bhūtānāṃ pūjakāḥ*; he hence glossess "*bhūtas*," with "Gaṇeśa, the group of Mother-goddesses, the Four Sisters, etc." NAGASWAMY (242–44), puzzled about the identity of the Four Sisters, points out that the variant °*catuḥṣaṣṭiyoginī*° ("the Sixty-four Yoginīs") is reported for °*caturbhaginī*° in the edition's apparatus, and is read by the commentator Dhanapatisūri; the MSS. he consulted in the Sarasvati Mahal Library read °*caturbhaginī*°, however. Although further examination of the manuscript evidence is warranted, I doubt NAGASWAMY is correct in opining that the reference to sixty-four *yoginīs* is original: the notion of the *yoginīs* as sixty-four in number does not seem particularly early, and only becomes prevalent in Kaula sources from around the tenth century (HATLEY 2014a: 207–8).

[250] This evidence is presented by SANDERSON (2001: 7–8, n. 5; 2003: 355–57; 2005a: 233–38).

a large canon of *Bhairavatantras*, these constituting the southern or rightward stream (*dakṣiṇasrotas*) of revelation, in which the text situates itself. In chapter 39, the *BraYā* subdivides this stream into four "mounds" or corpora (*pīṭha*), although only two of these are represented by actual sets of texts: the Mantrapīṭha and Vidyāpīṭha (table 1.6).[251] A mere four *tantras* populate the *BraYā*'s Mantrapīṭha. Named after distinct forms of Bhairava, none of these appear to be extant. Those *tantras* named after the Eight Bhairavas, beginning with Svacchandabhairava, are placed in the Vidyāpīṭha rather than Mantrapīṭha. This is notable given that the *Svacchandatantra* is frequently taken as emblematic of the Mantrapīṭha.[252] As for the remaining Vidyāpīṭha scriptures, these comprise eight *Yāmalas* (beginning with the *Rudrayāmala*) as well as fourteen or more additional texts whose titles mainly contain names of Bhairavī/Aghorī.[253] Few of these *Bhairavatantras* seem to survive, an important exception being the influential *Svacchanda[lalitabhairava]tantra*.

Concerning the relationship between the extant recensions of the *BraYā* and the *Svacchandatantra*, the evidence is not especially strong. While the former lists the latter in its account of the canon, the evidence from such lists must be treated with caution, as the case of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *BraYā* illustrates (discussed below). In the area of cosmology, the *BraYā* appears archaic in comparison to the *Svacchandatantra*. For instance, like the *BraYā*, the *Svacchandatantra* draws upon the *Niśvāsa*'s *navātman* mantra, placing a series of nine *tattvas* in relation to the syllables of the *navātman*. However, the *Svacchandatantra* version also correlates the syllabic series to the thirty-six *tattva* system normative in later Śaiva cosmology (table 1.13a)—a system absent from both the *Niśvāsa* and *BraYā*. In this respect the *BraYā* appears comparatively archaic.[254]

On the other hand, there may be grounds for considering the *BraYā*'s principal male deity, Kapālīśabhairava, secondary to Svacchandabhairava in the historical development of Śaivism. Kapālīśa is first attested as an important *rudra* in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, where he heads the Hundred Rudras at the level of the "fire of time" (*kālāgni*), at the base of the hierarchy of world levels

[251] On the Mudrāpīṭha and Maṇḍalapīṭha, see *BraYā* 39.44–46.

[252] The *Svacchandatantra*'s attribution to the Mantrapīṭha occurs in the colophons of all three of its complete palm-leaf manuscripts (see bibliography).

[253] The texts may number fiften, if the *Bahurūpa* is twofold, as *BraYā* 39.40c suggests, while *Ugravidyāgaṇa* may be a group of texts or a genre (39.40b).

[254] Concerning the *BraYā*'s cosmology, see §1.10 below.

[255] Likely *anusvāra*; see Goodall et al. (2015: 340–41).

Table 1.13: The *Navātman* and Cosmology in the *Svacchandatantra* and *Brahmayāmala*

(a) Purification of the Thirty-six and Nine Tattvas with the syllables of the Vidyārāja according to *Svacchandatantra* 5.4–11

36 TATTVAS	AKṢARA	9 TATTVAS
śakti	*praṇava?*	*śiva*
sadāśiva	HA	*sadāśiva*
īśvara	RA	*īśvara*
vidyā	KṢA	*vidyā*
māyā	MA	*māyā*
kāla, kalā	LA	*kāla*
niyati, vidyā	VA	*niyati*
puruṣa, rāga	YA	*puruṣa*
kṣiti–prakṛti	Ū	*prakṛti*

(b) 'Lord of Nine Tattvas' (*navatattveśvara*) according to *BraYā* 62

TATTVA	AKṢARA
parameśvara	*dehavyāpin*[255]
sadāśiva	HA
īśvara	RA
vidyā	KṢA
māyā	MA
kāla	LA
niyati	VA
puruṣa	YA
prakṛti	Ū

(*bhuvana*).[256] Kapālīśa the *rudra* is presumably an early form of the deity who figures as first of the eight *bhairava*s in the maṇḍala of Svacchandabhairava, according to the *Svacchandatantra*.[257] He attains the apex of his cultic status as supreme Bhairava of the *BraYā*, alongside Aghorī—a name held in common by the goddess-consort of Svacchandabhairava—who also bears the distinctive name Caṇḍā Kāpālinī. The *BraYā*'s convention for naming a new officiant suggests that Kapālīśa has usurped the position of Svacchandabhairava: during consecration, when the flower cast by the candidate falls upon the central god, he receives the name Svacchandabhairava, rather than being named after the *BraYā*'s own Kapālīśa—an evident carryover from the cult and maṇḍala of Svacchanda.[258] It may hence be the case that some form of the *Svacchanda-*

[256] The list of the Hundred Rudras (*śatarudra*) begins, *śatarudrāṇi me śṛṇu | kapālīśo hy ajo buddhaḥ vajradehaḥ pramardanaḥ ||* (*Guhyasūtra* 7.82bcd).

[257] In the *Svacchandatantra*, the eight *bhairava*s (*bhairavāṣṭaka*) forming the primary entourage of Svacchanda are headed by Kapālīśabhairava; the remaining seven are Śikhivāhana, Krodharāja, Vikarāla, Manmatha, Meghanāda, Somarāja, and Vidyārāja. The names and mantras of the Eight are given in *Svacchandatantra* 1.76c–86; cf. 2.117–22.

[258] *BraYā* 34.165–66:

tantra predates the *BraYā*, a fact perhaps obscured in the former by subsequent layers of redaction.

Questions remain concerning the relation between the *BraYā* and the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, both being among the earliest extant goddess-oriented *tantras*. In contrast to the *BraYā*, the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, which is fundamental to the Trika system, survives only in a short, likely secondary recension missing a significant amount of the material attributed to it by Kashmirian authors (Törzsök 1999: iv–v). Possessing distinct pantheons, these Vidyāpīṭha texts nonetheless share much in character, both being *siddhi*-oriented scriptures rooted in archaic *yoginī* cults. One might suspect that the *BraYā* predates the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* given that the latter lists the former in its account of the Śaiva canon.[259] However, as Judit Törzsök (1999: ix) points out, the *BraYā* might also refer to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* in the same context, for it mentions a Vidyāpīṭha text by the title *Siddhā*—one of several names by which Abhinavagupta cites the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. This apparent circularity, which owes perhaps to ongoing revision or idealized text lists, suggests the need for weighing multiple types of evidence in determining relative chronology, evidence that appears lacking in this case. Irrespective of their chronological priority, the *BraYā* contains material concerning *śakti* triads that might potentially shed light on the cultic background to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*'s triad (*trika*) of goddesses.[260]

More can be said concerning the relation of the *BraYā* with another major Trika Vidyāpīṭha scripture: the *Tantrasadbhāva*, which explicitly situates itself in the tradition of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. There are several indications

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bhairave tu yadā puṣpaṃ patate pūrvvacoditaṃ |
śaktīnāṃ tu tadā tasya nāmam vai kalpayed budhaḥ ||165||
svacchandabhairavo nāma tadā tasya prajāyate |
bhairavyāṃ tu yadā pāta śaktibhairavasaṃjñakaḥ ||166||

There would seem to be a textual problem here, for 165cd appears misplaced (perhaps it followed 166cd?), or even interpolated; 166ab seems intended to follow 165ab. In *BraYā* 4.888–98, in the section explicating initiatory kinship based upon the flower-cast of the initiand, the applicable clans are those of the Eight Mothers and "Bhairava," of whom no particular form is specified.

[259] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.18a.

[260] Worship of *śakti* triads comprises the subject of paṭalas 27 (*śaktitritayayāga*, concerned with Vāmā, Madhyamā, and Dakṣiṇā) and 86 (*śaktitrayavidhāna*, concerned with Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī). Relevant material is found in *BraYā* 83 as well; see the discussion of trident symbolism in §6.2.

that the *Tantrasadbhāva* postdates the *BraYā* as well. While the *Tantrasadbhāva* makes no mention of a "*Brahmayāmala*," it refers multiple times to *Yāmalatantra*s as a genre.[261] Given that the extant lists of *Yāmala*s almost all feature the *BraYā*, this alone might suggest that the latter was known in some form to the redactors of the *Tantrasadbhāva*. Furthermore, the *Tantrasadbhāva* once makes reference to a text called the *Dvādaśasāhasra* ("[Tantra] of Twelve Thousand [Verses]"), an epithet of the *BraYā*.[262] So far I have identified only three verses shared by the two texts, with no obvious indications of the direction of redaction. In the first case, the context is that of the initiatory pledges (*samaya*), which one might expect any number of scriptures to share—and indeed the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* contains the same verse.[263] Similarly, the texts share a verse

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[261] *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.11–14, 34c–35b:

> *śrutvā vedaṃ mayā tantrā rahasyaṃ gūḍhagocarāḥ* |
> *vāmadakṣiṇamārgāś ca yāmalās tu anekadhā* ||11||
> *siddhāntāś ca sureśāna daśāṣṭādaśabhedataḥ* |
> *lakṣakoṭivibhāgena koṭayas tu anekadhā* ||12||
> *siddhayogeśvarītantre śatakoṭipravistare* |
> *mūlatantre mahāsūtre sūtradvayavinirgatam* ||13||
> *tantraikaṃ tu mahājñānaṃ yonyarṇavasamudbhavam*
> *na śrutaṃ śrotum icchāmi tantrasadbhāvam uttamam* ||14 ||
> . . .
> *ye mayā kathitās tantrā vāmadakṣiṇayāmalāḥ* ||34||
> *rudrabhedās tathā devi śivabhedās tathaiva ca* |

> 11a vedaṃ] KKh; veda G tantrā] Kh; rudrā K; –drā G; rudra *em.* (Dyczkowski) 11b °gocarāḥ] KKh; – – – G 11c vāma°] KKh; – – G 13 sūtradvayavinirgatam] KKh; ? G mahājñānaṃ] Kh; mayā jñātaṃ KG 14b yonyarṇava°] *em.*; yonyārṇava° KKhG °samudbhavam] KG; – – – – Kh 34c kathitās] *em.*; kathitāṃ K; kathitā KhG

mss. as reported in the dlmiri electronic text supervised by Dyczkowski, where K = ngmpp reel no. a188/22, K = a44/1, and G = a44/2. The edition proposed above is provisional. Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 25.301: *sāmānyaṃ sarvatantreṣu vāmadakṣiṇayāmale | vidyāpīṭhe 'pi deveśi bṛhadgranthe tu sūcitāḥ ||*.

[262] *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.234: *evaṃ dvādaśasāhasre pṛthagdhāraprakīrtitam | nāmāni rudrasaṃghasya sūcitānīha pārvati ||*. Text as consituted in the draft edition of Dyczkowski.

[263] *BraYā* 62.121: *na nagnāṃ vanitāṃ paśye[n] na cāpi prakaṭastanīm | nālokayet paśukrīḍā[ṃ] kṣudrakarman na kārayet ||*. This is identical to *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.543:

> *na nagnāṃ vanitāṃ paśyen na cāpi prakaṭastanīm* |
> *nālokayet paśukrīḍāṃ kṣudrakarmaṃ na kārayet* ||

> nagnāṃ] K; naglāṃ KhG prakaṭastanīm] KKh; prakaṭāsanīṃ

listing eight sacred sites (*pīṭha*).[264] In the third case, which concerns *chommā*, a garbled *Tantrasadbhāva* verse would be impossible to reconstruct but for its parallel in the *BraYā*.[265] None of these isolated cases seems to warrant the assumption of direct borrowing.

The twenty-first chapter of the *Tantrasadbhāva* includes in its "treasury of *vidyās*" (*vidyākośa*) the following mantra: OṂ CĀMUṆḌE KAPĀLINI SVĀHĀ, described as the "root mantra" (*mūlamantra*) of Aghoreśī. This is remarkably similar to the Nine-Syllable Vidyā (*navākṣarā vidyā*) of the same Goddess in the *BraYā*: OṂ HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ. The *Tantrasadbhāva* describes several inflected forms of Aghoreśī's *vidyā* which utilize the vocative CAṆḌE, rather than CĀMUṆḌE, echoing still more closely the *BraYā*'s Nine-Syllable Vidyā.[266]

G °krīḍāṃ] *em.*; °krīḍāṃ KG; °krīḍā Kh kṣudra°] KG; kṣudre Kh

(MSS. as reported by DYCZKOWSKI.) This verse also occurs as *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 6.47c–48b.

[264]See note 365 below.

[265]*BraYā* 56.103–4 (HATLEY 2007):

potaṅgety abhivādanaṃ pratipotaṅge pratyabhivādanam |
yoginīnāṃ tu vīrāṇāṃ nārīṣety abhivādanam |
pratinārīṣaśabdena procyate prativādanam ||103||
ekāṅgulidarśanāt svāgataṃ dvābhyāṃ susvāgatam |
koṣṭhapraviṣṭenāṅguṣṭhena kṣemamudrā vidhīyate ||104||

Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 18.18c–19 (NAK 5-445 [NGMPP reel A44/2], *f.* 122*r*):

pottaṅgety abhivādanaṃ pratyottuṅge pratikṛtam ||18||
ekāṃgulidarśanāt svāgataṃ dvābhyāṃ susvāgatam |
koṣṭhapratibimbā cāṅguṣṭ[h]aṃ kṣemamudrā vidhīyate ||19||

It seems likely that the text of *Brahmayāmala* 56.103ab and 104 underlies this, with the significant absence of 56.103c–f. Among the sources at my disposal, the text of 103ab is found elsewhere only in the *Laghuśaṃvara*, in which *potaṅginī*, *potaṅgī*, and *pratipotaṅgī* occur as *mudrās* in 22.5, and in a closely related *chommā* passage of ch. 24: *potaṅgyabhivādanaṃ pratipotaṅgī pratyabhivādanam* (printed as prose in the Sarnath edition, v. 1, p. 126). On the latter Bhavabhaṭṭa rather unhelpfully comments (text repunctuated),

potaṅgy abhivādanam iti | abhivādanasya saṃjñā potaṅgīśabdaḥ | pratipotaṅgī pratyabhivādanam iti pratyabhivādanaṃ punar vandanāviśeṣaḥ |

"...The word *potaṅgī* is a convention for 'greetings'; ...*pratyabhivādanam* is again a particular type of paying respects."

[266]For instance, the *hṛdaya* or "heart" mantra is described as having the *tāraka* ("savior") in the begining, then the word CAṆḌE, ending with *nāda* (=NAMAḤ?) (*caṇḍeti tārakādyaṃ ca nādāntaṃ hṛdayaṃ param*, *Tantrasadbhāva* 21.156cd). That the *tāraka* is HŪṂ is suggested in

These mantras may be calqued upon the *BraYā*'s, although both texts could draw upon older traditions. More significant is the fact that the *Tantrasadbhāva*, perhaps uniquely, shows awareness of the *BraYā*'s *nārācaprastāra* method of mantra-derivation (*mantroddhāra*),[267] used heavily in *BraYā* 54–86. The strongest evidence of a direct link between the texts lies in the *Tantrasadbhāva*'s sacred geography, however. Chapter's 19's first section maps out a network of eight "sacred fields" (*kṣetra*), "secondary fields" (*upakṣetra*), and "meeting points" (*sandoha*), for which it enumerates presiding goddesses, male guardian deities (*kṣetrapāla*), and sacred trees. This system's eight *kṣetra*s are identical to the eight sacred cremation grounds enumerated in *BraYā* 87 (table 1.16).[268] While a shared list of sacred sites could be inconsequential, the link is in fact

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BraYā 23.54, which describes the *tāraka* as the root mantra (*mūlamantra*) of Bhairava, when conjoined with its ancillaries (*tārakaṃ yan mayā proktaṃ vaktranetrāṅgasaṃyutam* | *bhairavasya samākhyātaṃ mūlamantraṃ na saṃśayaḥ* ||).

[267] The passage in question is 3.49–50 (read from NAK 5-445 [=NGMPP A44/2, MS. G], and numbered as per DYCZKOWSKI):

> *śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi mantrāṇāṃ nirṇayaṃ sphuṭam* |
> *prastāraiḥ pratimāyāṃ tu digvargakoṣṭhakais tathā* ||49||
> *nārācyādi-r-anekaiś ca ye mantrāś coddhṛtāḥ priye* |
> *akṣarārthe tu te jñeyāḥ khaṇḍamantrāḥ śivoditāḥ* ||50||
>
> 49b sphuṭam] *em.*; sphutāṃ G 49c prastāraiḥ] *conj.*; prastāraḥ G 50b coddhṛtāḥ] *corr.*; coddhṛtā G 50d °mantrāḥ] *corr.*; °mantrā G
>
> "Listen, O goddess; I will teach a clear explanation of the mantras. Those mantras taught by Śiva which are derived by means of charts (*prastāraiḥ*), [or] from a visual image (*pratimāyāṃ*), or by grids with the classes of letters placed in the directions, manifold [arrays] beginning with the Arrow [chart] (*nārācya*), for the sake of [correctly transmitting] the syllables (*akṣarārthe*), should be known as fragmentary (*khaṇḍa*) mantras [i.e. incomplete or inefficient without empowerment]."

I have followed the interpretation suggested to me by TÖRZSÖK (personal communication). It is not evident how one might interpret the passage without adopting the conjecture *prastāraiḥ* for *prastāraḥ* (3.49c).

[268] *Tantrasadbhāva* 19.4c–5b (MSS. as reported by DYCZKOWSKI):

> *prayāgā varuṇā kollā aṭṭahāsā jayantikā* ||4||
> *caritraikāmrakaś caiva koṭivarṣaṃ tu cāṣṭamam* |
> *aindrīdiśi sāmārabhya yāvad īśānagocaram* ||5||
> *jñātavyaṃ kṣetravinyāsaṃ mantriṇā tu yathākramam* |
>
> 5a °aikāmrakaś] *em.*; °ekāmrakaś MSS. 6b mantriṇā] *em.*; mantriṇāṃ MSS.

unmistakable: the *Tantrasadbhāva* organizes the goddesses of these and the subsidiary sacred places into clans (*kula*) presided over by the Four Devīs and Four Dūtīs of the *BraYā*'s distinctive pantheon—deities who have no cultic significance in the *Tantrasadbhāva*. For instance, belonging to the clan of Mahābalā, fourth of the Dūtīs in the *BraYā*, are the goddess Karṇamoṭī, who presides over the eighth *kṣetra*, Koṭivarṣa; Cipiṭanāsā, of the eighth *upakṣetra*, Rājagṛha; and Carmamuṇḍā at Puṇḍravardhana, eighth of the *sandoha*s. Such incorporation of the *BraYā*'s pantheon and expansion of its sacred geography are strong evidence of debt to the *BraYā*. The ramifications of this are unclear, though, given the *Tantrasadbhāva*'s uncertain dating. According to SANDERSON, this is one of several Vidyāpīṭha *tantra*s, including the *BraYā*, drawn upon by the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvara* (discussed below), which could thus provide its *terminus ad quem*.[269] The *Tantrasadbhāva* of course predates Abhinavagupta, who cites it extensively, as well as the *Kubjikāmata*, which has incorporated large portions of the *Tantrasadbhāva*.[270] In turn, the *Tantrasadbhāva* postdates the *Svacchandatantra* as well as the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*.[271]

1.9.3 The *Brahmayāmala* and Buddhist *Yoginītantras*[272]

In a pioneering article of 2001, SANDERSON identified extensive parallel passages in tantric literature, within and across sectarian boundaries, and argued that substantial portions of important Buddhist *Yoginītantra*s were redacted from Śaiva sources, largely unpublished.[273] This constitutes some of the most important evidence marshalled in support of his thesis concerning the historical relationship between Śaivism and the esoteric Buddhism of the *Yoginītantra*s, first argued in an article of 1994, where he asserts, "almost everything concrete in the system is non-Buddhist in origin even though the whole is entirely

[269]The parallels between the *Tantrasadbhāva* and *Laghuśaṃvara* are comparatively brief, and the case seems less conclusive than those of the *BraYā* and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. SANDERSON (2001: 44) identifies nineteen pādas from *Tantrasadbhāva* 16 as the source of material in *Laghuśaṃvara* 41. He also identifies "related" passages in *Laghuśaṃvara* 18 and *Tantrasadbhāva* 16, and two verses redacted from chapter seven of the latter into *Laghuśaṃvara* 49.

[270]On the *Kubjikāmata*'s adaptation of chapters of the *Tantrasadbhāva*, see SANDERSON (2002).

[271]On the relationship between the *Guhyasūtra* and *Svacchandatantra*, and between the latter and the *Tantrasadbhāva*, see SANDERSON (2001: 22–32).

[272]The present section (1.9.3) is adapted from HATLEY (2016: 54–65), with minor modifications and corrections.

[273]SANDERSON (2001: 41–47, etc.).

Buddhist in its function" (p. 92). More recently (2009), he has added substantially to the text-critical evidence, and framed his findings within a broader hypothesis on the reasons for Śaivism's efflorescence in the early medieval period. While SANDERSON's examples concern several Buddhist texts, the most remarkable case is that of the *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra*, nearly half the contents of which he holds "can be seen to have been redacted from Śaiva originals found in texts of the Vidyāpīṭha division" of the *Bhairavatantras*—namely the *BraYā*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *Tantrasadbhāva*, *Niśisañcāra*, and the *Yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*.[274] The implications are considerable, for this would mean that one of the most fundamental scriptures of the latter phase of Indian Tantric Buddhism took shape, in large measure, through appropriation of material from *tantra*s of the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha.

The longest of the passages SANDERSON identifies as shared by the *BraYā* (/*Picumata*) and *Laghuśaṃvara* belongs to the first portion of chapter eighty-eight of the *BraYā*, entitled "The Section on the Pledges" (*samayādhikārapaṭala*),[275] and to the greater part of chapters twenty-six to twenty-nine of the *Laghuśaṃvara*. He notes that this intertextuality extends to the *Abhidhānottara* as well, a text of the Cakraśaṃvara cycle, in which the *Laghuśaṃvara* is fundamental: chapter forty-three begins with text corresponding to *Laghuśaṃvara* 26.6 and *BraYā* 88.9. Though the text of *Abhidhānottara* 43 closely parallels *Laghuśaṃvara* 26–29—fortuitously so, given that this section of the *Laghuśaṃvara* does not survive in Sanskrit—the former contains none of the latter's divisions into chapters.[276] In addition to shared passages, the *BraYā* and *Laghuśaṃvara* share a number of idiomatic expressions, to a degree unlikely to be coincidental.[277]

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[274] SANDERSON (2001: 41–47 [quotation on p. 42]; 2009: 187–220).

[275] The colophon reads, in the oldest manuscript (**A**), *samayādhikāro nāmañcāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ*—with *nāmañcāśītimaḥ* no doubt corrupt for *nāma pañcāśītimaḥ*. SANDERSON evidently follows the colophon, so emended, in numbering this chapter 85 rather than 88, the latter being its number in order of occurrence.

[276] I have consulted two manuscripts of the *Abhidhānottara*, as listed in the bibliography.

[277] For instance, *Laghuśaṃvara* 26.13cd (*aprakāśyam idaṃ guhyaṃ gopanīyaṃ prayatnataḥ*), which occurs again as 31.14, is parallel to *BraYā* 90.2cd (*aprakāśyam idaṃ devi gopanīyaṃ prayatnataḥ*); variants of this phrase appear in chapters 21, 22, 46, and 47 of the *BraYā* as well. Note the absence of the (contextually inappropriate) vocative *devi* in the *Laghuśaṃvara* version. Cf. also *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 22.39ab (*aprakāśyam idaṃ ghoraṃ yadicchej jīvitaṃ ciram*) and 28.22ab (*pihitaṃ gopitaṃ guhyaṃ gopanīyaṃ prayatnataḥ*) (references courtesy of TÖRZSÖK). There are other similarities of idiom: another phrase shared by the *BraYā* and *Laghuśaṃvara*, and not with other Buddhist sources I am aware of, is *nātaḥ parataraṃ kiñcit triṣu lokeṣu vidy-*

To the passages identified by SANDERSON I can add the final five verses of *BraYā* 87, which correspond to the opening verses of *Laghuśaṃvara* 26 (table 1.14). Hence, *Laghuśaṃvara* 26–29 corresponds, more or less in sequence, to the last several verses of *BraYā* 87 and first fifty-odd verses of 88, although individual verses and several short sections in both have no parallels in the other. The crucial Baroda codex of the *Laghuśaṃvara* is unfortunately lacunose from the third verse of chapter 22 up to the colophon of 29.[278] J.S. PANDEY (2002) attempted a reconstruction of the Sanskrit, utilizing the Tibetan translation, the commentary of Bhavabhaṭṭa, and parallels in the *Saṃpuṭatantra* and *Abhidhānottara*. This has been improved upon considerably in the edition of David GRAY (2012), who utilizes testimonia from additional Sanskrit commentaries and *vyākhyātantras*. Tellingly, though GRAY does not utilize Śaiva testimonia in constituting the text (as observes SUGIKI 2008), his well-considered reconstruction of the opening passage of chapter 26 brings it much closer to the parallel passage of the *Brahmayāmala* than PANDEY's does, particularly where he follows the oldest commentary: Jayabhadra's *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*. Jayabhadra appears to have commented upon an early version of the *Laghuśaṃvara* lacking chapter divisions—much like the parallel text of *Abhidhānottara* 43—as well as the concluding section of the received text. The latter includes some of the passages most recognizably 'Buddhist' in content (SANDERSON 2009: 158–59).

Table 1.14 places the passage from *Brahmayāmala* 87 alongside the corresponding verses of *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 26, as given in GRAY's edition. The passage in question is also shared by the *Brahmayāmalasāra*.[279] As discussed earlier, this abridged recension presupposes the existence of the twelve-thousand

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ate. This occurs as *Laghuśaṃvara* 5.25cd and 50.14ab (cf. also 26.1ab and 49.16), and *BraYā* 14.262ab and 87.222ab. (Cf., e.g., the *Revākhaṇḍa* attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa*, 71.1cd: *nātaḥ parataraṃ kiṃcit triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam*.) Other idiomatic expressions shared by the *BraYā* and the *Laghuśaṃvara* include variations upon the following (*Laghuśaṃvara* 3.20c–21b, edition of GRAY): *adṛṣṭamaṇḍalo yogī yogitvaṃ yaḥ samīhate* || *hanyate muṣṭinākāśaṃ pibate mṛgatṛṣṇikām* |. Striking the sky and drinking from a mirage are proverbial expressions of futile endeavor. My attention was first drawn to this verse by Harunaga ISAACSON (personal communication, 2003). Compare e.g. *BraYā* 91.44: *aviditvā -d- imaṃ sarvaṃ yaḥ pūjāṃ kartum arhati* | *hanate muṣṭinākāśam īhate mṛgatṛṣṇikām* ||. Verses with remarkable similarities occur as *BraYā* 3.5, 11.44c–45b, 22.106, 75.212, 85.50, and 90.56. These parallels are not however unique to the *BraYā*; note also *Tantrasadbhāva* 28.88ab and *Niśvāsakārikā* (T.17) 241cd (*hanate muṣṭinākāśaṃ pibate mṛgatṛṣṇikām*).

[278] Oriental Institute of Baroda manuscript no. 13290.

[279] The parallel text occurs in *BraYāSāra*, MS. S_1, at the end of what may be paṭala 72 (if the numbering is accurate); this chapter is absent from S_2, an incomplete MS.

verse *BraYā*—although not precisely as transmitted in its oldest manuscript (A), for several readings of the *BraYāSāra*, as reported in the annotation below, are closer to those of the *Laghuśaṃvara*, and may derive from an earlier stage in the *BraYā*'s transmission.

In the *BraYā*, this passage concludes the first chapter of the *BraYā*'s *Uttaratantra*, which likely belongs to a late stratum of the text. Parallels for some of the passage's obscure terminology occur earlier in the chapter and elsewhere in the *BraYā*.[298] In the *Laghuśaṃvara*, this passage instead opens chapter twenty-six. With the negative particle *na* not in the initial position, as in the *BraYā*, but in the hypermetrical second verse-quarter, the opening gives the appearance of having been awkwardly rewritten to introduce a new topic. That the verse is unclear is evident from its divergent interpretations.[299] The *Laghuśaṃvara*

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[280] triṣu] *BraYāSāra* MS. S_1; tṛṣu **A**

[281] sarvatantrān] **A**; mantrāṃ sarvvāṃ S_1 (this is closer to the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s *sarvān mantrān* and possibly original).

[282] carvāhāravibhāge] *em.*; carvāhārāvibhāgo **A**. Note that *BraYā* 87.223–24 are absent from S_1, just as is true of the *Laghuśaṃvara*.

[283] °ārādhake] *em.*; °ārādhane **A**

[284] ātmadūtī] **A**; ātmadūtin S_1

[285] siddhaṃ] *em.*; siddha **A**

[286] darśanāt] **A**; darśanā S_1

[287] cumbanā gūhanāc caiva] *em.*; cumbanā gūhanañ caiva **A**S_1

[288] śivapīṭhe] **A**; tatpīṭhañ S_1 (hypometrical and presumably secondary).

[289] yāvato **A**S_1 (understand as singular; cf. Edgerton §18.33).

[290] °siddhikaraḥ param] *conj.*; °siddhikaraḥ param **A**; °siddhikara smṛtaḥ S_1 (the latter lexeme is shared with the *Laghuśaṃvara*, and might represent the older reading).

[291] In 4ab (*yāvanto yogasaṅghātāḥ*), there is evidence that some versions of the *Laghuśaṃvara* read the singular, as the *BraYā* appears to; see Gray (2012: apparatus ad 26.4ab).

[292] kadā cana] *em.*; kadā canaḥ **A**; kathaṃ canaḥ S_1

[293] vai] **A**; vā S_1

[294] smṛtāḥ] **A**; sthitāḥ S_1 (shared by the *Laghuśaṃvara* and thus perhaps original).

[295] See the previous note.

[296] yasyā] **A**; tasya S_1

[297] Jayabhadra reads *yasyā*, as does the *BraYā* (**A**).

[298] Note, for instance, that the reference to consorts (*dūtī*) being "with the grain" or "against the grain" (225ab) is apparently explained in *BraYā* 87.14cd: *ṛtuyogaviyogena anulomavilomajā[ḥ]*. This seems to mean, "[consorts either] go with or against the grain, according to whether or not they are in their menstrual period (*ṛtu*)."

[299] Gray (2007, 265) translates, "Furthermore, having known Śrī Heruka's mantra, which does not exist in the triple world, all [other] mantras should be disregarded." Cf. Bhavabhaṭṭa's gloss: ***ato mūlamantrāt śreṣṭhamantrapadam*** | *vidyatā vajravārāhī tasyāḥ sambodhanaṃ* ***vidy-***

Table 1.14: A parallel passage in *Brahmayāmala* 87 and *Laghuśaṃvara* 26, reporting significant variants from the *Brahmayāmalasāra* as well (MS. S_1)

BRAHMAYĀMALA 87.222–28:	LAGHUŚAṂVARA 26.1–5:
nātaḥ parataraṃ kiñcit	ataḥ paraṃ mantrapadaṃ
triṣu[280] lokeṣu vidyate |	triṣu lokeṣu na vidyate |
jñātvā picumataṃ tantraṃ	śrīherukamantraṃ jñātvā
sarvatantrān[281] parityajet ||222||	sarvān mantrān parityajet ||1||
carvāhāravibhāge[282] 'pi	
tālakārādhake[283] tathā |	
sarvātmake ca yogo 'yaṃ	
sarvataḥ svānurūpataḥ ||223||	
dūtīyogātmayogāc ca	
prakriyāyogayojanāt |	
sarvatra ca caturṇāṃ tu	
yogo 'yam parikīrtitaḥ ||224||	
anulomavilomena	anulomavilomena
dūtayaḥ saṃvyavasthitāḥ |	dūtayaḥ saṃvyavasthitāḥ |
adhordhvasiddhidā devi	adhordhvasiddhidā nityam
ātmadūtī[284] tu sarvadā ||225||	ātmadūtīṃ tu sarvagām ||2||
taddravyaṃ sarvadā siddhaṃ[285]	taṃ dūtīṃ sarvasiddhidāṃ
darśanāt[286] sparśabhakṣaṇāt |	darśanaṃ sparśanaṃ tathā |
cumbanā gūhanāc caiva[287]	cumbanāvagūhanā nityaṃ
śivapīṭhe[288] viśeṣataḥ ||226||	yogapīṭhe viśeṣataḥ ||3||
yāvato[289] dravyasaṃghātaḥ	yāvanto yogasaṅghātāḥ
sarvasiddhikaraḥ paraḥ[290] |	sarvasiddhikarāḥ smṛtāḥ[291] |
dātavyaṃ mantrasadbhāvaṃ	dātavyaṃ sarvasadbhāvaṃ
nānyathā tu kadā cana[292] ||227||	nānyathā tu kadā cana ||4||
mātā ca bhaginī putrī	mātā bhaginī putrī vā
bhāryā vai[293] dūtayaḥ smṛtāḥ[294] |	bhāryā vai dūtayaḥ sthitāḥ[295] |
yasyā[296] mantraṃ daden nityaṃ	yasya[297] mantraṃ daden nityaṃ
tasyaiṣo hi vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ ||228||	tasya so hi vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ ||5||

passage as a whole, or so it seems to me, reads as a tract of decontextualized text assembled with scant regard for meter and still less for grammar, the interpretation of which challenges the imagination. In verse six, the subject shifts to the Eight Pledges, with a passage parallel to *BraYā* 88.1–42.[300]

There are multiple and clear indications of the dependence of *Laghuśaṃvara* 26–29 upon *BraYā* 87–88, for the redactors appear to have been less than successful in removing traces of technical terminology distinctive to their source text. One case SANDERSON (2001: 44–47) has discussed in detail is a reference to the *smaraṇa*, a word in ordinary parlance meaning "recollection," but in the *BraYā*, a technical term for the seed-mantra of Kapālīśabhairava (HŪṂ). An ostensibly neutral word, the Buddhist redactors allowed this to remain, unconcerned with or perhaps unaware of its significance in the source text.[301] In addition to the *smaraṇa*, I would single out another case in which characteristic jargon from the *BraYā* has not been redacted out of the *Laghuśaṃvara*: 26.15, which corresponds to *BraYā* 88.9. This verse concerns a typology of the practitioner (*sādhaka*) that is as far as I can determine distinctive to the *BraYā*—and certainly alien to the *Laghuśaṃvara*. The text of the *Laghuśaṃvara* version of the verse is as follows, in GRAY's reconstruction:

> *śuddho 'śuddho 'tha miśraś ca sādhakāś ca trividhā sthitāḥ* |
> *ārādhako viśuddhaś ca dīpako guṇavān naraḥ* ||

Jayabhadra, the earliest commentator on the *Laghuśaṃvara*, recognized that this verse should concern a classification of practitioners, and offers the following interpretation:

> The "man of virtue" (*guṇavān naraḥ*)—the yogin—has a threefold division. *Ārādhaka* means "one in whom understanding has not

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ate | *nāstītyasya nirdeśo vā* | *mantraṃ mūlamantrādikam* | *jñātvā sarvān mantrān parityajet* | ("'From/than this' [*ataḥ*] refers to the root mantra; [*paraṃ mantrapadaṃ*] means 'most excellent mantra word'. *vidyate* is the vocative of *vidyatā*, which refers to Vajravārāhī. Or else, [*na vidyate*] specifies, 'does not exist' (*nāsti*). *mantra* refers to the root mantra and so forth. Having learnt [it], one should abandon all [other] mantras"). It is striking that Bhavabhaṭṭa would go so far as to seek a vocative epithet of Vajravārāhī in the commonplace verb *vidyate* ("exists"), illustrating his predicament in making sense of some of the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s more obscure passages.

[300] Preceding *BraYā* 88.1 is a short series of mantras in prose, the text of which is badly damaged. These have no precise counterpart in the *Laghuśaṃvara*. There may however be a structural parallel, for the short chapter preceding *Laghuśaṃvara* 26 consists of a single long mantra.

[301] The term *smaraṇa* occurs in *Laghuśaṃvara* 29.3c. Concerning the *smaraṇa* and mantra-deities of the *BraYā*, see §2.3.

> arisen;" *viśuddha* means "one in whom capacity has arisen;" *dīpaka* ("lamplight") means the *madhyadīpaka* ("average luminary"): one in whom some understanding has arisen, and who enlightens himself and others. Or else, *ārādhaka* means "worshipper of the deity through practice of mantra and yoga," *guṇavān* means "one who understands the meaning of scripture," [while] *dīpaka* means "capable of fulfilling the goals of all living beings," like a lamp (*pradīpa*).[302]

Jayabhadra's creative yet incongruent attempts to find three *sādhaka*s in the second line testify to the fact that this verse lacks context; a threefold classification of this nature is otherwise absent from the *Laghuśaṃvara* and related literature.

In contrast, the triad of 'pure', 'impure', and 'mixed' comprises a key conceptual framework in the *BraYā*: practitioners, ritual, scripture, and the Three Śaktis are patterned accordingly.[303] *Ārādhaka* too has a specific, contextually germane meaning. In the *BraYā*, the verse in question occurs in a passage which follows the enumeration of initiatory pledges (*samaya*):

> ....*ity aṣṭau samayāḥ parāḥ* ||7||
> *jñātavyāḥ sādhakair nityaṃ sādhanārādhanasthitaiḥ* |
> *sāmānyāḥ sarvatantrāṇāṃ na hantavyās tu hetubhiḥ* ||8||
> *śuddhāśuddhavimiśras tu sādhakas trividhaḥ smṛtaḥ* |
> *ārādhako viśuddhas tu dīpakādiguṇair vinā* ||9||
> *grāme grāme vrataṃ tasya devatārūpalakṣaṇam* |
> *unmattam asidhārañ ca pavitrakṣetravarjitaḥ* ||10||
> *sādhakas tu dvidhā proktaś carumārgo 'tha tālakaḥ* |
> *tālamārgaratānāṃ tu na carur naiva saṃyamaḥ* ||11||
> *vidyāvrataviśuddhis tu triṣaṣṭivratam eva ca* |
> *abhedyatvaṃ tatas tasya tālādau sādhane vidhau* ||12||
> *carumārgaikadeśo hi tālaḥ sarvātmako bhavet* |
> *kṣetrasthānāni siddhāni yoginyo yatra saṃgatāḥ* ||13||
> *teṣu sthitvā japaṃ kuryāc carum ālabhate dvijaḥ* |

[302] Jayabhadra, *Cakraśaṃvarapañjikā*: ***ārādhako viśuddhaś ca dīpako guṇavān nara*** *iti* ***guṇavān naro*** *yogī tridhā bhidyate* [em. Isaacson; *vidyate* Ed.] ***ārādhaka*** *ity anutpannapratibhaḥ* ***viśuddha*** *ity utpannasāmarthyaḥ* ***dīpaka*** *iti madhyadīpakaḥ kiṃcidutpannapratibhaḥ svaparārthabodhakaś ca* || *athavā**rādhako*** *mantrayogābhyāsena devātāradhakaḥ* ***guṇavān*** *śāstrārthavettā* ***dīpakaḥ*** *pradīpavat sarvasattvārthakriyāsamarthaḥ* ||.

[303] On the classification of scripture in relation to the *śakti*s, see §1.9.

7d samayāḥ] *corr.*; samayā **A** 8a jñātavyāḥ] *corr.*; jñātavyā **A** sādhakair nityaṃ] *em.*; sādhakai nnityaṃ **A** (*tops damaged*) 8b °sthitaiḥ] *conj.* (Kiss); °sthitau **A** 9a °vimiśras tu] *em.*; °vimuktas tu **A** 9b trividhaḥ] *corr.*; tṛvidhaḥ **A** 12b triṣaṣṭi°] *em.*; ttriṣaṣṭhi° **A**

"…these are the supreme Eight Pledges. [7d] They should always be known by *sādhaka*s [whether] engaged in [mantra-]*sādhana* or [deity] worship (*ārādhana*). They are common to all the *tantra*s, and should not be assailed with reasoned arguments. [8] The *sādhaka* is threefold—pure, impure, and mixed[304]—while the *ārādhaka* is very pure, free from the qualities of 'lamplight' and so forth (?).[305] [9] From village to village, his observance (*vrata*) is [that of taking on] the form and characteristics of the deities, and the 'madman' and 'razor's edge' [observances],[306] avoiding the sacred fields. [10] But the *sādhaka* is [actually] twofold: the one following the path of *caru* ('oblation gruel'), and the *tālaka*. For those on the *tālaka* path, there is neither *caru* nor self-restraint. [11] [After engaging in] purification by the *vidyā*-observance and the 'sixty-three observance',[307] he then [reaches] the state of [making] no distinction between the ritual procedures of the *tālaka*, etc. [12]

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304 There are strong grounds for emending *śuddhāśuddhavimuktas* to °*vimiśras*, as I have done, for this threefold classification of *sādhaka*s based upon degrees of 'purity' pervades the *BraYā* and fits the present context. Cf., e.g., *BraYā* 33.331c, *śuddhāśuddhavimiśreṣu*. Furthermore, several Buddhist sources support the emendation: Gray (2012) reads *śuddho 'śuddho 'tha miśraś ca* in *Laghuśaṃvara* 26.15a, reporting as testimonia, for the last three syllables, *misras ca*, *miśra vaiḥ*, and *mimra vai* (apparatus ad 26.15a). In 9b, one could consider emending to *sādhakaḥ trividhā smṛtaḥ*, or to *sādhakās trividhā sthitāḥ*; a range of variants are attested in Buddhist sources (see Gray 2012: apparatus at 26.15b).

305 I am unable to determine the probable intended sense of 9d, *dīpakādiguṇair vinā*, as transmitted by A. The parallel text in *Laghuśaṃvara* 26.15d provides no assistance obvious to me.

306 The *unmattakavrata* is fourth of the Nine Observances described in *BraYā* 21, involving feigned insanity, as the name implies. The *asidhāravrata* ('the razor's edge observance') is the subject of *BraYā* 40 (edited and studied in this volume).

307 While the various observances taught in *BraYā* 21 are referred to collectively as *vidyāvratas*, "observances of the [Nine-Syllable] Vidyā," this term is primarily used for the final and most important of these, a *kāpālika* observance also called the *mahāvrata* (108a) or *bhairavavrata* (109ab). As for the *triṣaṣṭivrata*, this is likely to concern a deity pantheon (*yāga*) of the same name; the "*yāga* of the sixty-three" and its *vrata* are mentioned in several chapters, but not descrbed in the *BraYā*. Törzsök (personal communication) points out that this *vrata* of sixty-three goddess clans (the *triṣaṣṭikilavrata*), performed over sixty-three days, is described in *Jayadrathayāmala* III (*yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa*), 31–32.

> Following the way of the *caru*, having a single location, the *tālaka* would become a *sarvātman* ("universal") [*sādhaka*].[308] Remaining in the sacred, empowered places where the *yoginīs* assemble, he should perform his mantra-recitation in those; the twice-born one obtains an oblation (*caru*) [from the *yoginīs*]."[309] [13–14b]

Here *ārādhaka*, "worshipper," refers to a specific category of practitioner. In its core chapters, the *BraYā* describes a threefold typology of the *sādhaka*: pure, impure, and impure-*cum*-pure, for which the primary designations are *tālaka*,[310] *carubhojin* ("eater of the oblation gruel"), and *miśra* ("mixed"), respectively.[311] This classification receives detailed elaboration in the text's massive forty-fifth chapter, "the section on the *sādhaka*" (*sādhakādhikāra*). However, the latter chapters of the *BraYā*—87–104, comprising the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantras*—introduce a new fourfold taxonomy of initiates: the *ārādhaka*, *carubhojin*, *tālaka*, and *sarvātman* ("universal"), whose activities and subdivisions comprise the respective subjects of *BraYā*, chapers 94–97. This typology differs from the threefold insofar as the category of *miśraka*, the practitioner of "mixed" purity, appears to be reconfigured as the highest grade, the *sarvātman*—above the *tālaka*.[312] On the other hand, the *ārādhaka* represents a variety of householder practitioner.[313]

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[308] The implication is that the *sarvātman sādhaka* is bound by no single discipline and may engage at will in practices associated with the lower grades of initiate. This is consistent with the description of the *sarvātman* found in *BraYā* 97.

[309] The notion that one may attain *siddhi* through consuming oblation gruel (*caru*) offered directly by the *yoginīs* is mentioned in *BraYā* 104.29, and is in all likelihood alluded to here in 14b. For a more detailed description, see *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11.7c–10.

[310] On the term *tālaka*, see the entry in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. 3. A detailed study of the *BraYā*'s threefold typology of *sādhakas* has been published by Kiss (2015: 35–55).

[311] The terms for the threefold *sādhaka* are provided in *BraYā* 45.10c–11b: *śuddhas tu tālakaḥ proktaṃś carubhojī tv aśuddhakaḥ* ||10|| *śuddhāśuddho bhaven miśraṃ sādhakas tu na saṃśayaḥ* |.

[312] It is evident from the descriptions in *BraYā* 45 that the *miśraka*, as one might expect, constitutes the middle grade of *sādhaka*. Hence in 45.440c–41b, it is said that a *miśraka* purified through constant practice may become a *tālaka* (*kadācin miśrako devi karmayogena nityaśaḥ* || *tālamārga[m] samāpnoti yadā śuddhaḥ prajāyate* |). However, the *sarvātman sādhaka* is "mixed" in an entirely different sense: he is free from all regulations, engaging at will in the disciplines associated with lower practitioners.

[313] It appears that the *ārādhaka* might not be considered a *sādhaka*, per se; their respective modes of ritual, *ārādhana* ("worship") and *sādhana*, are placed in contrast. See e.g. 88.8b above. Nonetheless, the term *ārādhaka* figures in later Śaiva typologies of the *sādhaka*. In the *Kulasāra*, the *ārādhaka* features as fourth of the five grades of *sādhaka*, above the *tālaka*,

That the redactors of the *Laghuśaṃvara* had intended to remove references to a Śaiva typology of practitioners is suggested by comparison; in table 1.14, note that *BraYā* 87.223–24, which makes specific reference to the classification of *sādhaka*s in question, has no parallel in the *Laghuśaṃvara*. Yet *Laghuśaṃvara* 26.15 nonetheless contains a reference to what is, in the *BraYā*, the same typology expressed with different terminology: the designations pure, impure, mixed, and "worshipper" (*ārādhaka*), as opposed to the more distinctive "oblation eater," *tālaka*, "worshipper," and "universal."[314] Verse 26.15 was perhaps retained by the Buddhist redactor either under the assumption that the more neutral terminology would not appear alien, or on account of ignorance of the jargon.

Considered alongside the already strong evidence adduced by Sanderson, the presence of a typology of practitioners distinctive to the *BraYā* in the *Laghuśaṃvara*, where it lacks not only context but a plausible interpretation, provides strong indication of the direction of redaction in the passages shared by these texts. That the *Laghuśaṃvara* has drawn from the *BraYā*, whether directly or through another derivative source, seems the most plausible explanation for the relationship between the material in question. Derivation from an unknown common source is not impossible, but this would in all likelihood have been a Śaiva text intimately related to the *BraYā*, to the extent of sharing unusual terminological similarities.[315]

Notably, the section incorporated into the *Laghuśaṃvara* belongs to the *BraYā*'s *Uttaratantra*—in all probability a late stratum—suggesting that the au-

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cumbaka, and *cārvāka* (=*carubhojin*, presumably); transcending the *ārādhaka* is the *śivodbhūta*:

> *tālako cuṃbakaś caiva cārvākārādhakas tathā* |
> *śivodbhūta -m- ataḥ proktaḥ pāṃcabhedo 'pi sādhakaḥ* |
>
> cārvākārādhakas] *em.*; cārvākorādhakas ms. śivodbhūtam] *em.* Vasudeva; śivobhūtam ms.

I am grateful to Somadeva Vasudeva for providing me his draft edition of this passage. Given the terminological continuities, it appears that this fivefold typology develops out of the threefold classification present in the *BraYā*, the addition of the *ārādhaka* reflecting an intermediate stage.

[314]Reference to the fourfold typology of practitioners is clearly present in *BraYā* 87.223, although out of sequence: *carvāhāra* (=*aśuddha* or *carubhojin*), *tālaka* (=*śuddha*), *ārādhaka* (by emendation of °*ārādhane*; =*viśuddha*), and *sarvātmaka* (=*miśra*). The point of 224cd is that the yoga expounded in this chapter is applicable to all four (*caturṇām*) types of practitioner.

[315]For a critique of Ronald Davidson's (2002) objections to this hypothesis, see Hatley (2016a: 60–62).

thors of the *Laghuśaṃvara* knew the *BraYā* in a redaction close to its extant form. This is potentially crucial evidence for situating the *BraYā* in time. Concerning the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s date, Ronald DAVIDSON (1981: 6–7) observed that it may be quoted by the late eighth-century commentator Vilāsavajra. David GRAY (2007: 12–14), however, demonstrates that most of the citations in question are shared with and could instead derive from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*; evidently only two cases cannot be accounted for in this manner. SANDERSON (2009: 161–63) suggests that these offer "no more than a possibility that Vilāsavajra knew the *Laghuśaṃvara*"—though this possibility still seems significant. In addition, SANDERSON (2009, 158–61) argues that Jayabhadra, an abbot of Vikramaśīla and probably the text's earliest commentator, was active in the tenth century, rather than the ninth, as had previously been supposed (e.g. by GRAY 2007: 11–12). Thus, though the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s appropriation of the *BraYā* is of considerable historical interest, it does not necessarily establish the *BraYā*'s existence much prior the tenth century. Rather, the *Laghuśaṃvara* joins the list of sources such as the *Bhairavamaṅgalā* and *Piṅgalāmata* which know the extant *BraYā* and are attested unambiguously in the tenth century, but which may be somewhat older, perhaps considerably so.

The debt of Buddhist texts of the Cakraśaṃvara cycle to the *BraYā* is not limited to the *Laghuśaṃvara* and *Abhidhānottara*. SANDERSON (1994: 95) observes that the *Saṃvarodayatantra* also has a section concerning the classification of skull-bowls parallel to a section in *BraYā* 4. Chapter fifteen of the *Saṃvarodaya*, the *pātralakṣaṇanirdeśapaṭala* that Sanderson describes as "closely related" to a section in *BraYā* 4, can indeed be confirmed to have content which overlaps considerably.[316] The verses in question are 747–87 of *BraYā* 4, which concern the selection of human skulls to use as ritual vessels (*tūra*). Given the likely late date of the *Saṃvarodaya*, this is not immediately pertinent to the dating of the *BraYā*.

1.9.4 The *Brahmayāmala*, Śaiva medical *tantra*s, and Buddhist *Kriyātantra*s

While there is little room for doubt concerning the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s adaptation of the *BraYā*, the picture this suggests may well prove more complex: it is possible that the *BraYā* has itself drawn upon material redacted from an unknown

[316]For the *Saṃvarodaya*, I have consulted Tokyo University Library manuscript no. 404.

Buddhist source—most probably not a *Yoginītantra*, but a more archaic text of the *Kriyātantra* variety. On the other hand, the material concerned may instead derive from a lost Śaiva *Gāruḍatantra* or *Bhūtatantra*. One of the main chapters in question is *BraYā* 65,[317] the *yakṣiṇīsādhanapaṭala*: "Chapter on the Practices for Mastering Dryads (*yakṣiṇī*)." This delineates a fourfold classification of dryads (*yakṣiṇīkulacatuṣṭaya*): those belonging to the clans (*kula*) of *yakṣa*s, Brahmā (*brahmakula*), the lotus (*padma*), and *vajra*. The designations arouse immediate suspicion, for clans of the *padma* and *vajra* feature prominently in deity taxonomies of the *Kriyātantra*s, and have no evident precedent nor obvious rationale in Śaivism. While the Buddhist *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, for instance, attests a variety of mantra-deity taxonomies, constant are the clans of the Buddhas/Tathāgatas, lotus (associated with Avalokiteśvara), and *vajra* (associated with Vajrapāṇi); a *yakṣa* or *guhyaka* clan is attested as well.[318] Another *Kriyātantra*, the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, provides a fourfold clan system with deity clans of the *vajra*, *tathāgata*, gem (*maṇi*), and lotus (*padma*).[319] It is possible that the *BraYā* draws upon a similar fourfold system, its Brahmā-clan *yakṣiṇī* perhaps supplanting what was, in the hypothetical Buddhist exemplar, a dryad of the clan of the Buddhas (*tathāgatakula*).

I am presently unaware of a classification of dryads comparable to the *BraYā*'s in a Buddhist source, though one does find the expressions *padmayakṣiṇī* and *vajrayakṣiṇī*.[320] The closest parallel for the *BraYā*'s fourfold classification is found instead in another Vidyāpīṭha source: the *Jayadrathayāmala*.[321] Here the *yakṣiṇī* clans are designated lotus (*padma*), red (*rakta*), white (*śveta*), and *vajra*. Though this too lacks precise Buddhist parallels, the occurrence of clans of the *padma* and *vajra* arouses similar suspicion. That such suspi-

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[317]While the chapter is the sixty-fifth in sequence, it is numbered 60 in the colophon (*iti mahābhairave yakṣiṇīsādhanapaṭala ṣaṣṭhimaḥ*).

[318]A *yakṣakula* is mentioned in 30.31ab, 38.22cd, and throughout chapter 37.

[319]*Amoghapāśakalparāja* 25a (P.41b4,D.43b2), 7: *taṃ gṛhya ākāśenotpatati | ye ca vajrakulā tathāgatakulā maṇikulā padmakulā sarvve te mukhāgre 'vatiṣṭhanti* | ("After taking hold of that [empowered noose], he flies into the air; and all [deities] of the Vajra clan, the clan of the Buddhas, the Gem clan, and the Lotus clan stand before him").

[320]Padmayakṣiṇī is the name of a *mudrā* in *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* 1605 (edition of Horiuchi, vol. 2, p. 37); in 1638 (vol. 2, p. 49), it occurs as an epithet of Padmanarteśvarī. Padmoccā (Sanskrit Padmotsā, "lotus-born") occurs as the name of a *yakṣiṇī* in *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* 52. The expression *vajrayakṣiṇī* occurs in *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* 1137 (Horiuchi, vol. 1, p. 465).

[321]The material on *yakṣiṇī*s occurs in *Ṣaṭka* II, chapters 25 (vv. 457ff) and 26. I am grateful to Olga Serbaeva for allowing me to consult her electronic transcription.

cion may indeed have strong grounds finds support in another Śaiva text—the *Uḍḍāmareśvaratantra*—in the case of its instructions for conjuring the *yakṣiṇī* known as Surasundarī. Here the passage's Buddhist pedigree is revealed by the instruction to perform the rite in a temple of [the *bodhisattva*] Vajrapāṇi.[322]

The *BraYā* shows signs of being a composite document, and paṭala 65 belongs to a textual stratum which I have earlier argued (§1.7.4–5) incorporates materials from disparate sources. Chapters 51–104 have in some respects a miscellaneous character, containing a large number of short, often untitled chapters, many of which are devoted to deities marginal to the text's primary mantra-deity systems. These include chapters that might originally have circulated as independent works. Nonetheless, these and whatever other materials have been redacted into the *BraYā* appear reasonably well-integrated, both in terms of content and style of expression (the latter being a dubious distinction). This is evident in the treatment of *yakṣiṇī*s in *BraYā* 65, where one encounters the idea that one purpose of attracting a *yakṣiṇī* is for producing the sexual fluids required as offerings for the deities—a distinctive dimension of the ritual system of the *BraYā*. By and large, however, the *BraYā*'s treatment of rites for controlling dryads is remarkably free of identifiably Śaiva content, and could readily derive from another cultic context.

Chapters 64–65 of the *BraYā* appear closely related, forming a distinctive unit: the end of paṭala 64 (vv. 162–164) intimates the subject of 65, and mantras delineated in paṭalas 64–65 share a common structure, one not elsewhere attested in the *BraYā*.[323] If *BraYā* 65's rites for subjugating *yakṣiṇī*s draw

[322] *Uḍḍāmareśvaratantra* 9.33: *atha surasundarīsādhanam uoṃ hrīṃ āgaccha āgaccha surasundari svāhā | vajrapāṇigṛhaṃ gatvā gugguladhūpaṃ dattvā trisaṃdhyaṃ pūjayet sahasraṃ trisaṃdhyaṃ māsaparyantaṃ japet tato māsābhyantare pratyakṣā bhavati antimadine raktacandanenārghyaṃ dadyāt | tata āgatya mātā bhaginī bhāryā vā bhavati tāsāṃ yāni karmāṇi tāny eva karoti | yadi mātā bhavati tadā siddhadravyāṇi rasāyanāni dadāti | yadi bhaginī bhavati tadā pūrvavad amūlyaṃ vastraṃ dadāti | yadi bhāryā bhavati tadā sarvam aiśvaryaṃ paripūrayati |*.

[323] Note, for instance, the mantra of the *yakṣa*-clan dryad given in *BraYā* 65.6c–8b: OṂ YAKṢAKUMĀRIKE YAKṢAMUKHI EHY EHI RUDRO JÑĀPAYATE NIṂ SVĀHĀ. (Cf. the much simpler YAKṢAKUMĀRIKE SVĀHĀ of *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* 52, *saptayakṣiṇyaḥ* section.) Compare this with the mantra for enslavement (*kiṅkarasādhana*) in *BraYā* 64, which I reconstruct as follows: OṂ NAMO MAHĀKIṄKARĀYA KIRI KIRI KHAḌGAHASTĀYA VIḌĀLAVAKTRĀYA BHUJAṄGAHASTARAUDRĀYA [ ] EHY EHI RE RE RE RE RUDRO JÑĀPAYATE ṬAK[A?] SVĀHĀ. The formula RUDRO JÑĀPAYATI SVĀHĀ occurs with great frequency in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, a digest of earlier *Gāruḍatantra*s and *Bhūtatantra*s (SLOUBER 2017). Note for instance, in paṭala 11, MAHĀKRODHAŚŪLAJĀYA ĀVIŚA 2 AMUKAṂ RUDRO JÑĀPAYATI SVĀHĀ. Cf. *Nārāyaṇīyatantrasārasaṃgraha* 4.28. A similar formula, BODHISATTVO JÑĀPAYATI SVĀHĀ, occurs thrice in *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* 2 (e.g. after 2.29:

on a Buddhist *Kriyātantra*, one might hence expect this to be true of material in chapter 64 as well. In addition, there are also signs of potential archaism in the adjacent chapters, 63 (on a mortuary rite, the *kaṅkālavratasādhana*[324]) and 66 (on the preparation of magical pills, *guṭikā*). Although not closely connected to chapters 64–65, these seem closely related to each other, and have unmistakable links to chapter 83 as well (on the origins of Bhairava's skull and skull-staff). The corpse ritual (*kaṅkālavratasādhana*) of *BraYā* 63 appears, inexplicably, to find closure in the final verses of 66, tacked on to a discussion of recipes for magical pills (*guḍikā*). A notable indication of archaism occurs in this description of magical pills. After readying the substances and covering them with pipal (*aśvattha*) leaves, one engages in mantra-recitation until success (*siddhi*) is signalled by one of three "signs" (*cihna*): heat, smoke, or fire (*uṣman*, *dhūma*, *jvalana*), which betoken increasingly greater degrees of magical attainment. Isaacson (2007) first drew attention to this passage, pointing out that its threefold typology of signs and levels of *siddhi* finds attestation in the *Niśvāsa*, perhaps the earliest extant Śaiva *tantra*, but is otherwise rare in Śaivism; on the other hand, it pervades the Buddhist *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*.[325] While the mere presence of this tripartite typology in the *BraYā* might not intimate a Buddhist source, the presence of similarly suspicious material in the adjacent chapter lends weight to the possibility. In addition, the passage referring to the threefold *siddhi*s contains another potential link to the *Kriyātantra*s: its use of seven pipal leaves to wrap or cover the empowered substances has close and extensive parallels in the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, where the procedure is remarkably similar to that outlined in *BraYā* 66.[326] In this case too a simi-

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oṂ garuḍavāhana cakrapāṇi caturbhuja huṂ huṂ samayam anusmara bodhisattvo jñāpayati svāhā), and again in 41 (oṂ śakuna mahāśakuna vitatapakṣa sarvapannaganāśaka khakha khāhi khāhi samayam anusmara huṂ tiṣṭha bodhisattvo jñāpayati svāhā). These mantras evoke an unmistakably *gāruḍika* context.

[324] For a discussion *BraYā* 63, and a brief excerpt, see §6.2 (p. 282).

[325] See especially the passages from *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* 55 edited and discussed by Goodall & Isaacson (2016: 26–32). The relevant passage of *BraYā* 66 (vv. 3–18) is quoted as testimonia ad 83.2–6 and 83.24–29 in the present volume. In addition to the *BraYā* and *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, this theme appears in a handful of other early non-Buddhist sources (ibid.: 33–34).

[326] See the same passages of *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* 55 (Goodall & Isaacson 2016: 26–32). Note also, for instance, the following from *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* 29: *kapilāyāḥ samānavatsāyāḥ ghṛtaṃ gṛhya tāmrabhājanaṃ saptabhir aśvatthapatraiḥ sthāpya tāvaj japed yāvat trividhā siddhir iti | taṃ pītvā śrutidharam antardhānākāśagamanam iti ||*. Compare with a procedure for preparing magical pills (*guḍikā*) in *BraYā* 66.4–5: *kṛtayatnaḥ sudhīrātmā patrair aśvattha-*

lar practice is outlined in the *Niśvāsa* (*Guhyasūtra*, especially 10.30),[327] leaving open multiple historical scenarios, including adaptation from an earlier Śaiva source or from a Buddhist *Kriyātantra*.

The possibility of a Buddhist pedigree seems much stronger for *BraYā* 64–65 than for 63 or 66. In *BraYā* 66, the trope of three signs of *siddhi* (heat, smoke, and fire) and the use of pipal leaves, attested frequently in the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, may readily be explained as indications of archaism rather than influence from a Buddhist source. This trope also appears in *BraYā* 83's heavily lacunose passage on the preparation of skull-vessels (*kapālasādhana*), which is closely related to *BraYā* 66.[328] As I argue in §4.3–4, *BraYā* 83 may derive from an older Kāpālika-oriented Śaiva source, which could hence be true of chapters 63 and 66 as well. The case for a link to the *Kriyātantra*s thus rests mainly on the tantalizing evidence of *BraYā* 65's classification of dryads.

Identifying the possible origins of the *BraYā*'s *yakṣinī* rites in an unknown Buddhist source would potentially complexify the issue of Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha influence on Buddhist *Yoginītantra*s. However, the case is far from clear. When I first studied *BraYā* 65, I had suspected its classification of *yakṣiṇī* clans to have a non-Buddhist origin, and to perhaps even provide evidence for Śaiva influence on deity-clan nomenclature in the Buddhist *Kriyātantras*. Discussions in 2009 at the Early Tantra Worksop, where I made a presentation on this subject,[329] and subsequent reflection, led me instead to the position expressed in Hatley (2016a: 62–65), where, on the aforesaid grounds, I postulate that the *BraYā* likely derives its taxonomy of *yakṣiṇī* clans from an unknown Buddhist *Kriyātantra*. My initial hypothesis once again seems plausible now, for there are indications that *BraYā* 64, and hence 65, might derive instead from a lost *Bhūta-* or *Gāruḍatantra*. As Michael Slouber (2017: 41) notes, *BraYā* 64 "appears to draw on Tantric medical sources in a passage on the deity named Kambila. As a fierce analogue of Bhairava, Kambila specializes in destroying poison and exorcism, among other skills." This chapter's echoes of Śaiva medical *tantra*s include its depiction of "Kambila wielding a sword and scaring the demons much like Khaḍgarāvaṇa in *Kriyākālaguṇottara* 9–11" (p. 291 [n. 12]). Noting

saṃbhavaiḥ | tribhis tu rocanāliptair vistṛtai rugvivarjitaiḥ || saṃsthāpya guḍikāṃ tatra cchādaye tu tataḥ punaḥ | caturbhir upariṣṭā tu rocanāmbuyutais tathā ||.

[327] See the discussion of Goodall & Isaacson (2016: 26–32).

[328] Concerning connections with *BraYā* 66, see the extensive passages quoted as testimonia in the edition of *BraYā* 83.1–29, and the annotation thereof.

[329] My presentation was entitled "Clans of the Goddesses: *Kulabheda* in the *Brahmayāmala*." I am particularly grateful for the comments of Alexis Sanderson on this occasion.

the existence of a *Kambalatantra* in the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā*'s account of the (almost entirely lost) canon of *Gāruḍatantras*, SLOUBER (p. 45) identifies this as a potential source for the *BraYā*'s material on Kambila or Kambala, although other sources presumably contained tracts on this deity as well. Lending support to SLOUBER's proposal, the deity Kambila or Kambalarudra is anomalous in the *BraYā*,[330] for virtually all other male deities are explicitly identified as forms of Bhairava. The two main exceptions occur in *BraYā* 64 itself: Kambila and Kiṅkararāja (described in 64.135ff.). Moreover, this chapter overtly refers to multiple genres of tantric medical literature, seeming to state that the *BraYā*'s *sādhaka* may freely practice rites taught in the *Gāruḍa-*, *Bhūta-*, and *Bālatantras*.[331] Couched as a general principle, the statement nonetheless seems both to allude to and explain the chapter's debt to Śaiva medical *tantras*.

If *BraYā* 64 was adapted from this literature, the same is likely true of *BraYā* 65 as well, for as argued above, *BraYā* 64–65 were redacted into the *BraYā* together. These appear to have been awkwardly inserted between two closely linked chapters (63 and 66) more Kāpālika in character. Rather than a Buddhist *Kriyātantra*, it now seems somewhat more probable that the immediate source was an unknown *Gāruḍatantra* or *Bhūtatantra*—these being closely related, to the extent of sharing mantra systems (SLOUBER 2017: 9, 68–69). Rites for controlling *yakṣiṇīs* and other spirits fall within the ambit of this literature,[332] and likely belong to an early stratum of non-soteriological tantric ritual, being attested in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa* and other archaic Śaiva

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[330] *BraYā* 50.10cd, in a passage intimating the topics of several subsequent chapters, refers to the deity as Kambalarudra (*herambabhairavaṃ caiva tathā kambalarudrakaṃ* ||).

[331] *BraYā* 64.29c–30: *gāruḍe bhūtatantre tu bālatantre tu bhairavi* ||29|| *nayasiddhāntatantrasthe sādhakaḥ* [*em.*; °*sthais sādhakaiḥ* A] *saṃprayojitaḥ* | *kurute sarvvakarmāṇi na ca [s]aṅkaratām vrajet* ||30||. As transmitted, the syntax is highly problematic; with the conjectures adopted, this could mean, "O Bhairavī, the *sādhaka* who is connected [with these] (? *saṃprayojitaḥ*) may accomplish all of the rites in *Gāruḍa-*, *Bhūta-*, and *Bālatantras*, and in *tantras* of the Naya and Siddhānta, without being guilty of mixing up [scriptures]." Concerning *tantrasaṅkara*, see its entry in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* III. The meaning of *naya* in *nayasiddhānta*° is unclear: this might refer to *Vāmatantras*, whose scriptures include texts entitled *Naya* and *Nayottara*. More speculatively, it could also be short for *Bhairavanaya* ("method of the *Bhairava[tantra]s*"), possibly referenced in *BraYā* 77.92 (quoted in §1.9.2, note 236).

[332] The *Kriyākālaguṇottara* frequently includes *yakṣas* among the spirits one requires protection against. A remedy for possession by a goddess named Yakṣiṇī is described in 23.56–60, while a mantra apparently directed at *yakṣiṇīs* occurs in 30.54. Procedures for mastering *yakṣiṇīs* appear in *Nārāyaṇīyatantrasārasaṃgraha*, 26.52–54, and *Tvaritāmūlasūtra*, *f.* 20r (transcription of SLOUBER).

and Buddhist sources.[333] This potential debt to Śaiva medical *tantra*s renders intelligible the otherwise anomalous mantras in *BraYā* 64 and 65 ending with RUDRO JÑĀPAYATE ... SVĀHĀ ("Rudra commands! ... SVĀHĀ!"). This formula is found throughout the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* and other Śaiva medical sources, and echoed with a Buddhist inflection in passages of the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* possessing unmistakable links to the *Gāruḍatantra*s.[334]

How, then, should we understand the presence of clans of the *padma* and *vajra*—so distinctively Buddhist-looking—in the classification of *yakṣiṇī*s in *BraYā* 65 as well as its unknown Śaiva source? One entirely plausible explanation is that the latter drew on a Buddhist *Kriyātantra*. The reverse scenario emerges as an intriguing possibility as well: data from the *BraYā* opens up the possibility that early tantric Buddhist systems of organizing deities into clans drew upon conventions of the *Gāruḍa-* and/or *Bhūtatantra*s. Given the pragmatic concerns of the Śaiva medical *tantra*s as well as Buddhist *Kriyātantra*s, one may reasonably assume that both drew upon diverse sources, potentially including each other as well as other tantric and non-tantric magical traditions. Indeed, the extant *Kriyātantra* offering the most useful parallels to *BraYā* 64 and 65—the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*—appears to have drawn extensively from Tantric Śaivism, as is evident from its material explicitly redacted from unnamed *Gāruḍatantra*s (SLOUBER 2017: 41–42) and its wholesale incorporation of the cult of Tumburu and the Four Sisters (*caturbhaginī*), principal deities of the leftward stream (*vāmasrotas*) of Śaiva scriptural revelation. Severe losses of early Śaiva scripture—especially those of the *vāmasrotas*, as well as *Bhūta-* and *Gāruḍatantra*s, which among Śaiva sources perhaps exhibit the closest affinity to the Buddhist *Kriyātantra*s—render much of this history opaque. Traces such as those found in *BraYā* 64–65 nonetheless open up new possibilities for understanding adaptations across genres of early tantric literature, and tantalizing glimpses of lost texts. The case of *BraYā* 64–65 (and indeed 63, 66, and 83) thus highlights the complex redactional histories of Vidyāpīṭha literature, and leaves open the possibility that textual "flow" was in some cases multidirectional. Finding potential intertextuality at the level of Śaiva *Gāruḍa-* and *Bhūtatantra*s, Buddhist *Kriyātantra*s, and the early Vidyāpīṭha points toward what is likely to be a history of interaction, shared ritual paradigms, and textual appropriation extending back to the earliest strata of tantric literature.

[333] See §4.1, note 6.

[334] On these mantras, see note 323 above.

1.9.5 The *Brahmayāmala* and non-tantric texts

Several works beyond the Śaiva and Buddhist tantric corpora have relevance to the *BraYā*'s dating. These include texts which the *BraYā* seems likely to have known or drawn upon, and at least one text—the *Devīpurāṇa*—which clearly draws upon a chapter of the *BraYā*.

The *Śivadharmaśāstra*

In chapter 4, I demonstrate that *BraYā* 83, which narrates the origins of the skull and skull-staff (*kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpatti*), likely draws upon, perhaps indirectly, the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s 'Origin of the Lingam' (*liṅgodbhava*) myth. This is unsurprising since, as discussed in §4.2.1, the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s version of this tale was highly influential. The *BraYā*'s likely knowledge of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* has only modest implications for its dating. While the *Śivadharmaśāstra* seems likely to be the oldest text of the Śivadharma corpus, and to predate most extant works of tantric Śaiva literature, it is uncertain what this means in absolute terms: dates as early as the fourth or fifth century up into the seventh cannot yet be ruled out. It is also possible, if not likely, that the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s influence upon the *BraYā* was indirect, though the intervening source or sources cannot now be identified. As such, the debt of the *BraYā*'s *liṅgodbhava* episode to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* only confirms that the *BraYā* postdates an important work of mainstream Śaivism in circulation by the seventh century.

Devīpurāṇa

Chapter 5 of this book is devoted mainly to demonstrating that chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa* has incorporated material from chapter 83 of the *BraYā*. This debt could be indirect: much of the same material is also shared by *BraYāSāra*, chapter 68, which is in fact closer to *Devīpurāṇa* 119 than to *BraYā* 83. As I argue, however, the *Devīpurāṇa* seems likely to borrow from the *BraYā* directly, while the *BraYāSāra* probably borrows from both. This intertextuality has important ramifications for the dating of all three sources.

Hazra (1963: 71–90) advances a detailed argument concerning the provenance of the *Devīpurāṇa*, concluding that the text was likely composed in Bengal between 500–700 C.E., probably in the latter half of the sixth century and surely before 850 C.E. His inclination to the sixth century is, however, problematic: the case rests upon tenuous claims concerning the date of the *Devī-*

māhātmya and its relationship to the *Devīpurāṇa*, while he is dismissive of potential counterevidence.[335] The *Devīpurāṇa*'s knowledge of the *BraYā* may also speak against so early a date. A potentially crucial factor is the *Devīpurāṇa*'s incorporation of teachings on "the gift of knowledge" (*vidyādāna*) from the *Śivadharmottara* ("Supplement to the *Śivadharmaśāstra*"), an unpublished text of the Śivadharma corpus. Hazra first noted this dependence, which has been confirmed by Florinda De Simini (2016), who notes that these borrowings extend to multiple other chapters and topics as well.[336] Concerning the date of the *Śivadharmottara*, Hazra (1956: 206–7) suggests the eighth century, but as Goodall (2013: 232) argues, its composition should be placed perhaps a century earlier, closer in time to the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. In light of this and the *Devīpurāṇa*'s knowledge of the *BraYā*, a sixth-century dating seems implausible, while the seventh century, especially the early part, begins to look unlikely.

Concerning the *Devīpurāṇa*'s *terminus ad quem*, Hazra (1963) argues on the basis of its citations in numerous digests (*nibandha*) that the text "was known far and wide in the eleventh century" (p. 73). This statement applies better to the twelfth century, however, for none of the digests quoting the *Devīpurāṇa* can be placed earlier reliably; the earliest may be the *circa*–1100 C.E. *Kāmadhenu* of Gopāla.[337] How much prior to the twelfth century the *Devīpurāṇa* was composed remains a matter of speculation, though the eight and ninth centuries might seem more likely than the seventh or tenth, while the eleventh is surely too late. In addition to the *Śivadharmottara*, much may de-

[335] One of his primary grounds for preferring so early a date is the *Devīpurāṇa*'s "silence about the *Devī-māhātmya*," a work usually held to date to the seventh century or earlier (Rocher 1986: 195–96). Yuko Yokochi (2005: 21–23), however, has offered a cogent re-assessment of the evidence, suggesting that the *Devīpurāṇa* is more likely a product of the second half of the eighth century (see note 339 below). Leaving aside the (by no means settled) question of whether the *Devīpurāṇa* knows the *Devīmāhātmya*, this considerably weakens Hazra's (1963) argument for the sixth century. Concerning counterevidence, reference in *Devīpurāṇa* 91 to Nandināgara script, which Hazra accepts suggests a post-7th century dating, he dismisses by declaring the chapter to be an interpolation (p. 78). Hazra is silent concerning the (negative) implications this would have for attributing the text to Bengal. (As De Simini [2016] shows, this material in *Devīpurāṇa* 91 is in fact drawn from the *Śivadharmottara*, and thus may not reflect on the *Devīpurāṇa*'s region of origin.)

[336] In De Simini's (2016: section 1.3) assessment, "the level of literality of these borrowings … proves that the people who composed the *Devīpurāṇa* had direct access to the text of the *Śivadharmottara*, which they must have considered an authority on certain topics."

[337] Concerning the *Kāmadhenu*, see Kane (1975: 616–22), who assigns it to the first decade of the twelfth century.

pend on the relative chronology of the *Devīpurāṇa* vis-à-vis the *Agnipurāṇa*, *Sāmbapurāṇa*, and *Garuḍapurāṇa*, with which HAZRA (pp. 77, 80–83) identifies shared passages. For the moment, the *Devīpurāṇa*'s knowledge of the *BraYā* hence does little more than confirm the latter's existence at some point in the tenth century.

"Just like the *Seven Centuries of Verse*" (*yathā saptaśatāni*)

The *BraYā* contains a fascinating reference to what is likely a work of non-tantric Sanskrit literature. A passage in the revelation narrative of chapter one (1.115–16ab) predicts that the *BraYā* shall become as famous as the *Saptaśatāni* ("Seven Centuries [of Verse]"):

> *gṛhe gṛhe mahādevi yathā saptaśatāni ca* |
> *tathā dvādaśasāhasro bhaviṣyati na saṃśayaḥ* ||
> *śaktyādhiṣṭhitacittānāṃ nātra kārya vicāraṇāt* |
>
> "O Mahādevī, just like the *Seven Centuries*, the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* shall be in home after home, no doubt, of those with minds empowered by the *śakti* [i.e. the initiated]. In this matter, there is no need to deliberate."

It is conceivable that the text here alluded to is none other than the *Durgāsaptaśatī* ("Seven-hundred Verses on Durgā")[338]—the *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. A work exceptionally well-known in late-medieval India, it appears fitting that the *Devīmāhātmya* would be singled out as emblematic of popularity. Nonetheless, it is unclear how early it might have attained such a status. Would the *BraYā* know the *Devīmāhātmya*, this could have significant chronological implications: long held to be a work of the sixth century or even earlier, Yuko YOKOCHI rightly questions the basis for so early a dating, and argues that the *Devīmāhātmya* might instead belong to the latter part of the eighth century.[339]

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[338] Also *Caṇḍikāsaptaśatī*, *Caṇḍīpāṭha*, etc.

[339] The *Devīmāhātmya* is frequently spoken of as a text foundational to the formation of Hindu goddess traditions, providing, for instance, an early example of the textual depiction of the Brahmanical Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*). Note e.g. HARPER (1989: 91), who assumes a *circa* 400–600 C.E dating of the text, citing HAZRA (1940: 10–12). Cf. Thomas COBURN (1984: 1, 63 [n. 204]), who accepts a fifth- or sixth-century dating of the *Devīmāhātmya*, citing BHANDARKAR (1909: 73–74) as well as MIRASHI (1964: 181–84). However, the *Devīmāhāt-*

There is little positive basis for this identification, and in light of the *Devīmāhātmya*'s problematic dating, alternatives must be considered. As all other texts mentioned in the revelation narrative and elsewhere in the *BraYā* appear to be *tantras*, it is possible that the *Saptaśatāni* was an erstwhile well-known Śaiva *tantra*, perhaps the seven-hundred verse recension of the *Kālottara* (*Saptaśatikakālottara*).[340] Somewhat more plausible, though, is that *Śaptaśatāni* refers to a similarly-named and renowned anthology of poems, the Prakrit *Sattasaī* (*Seven Centuries*) attributed to Hāla, known also by the Sanskrit title *Gāthāsaptaśatī* or *Saptaśatī*. Its fame, antiquity, and vernacular linguistic medium suggest that this could certainly have been emblematic of popularity for the *BraYā*'s redactors. On balance, I find this possibility much more compelling than possible references to the *Devīmāhātmya* or to an unnamed Śaiva scriptural text. As the *Sattasaī* was in circulation much prior the seventh century, this identification would have little impact on the *BraYā*'s dating.

1.10 Internal evidence: mantra, ritual, and cosmology

The *BraYā* provides an enormous body of data concerned with ritual and some concerned with doctrine, careful study of which ought to help clarify the text's place in the development of Tantric Śaivism. Although difficult to quantify, there are certainly a number of indications of archaism relative to the bulk of extant non-Saiddhāntika literature. A few of these will be explored in subsequent chapters, while others must await future publications. A provisional statement on several key issues nonetheless seems necessary at this point.

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mya is probably not as old as has been supposed: Yokochi (2005: 21–23 [n. 42]) questions on strong grounds the minimal evidence adduced in support of a sixth-century (or earlier) dating. She instead proposes the second half of the eighth century, primarily on the basis of the iconic type described for the Warrior Goddess. Yokochi (ibid.: 15 [n. 31.]) also notes that the *Devīmāhātmya* is the first source of its type to draw upon the tantric Śaiva conception of *śakti* in relation to the nature of goddesses more generally. She points out that *Skandapurāṇa* 171 does not describe the Mother-goddesses emitted by male gods as their *śaktis*, in contrast to the *Devīmāhātmya*. Her revised dating of the *Devīmāhātmya* may fit well with the emerging picture of the chronology of tantric Śaiva literature, for the tantric Śaiva goddess cults that might have inspired the theology of *śakti* alluded to in the *Devīmāhātmya* seem likely to have been widespread by the eighth century, but not in the sixth.

[340] This is one of the non-eclectic recensions of the *Kālottara* (Goodall et al. 2015: 41), and hence potentially early.

One potential source of evidence concerns mantra. A number of chapters of *Ṣaṭka* II utilize a code of mantra-derivation (*mantroddhāra*) called the *nārācaprastāra* or "arrow chart." This is a unique and eclectic alphabetical chart in which letters are designated by a variety of code-words. A small subset of letters have designations based on their visual, written forms, as I will demonstrate in volume III. While the cases are too few and hypothetical to situate securely in time and place, the implied written forms seem consistent with Brāhmī characters of the fifth to sixth centuries C.E. On the other hand, the *BraYā*'s highly elliptical discussion of the written form of A in paṭala 1 might better reflect a *circa* seventh-century milieu.[341] Several other mantra systems utilize the visual forms of letters, for instance the Trika goddess Mālinī's *nādiphānta* alphabetical order and chapter six of the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*. These too may be based on Gupta-era writing systems.[342] Caution is certainly warranted with this kind of evidence: such alphabetical codes are not only difficult to situate in time, but may also have been borrowed from earlier traditions, not necessarily reflecting orthographic practices of the redactors' own era.[343] The *BraYā*'s use of an archaic alphabetical code is nonetheless consistent with other indications of relative antiquity.

In the area of ritual, the *BraYā* possesses a number of features which help situate it in relation to other early works of tantric literature. GOODALL & ISAACSON (2016: 32–34) highlight several examples indicative of proximity to the earliest Buddhist and Śaiva tantric literature, most notably the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* and *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. Among the more distinctive examples are the threefold gradation of magical attainment (*siddhi*) by the signs of heat, smoke, and flames, and the wrapping of an empowered object in *aśvattha* leaves, discussed earlier (§1.9.4). The *BraYā*'s treatment of *mudrā* also appears archaic, for, unusually among Śaiva sources, its *mudrā*s are closely linked to specific mantras, deities, and even visual forms.[344] As GOODALL & ISAACSON conclude

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341 See the discussion of this issue in the annotation to *BraYā* 1.130.

342 See VASUDEVA (2007: 532–34). Note also the *mudrā*s of the alphabet given in the *Nayasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*; these involve mimicking the written forms of letters with one's own body (GOODALL et al. 2015: 402–21).

343 Cf. VASUDEVA (2007: 553): "Self-evidently, it would be rash to suppose this could be used as a reliable indication for the date of the earliest Trika texts. The *nādiphāntakrama* need not have originated in the Trika but may have been borrowed from an earlier source and, the range of possible dates within which the resemblance of graphemes and body-parts can be discerned is rather large."

344 My provisional remarks on the subject of *mudrā* in the *BraYā* have been published in

(ibid.: 66),

> ... the worlds of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, and the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*, above all, are unusually close, more so than we had imagined, sharing features of practice and of language which appear to be archaic and which in some cases disappeared altogether in later tradition (both Buddhist and Śaiva).

The *BraYā*'s coital rituals may also be archaic in character. Chapter 3 of this book attempts to situate these historically, though with a focus mainly on the "razor's edge observance" (*asidhāravrata*) of *BraYā* 40. As I will show, the *BraYā*'s *asidhāravrata* transforms a practice earlier described in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, with the version of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* possibly occupying an intermediary position. Mantramārga versions of this Brahmanical *vrata* appear to have become increasingly obsolete in the period after the *BraYā*'s composition, supplanted by sexual practices differing in both goal and premise.

Cosmology seems particularly promising for situating the *BraYā* in Śaivism's development. It may, for instance, be observed that the *BraYā*'s rites of initiation prominently feature the doctrine of "six courses" (*ṣaḍadhvan*)—six parallel hierarchies of consisting of worlds (*bhuvana*), ontic principles (*tattva*), etc.[345] As Goodall (2016: 85) notes in his groundbreaking study of cosmological thought in the *Niśvāsa* corpus, this doctrine may first be attested in the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, which must predate the eighth century,[346] and subsequently becomes "ubiquitous in Śaiva tantras" (ibid.). Although there is room for doubt, the *BraYā* may also know the 'classical' Saiddhāntika doctrine of primordial impurity (*mala*),[347] which is present in the *Svāyambhuva*° but

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Goodall & Isaacson (2016: 56–57 [n. 114]).

[345] *BraYā* 33.1c–2b: *tatvādhvā ca padādhvā ca varṇṇādhvā bhuvanātmakaḥ* | [*mantrādhvā ca*] *kalādhvā ca ṣaḍvidhādhvā* [corr.; °*ādhvāḥ* A] *prakīrttitaḥ* |. (*mantrādhvā ca* is a restoration; A is missing text.) These six courses (*ṣaḍadhvan*) are explicated in the cycle of chapters on initiation (32–38).

[346] This *tantra* was commented on by Sadyojyotis, who flourished *circa* 675–725 c.e. (Sanderson 2006a).

[347] Note especially *BraYā* 99.59: *āditatvo mahādevi malaḥ sarvvādhvasaṃsthayā* | *pāśakarma ca tasyaiva bījabhūtasya rūpakaṃ* ||. Note also *BraYā* 39.9c–11, which seems to parody the Saiddhāntika doctrinal emphasis on *mala*, declaring followers of the *Siddhāntatantras* to be covered like silkworms with an endless mass of karmic impurity.

not in such early works as the *Niśvāsa* (excepting the *Niśvāsakārikā*), *Raurava-sūtrasaṅgraha*, or early recensions of the *Kālottara*.[348]

As for the hierarchy of ontic principles (*tattvakrama*), the *BraYā* only once attests the 'classical' thirty-six *tattva* series that became standard in Śaiva exegetical literature.[349] All of the *tattva*s included in this schema do find mention in the *BraYā*'s various *tattva* lists; but with the exception of paṭala 11, they do not occur together. Instead, a hierarchy of thirty-five *tattva*s, omitting *aśuddha-vidyā* (the 'lower' form of *vidyātattva*), might appear to be primary, for this sequence is delineated in a key passage on initiation occurring as both *BraYā* 33.307c–16 and *BraYā* 37.54c–62.[350] However, the situation is in fact more complex, for in most other contexts, including *bhuvanadīkṣā* (initiation via the hierarchy of worlds), the *BraYā* utilizes sequences of thirty-two *tattva*s, or in some cases thirty-three (with the addition of *īśvaratattva* or *kalātattva*).[351] This ritual emphasis on a sequence of thirty-two *tattva*s seems archaic, although other factors may be involved.[352] In contrast to the *Svacchandatantra*, the *BraYā*'s awareness of the 'classical' thirty-six *tattva*s is thus only minimally reflected in ritual, where older paradigms persist. Somewhat similar is the case of the *kalā*s: the 'portions' of the Lord's power. While normally a pentad, these were originally a set of four (*nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, and *śānti*), as attested in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (Goodall et al. 2015: 38–39). Although the *BraYā* knows of the transcendent fifth *kalā* (*śāntyatīta*),[353] it just as often invokes them as a set of four.[354] Moreover, the principal chapter on cosmography (*BraYā* 32, the *prakriyāpaṭala*) associates the upper *tattva*s with sets of four *kalā*s,[355] a pattern which seems archaic.

Evidence from cosmology thus suggests that the *BraYā* postdates the earliest

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[348] See Goodall (2016: 105–6).

[349] *BraYā* 11.147–60.

[350] In *BraYā* 33, this passage describes the final purification of *tattva*s performed at the conclusion of initiation.

[351] In *bhuvanadīkṣā* (*BraYā* 33.7–158b), the upper sequence of nine *tattva*s is as follows: *prakṛti*, *puruṣa*, *niyati*, *kāla*, *māyā*, *vidyā*, *śakti*, *sadāśiva*, and *śiva*.

[352] In particular, the *BraYā*'s preference for all things nine may be a factor: a sequence of thirty-two *tattva*s provides nine 'higher' *tattva*s (from *prakṛti* to *paramaśiva*) for homologizing with the mantra-deities of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā.

[353] *BraYā* 11.50: *pratiṣṭhā ca tathā vidyā śāntiś ceti* [em.; *śāntis caiti* A] *parā[ḥ] smṛtāḥ* | *nivṛttiś ca tathā devi śāntyātītaḥ parāparaḥ* ||.

[354] E.g. *śānti vidyā pratiṣṭhā ca nivṛttis tu yathākramam*, a hemistich which occurs thrice (19.34ab, 87.150, and 28.50ab).

[355] *BraYā* 32.4cd: *tatve tatve samutpannaṃ kalānān tu catuṣṭayaṃ*.

Siddhāntatantras—the *Niśvāsa*, *Raurava*, early recensions of the *Kālottara*, and probably also the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*. This confirms what one would expect on multiple other grounds, including the account of the Śaiva scriptural canon in *BraYā* 39, which, as argued earlier, delineates the canon of *Siddhāntas* on the basis of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, a late addition to the *Niśvāsa* proper. Nonetheless, there are also indications of archaism vis-à-vis sources such as the *Svacchandatantra*, most notably concerning the *BraYā*'s hierarchy of *tattvas*. The *BraYā*'s redactors may thus have written in a period when the classical sequence of thirty-six *tattvas* had crystalised, but not yet become predominant. This might account for their disinclination to more fully adapt the *BraYā*'s practices to this schema.

1.11 Geographic and social horizons

A text as vast as the *BraYā* ought to offer clues into its region of origin, but this remains difficult to pin down with confidence. It can at least be asserted that the text is unlikely to herald from the far south or far north and northwest of the subcontinent.

In its first chapter, the *BraYā* provides an unusually detailed account of its revelatory "descent" (*avatāra*). Mentioning numerous individuals, this narrative tacitly acknowledges the role of human agency—through the medium of the tantric guru—in the production of scriptural literature. Idealized though the *BraYā*'s account of revelation certainly is, some of the personages and places mentioned appear realistic. More than twenty-five individuals find mention, the majority of whose castes and regions of origin are specified (table 1.15). Most are designated by initiatory name alone; for several, however, additional information is provided: a pre-initiatory name, native village, and/or the name of a parent. These cases comprise the brahmin Śrīdhara of Kurukṣetra, near Delhi, whose initiatory name is Kapālabhairava; Caṇḍabhairava, an *Atharvaveda*-school (*ātharvaṇaśākhā*) brahmin from the village Bṛhodarī, of Sindh in modern Pakistan; Amantrī of Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain, M.P.), a.k.a. Svacchandabhairava, son of the brahmin woman Deikā; and Sattikā[356] of Kaṇavīra village, close to Prayāga (near modern Allahabad, U.P.), the daugh-

[356] It is unclear whether the name is Sattikā or Santikā, for *tt* and *nt* are often indistinguishable in the writing of the old manuscript (**A**). Sattikā, Middle Indic for Śaktikā, seems more likely. See the discussion ad *BraYā* 1.28.

ter of a *chandoga*-school brahmin, Meghadatta. Sattikā is none other than the goddess Bhairavī or Aghorī herself, manifesting in the world of mortals on account of a curse. She recovers her divinity through ritual perfection, and then sets in motion the descent of "scriptural wisdom" (*jñāna*) that culminates in the *BraYā*.

The narrative of revelation places these and the other, more anonymous individuals mentioned within a cosmic temporal framework: Bhairava teaches the Goddess the scriptural wisdom in its unabridged form of 125,000 verses at the beginning of a particular Kali yuga, and she transmits this to Śrīdhara or Kapālabhairava in the second Tretā yuga thereafter. Kapālabhairava transmits an abbreviated redaction of 24,000 verses to his disciple, Devadatta or Padmabhairava, who further reduces the text to twelve-thousand in the Dvāpara yuga, at the juncture of the Kali age. This would appear to be the *BraYā* itself, one epithet of which is *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, "The Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses."[357] Padmabhairava has fourteen disciples from throughout the subcontinent, among whom the text's circulation is apparently restricted for most of the age.

In the final quarter of the Kali yuga, the initiate Svacchandabhairava comes to learn the scripture. Having had numerous miscarriages, a certain Deikā of Ujjayinī prays for a son before the Mother-goddesses, and they place in her womb the child called "Without a Mantra" (Amantrī)—an accomplished initiate who in a previous birth had broken the initiatory pledges (*samaya*) and failed to achieve *siddhi*.[358] Reborn, Amantrī attains *siddhi* through practice of the *vidyā*. Consecrated as Svacchandabhairava, he learns the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses* from Krodhabhairava, the primordial disciple of the Goddess.[359] His own disciples preside over ever-diminishing redactions of the scripture at the twilight of the cosmic cycle, at the end of which *yoginīs* hide away the teachings altogether. Concealed throughout the Kṛta, Tretā, and Dvāpara ages of the subsequent cycle, at the begining of the next Kali yuga the Goddess reveals the unabbreviated scripture of 125,000 verses to (the new incarnation of) Svacchandabhairava. He teaches a redaction of 12,000 verses to a certain

[357] See §2.5.

[358] See *BraYā* 1.78c–86b. The narrative concerning Amantrī or Svacchandabhairava and his disciples, spanning two Kali yugas, comprises *BraYā* 1.78c–118. Amantrī's combination of tantric initiation and breach of the initiatory pledges in a past life defines the exalted type of *sādhaka* known as the *tālaka*, whose virtuoso transgressive rituals are treated especially in *BraYā* 45. For a detailed study, see Kiss (2015: 35–55).

[359] The verses in question, 1.78–79, are somewhat problematic; see the annotation thereon.

Table 1.15: Individuals mentioned in the revelation narrative of *Brahmayāmala*, paṭala 1

NAME(S)	PLACE OF ORIGIN	CASTE/VEDIC ŚĀKHĀ
Sattikā or Santikā (daughter of Meghadatta)	Kaṇavīra village, near Prayāga	*brāhmaṇa (chandoga)*
Krodhabhairava	–	–
Śrīdhara/Kapālabhairava	Kurukṣetra	*brāhmaṇa*
Devadatta/Padmabhairava	Oḍradeśa	*brāhmaṇa (bahvṛca)*
DISCIPLES OF PADMABHAIRAVA:		
Raktabhairava	Madhyadeśa	*brāhmaṇa (ātharvaṇa)*
Jvālābhairava	Madhyadeśa	*brāhmaṇa (ātharvaṇa)*
Helābhairava	Madhyadeśa	*brāhmaṇa (ātharvaṇa)*
Vāmabhairava	Saurāṣṭrā	*śūdra*
Vijayabhairava	Saurāṣṭrā	*śūdra*
Bībhatsabhairava	Sindhuviṣaya	*kṣatriya, rājaputra*
Gajakarṇabhairava	Sindhuviṣaya	*kṣatriya, rājaputra*
Caṇḍabhairava (son of Yajñasoma)	Bṛhodarī village, Sindhuviṣaya	*brāhmaṇa (ātharvaṇa)*
DISCIPLES OF CAṆḌABHAIRAVA:		
Kumārabhairava	–	–
Krodhabhairava (II)	–	–
Tejabhairava	–	–
DISCIPLES OF PADMABHAIRAVA (CONT.):		
Karālabhairava	(Kashmir?)	*mātaṅga*
Ucchuṣmabhairava	(Kashmir?)	*mātaṅga*
Yamabhairava	Kashmir	*brāhmaṇa (chandoga)*
Viṣṇubhairava	Lampāviṣaya	*brāhmaṇa (vājimadhyaṃdina)*
Dakṣiṇābhairava	Kāśī	*brāhmaṇa (bahvṛca)*
Śekharabhairava	Oḍḍiyāna	*brāhmaṇa (taittirīya, apastambhabrāhmaṇa)*
SVACCHANDA AND HIS DISCIPLES:		
Amantrī/Svacchandabhairava (son	Ujjayinī	*brāhmaṇa*
of Deikā)	–	–
Caṇḍabhairava (II?)	–	–
Bindubhairava (=Vibhubhairava?)	–	–
Māyābhairava	–	–
Anantabhairava	–	–
Vibhubhairava	–	–
Viṣṇubhairava (II?)	Kalāpa village, Kumārīdvīpa	–

Viṣṇubhairava[360] in the legendary village of Kalāpa, renowned as an abode of sages.[361] Viṣṇubhairava then transmits the text to the inhabitants of the "Isle of Maidens" (*kumārīdvīpa*)—the civilized world.[362] With this we arrive, unambiguously, at the *BraYā*. The narrative ends by predicting that the text shall achieve tremendous popularity, being present in the homes of all worthy of *siddhi*.

While this narrative contains tantalizing details concerning individuals and places, its idealized framework obscures potential historical data. Noteworthy is the fact that the text claims a pan-South Asian genealogy. This could reflect the wish to ascribe universality to what was, in fact, a manifestly local tradition. However, it is entirely plausible that the textual community came to involve pan-South Asian lineages. Among the figures mentioned, Svacchandabhairava of Ujjayinī appears pivotal to the text's transmission; yet there are no strong grounds for assuming he or anyone else mentioned represents an historical figure. It is nonetheless possible that the *BraYā*'s revelation narrative preserves a record of some key individuals connected with the scripture and its background, cast within an idealized temporal and geographic framework.

Concerning the individuals mentioned in the revelation narrative, two facts stand out: the prominence of male brahmins in the production and transmission of scripture, and the simultaneous representation of a spectrum of other castes. Eleven brahmin men figure among the twenty-five odd individuals

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360 "Viṣṇubhairava" is mentioned twice in the revelation narrative: as a *vājimadhyaṃdina*-school brahmin from Lampā, one of the fourteen disciples of Padmabhairava (verse 73); and as the student of Svacchandabhairava (verses 112–14), medium for the dissemination of the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses* to the residents of Kumārīdvīpa. There is no suggestion that these are the same individual; however, the second could be a subsequent incarnation of the former.

361 Reference to *Kalāpagrāmaka* as the site of revelation in the beginning of the Kali yuga occurs in Jayaratha's commentary ad *Tantrāloka* 1.8, quoting *Śivadṛṣṭi* 7.108 (the KSTS edition prints *kalāpigrāma*). It is also mentioned, for instance, in the opening of the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*. The site is probably best-known from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*; see, for instance, IX, 12.6; IX, 22.17; X, 87.7; and XII, 2.37–38; see also Kṣemendra's *Daśāvatāracarita* (10.2c, from the opening of the Kalkyavatāra section; references courtesy of ISAACSON). In both of the latter, the site is associated with the Kali yuga, its final period in particular.

362 On Kanyā- or Kumārīdvīpa, see *Tantrāloka* 8.85–92, especially verse 91: *nānāvarṇāśramācārasukhaduḥkhavicitratā | kanyādvīpe yatas tena karmabhūḥ seyam uttamā* ("Because of the existence of [the system of] manifold castes and stages of life, and the variegation of pleasure and suffering on Kanyādvīpa, it is the greatest land [for the performance] of pious acts [*karman*]").

named, representing a variety of regions and Vedic schools. The roster features two *kṣatriya*s and two *śūdra*s, and includes two members of the tribal *mātaṅga* community as well; information is not provided concerning the remaining individuals. All of the more important figures are brahmins, with Sattikā—also a brahmin—the single woman of significant status. I suspect that this points toward the simultaneous diversity of participants in the tantric Śaivism of the *BraYā*—caste and gender are, in principle, not bars—and the reality that literacy, and therefore textual production, was undoubtedly a domain in which male brahmins were particularly prominent. At the same time, the remarkably rustic Sanskrit of the *BraYā*, heavily influenced as it is by the Middle-Indic vernacular, suggests redactors of little training in Sanskrit grammar—the study of which had pride of place in Brahmanical education.

Indeed, the language of the *BraYā* comprises a body of data potentially useful for locating the text in time, place, and sociolinguistic community. Its evaluation faces limitations, though, for the paucity of manuscript evidence complicates the effort to distinguish between the vagaries of scribal transmission and genuine irregularity. Nonetheless, the sheer volume of material in a text of more than 12,000 verses may partly compensate for this problem. It seems reasonable, for instance, to suspect that the conflation of sibilants—*śa* and *sa*, but also *ṣa*—reflects influence of an east-Indian vernacular, for this is so pervasive that it cannot merely reflect scribal indifference. One might also, for instance, infer on the basis of its confusion between *jha* and *ṛ* that the old Nepalese MS. (**A**) had an east-Indian ancestor. Further study is required to determine whether the *BraYā* possesses dialectical features of a particular region and period.

In addition to language, the *BraYā* also provides abundant evidence from material culture, flora, and fauna, which I have hardly begun to consider. One could, for instance, seek to localize the extensive lists of plant-based food items and meats in *BraYā* 45, etc., or investigate the chapter on flowers (*BraYā* 16, the *puṣpādhikārapaṭala*).

It is exceedingly unlikely that the *BraYā* was composed in a courtly environment. For a text which places considerable emphasis on attaining worldly power, the *BraYā* makes surprisingly few references to political or military power as an aim of ritual.[363] Furthermore, there are few telltale signs of courtly

[363] Exceptions include occasional reference to "the good fortune of kingship" or "royal fortune" (*rājyasaubhāgya*) as one of several aims of ritual; note, e.g., *BraYā* 45.304 (*anena kramayogena rājyasaubhāgyam eva ca | arthāṃś ca vividhā[ṃ]ś caiva mantrī sarvān avāpnuyāt ||*;

concerns or even an urban environment in the *BraYā*. Although urban centers find mention—Kāśī/Vārāṇasī and Ujjayinī—their civic status is incidental, for these are important Śaiva places of pilgrimage. These circumstances may suggest a rural and relatively non-elite social milieu.

The geographical horizons of the *BraYā*, as indicated by the places it names, have two distinct spheres. On one hand, the revelation narrative presents an expansive topographic vision: individuals involved in the transmission of scripture span from Orissa (*oḍradeśa*) in the east to Sindh (*sindhuviṣaya*) and the Swat Valley (*oḍḍiyāna*) in the west, and Kashmir (*kaśmīra*) and Lampā in the far north. The far south is not represented, however, nor, e.g., Nepal. In contrast, the sacred places mentioned in the *BraYā* suggest more restricted geographical horizons (table 1.16[364]). The *BraYā*'s primary deity maṇḍala, as delineated in chapter three, positions eight sacred sites in the cardinal and ordinal directions, referred to in this context as "cremation grounds" (*śmaśāna*). These surround the central cremation ground of Prayāga (table 1.16a). This maṇḍala of nine cremation grounds encompasses central India and the Deccan, the North-Indian heartland, and Orissa and Bengal in the east. This suggests a largely central-eastern geographic sphere, the farthest point west being Kollagiri, perhaps corresponding to the Kolhapur in the Deccan (in modern Maharashtra). Orissa is disproportionately represented, while Koṭīvarṣa of modern Dinajpur district in northwestern Bangladesh marks the far northeastern horizon. This maṇḍala of nine cremation grounds has a close parallel in *BraYā* 87's list of eight *pīṭhas* ("sacred mounds;" see table 1.16b).[365] Discrepancies between the two can in part can be accounted for by synonyms—Jayantikā is presumably Ujjayinī—but not entirely.

It is difficult to say which of the two geographic spheres invoked—the pan-

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one could also understand this, following Kiss (2015), as *rājyaṃ saubhāgyam eva ca*). "Kingship" itself (*rājya*) is mentioned in a list of *siddhis* in *BraYā* 90.203d. Chapter 52 specifies which meats should be offered in fire sacrifice depending on one's caste and station; in this context, kings are mentioned as individuals who must offer human flesh. In addition, there are references to "protection of one's army" (*nijasainyasya rakṣaṇa*) and "terrifying the opponent's army" (*parasainyasa trāsana*) in lists of magical objectives, with no particular emphasis.

[364]In identifying the probable regions of the sacred sites the *BraYā* enumerates, I follow Sanderson (2001: 7 [n. 4]).

[365] *BraYā* 87.81: *prayāgā varuṇā kollā aṭṭahāsā* [em.; *haṭṭahāsā* A] *jayantikā* | *caritraikāmrakañ caiva koṭivarṣaṃ tathāṣṭamaṃ* ||. *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.21 is identical to this verse, offering as substantive variants *aṭṭahāsā* (adopted above) and the corrupt *caritrekāmbukaṃ* (81c; mss. as reported by Dyczkowski). Cf. *Kubjikāmata* 24.137c–38b.

Table 1.16: The *Brahmayāmala*'s sacred geography

(a) The Nine Cremation Grounds of the initiation maṇḍala in *BraYā* 3

NAME(S)	PROBABLE LOCATION
Prayāga	Allahabad, U.P.
Vārāṇasī	Varanasi, U.P.
Virajā	Jajpur, Orissa
Kollagiri	Kolhapur, Maharashtra
Prabhāsa	Somnath, Junagadh Dit., Gujarat
Ujjainī	Ujjain, M.P.
Bhūteśvara	?
Ekāmra	Bhuvanesvar, Orissa
Koṭivarṣa	W. Dinajpur Dit., Bangladesh

(b) The Eight Sacred Mounds (*pīṭha*) in *BraYā* 87

NAME(S)	PROBABLE LOCATION
Prayāga	Allahabad, U.P.
Varuṇā	(=Varaṇā, i.e. Varanasi?)
Kollā/Kolagiri	Kolhapur, Maharashtra
Aṭṭahāsa	Birbhum Dit., W. Bengal
Jayantikā	Ūjjayinī/Ujjain?
Caritra	Puri Dit., Orissa
Ekāmra	Bhuvanesvar, Orissa
Koṭivarṣa/Devīkoṭṭa	W. Dinājpur Dit., Bangladesh

South Asian or the central and eastern—might better reflect the original redactors and earliest textual community of the *BraYā*. The maṇḍala of cremation grounds might have been inherited from older sources, at most shedding light upon the geographic horizons of the early tradition—though it could potentially reflect the geographic sphere of the *BraYā* in its earliest form. The more expansive geography envisioned in the *BraYā*'s revelation narrative might, on the other hand, reflect a broadening of the cult's horizons by the period of the text's final redaction.

As for the specific place of composition, there seem to be multiple viable possibilities. Among the possible regions of origin, Orissa might seem a strong candidate: note, in particular, the prominence of Orissan sites in the sacred geography of the *BraYā* (table 1.16), and the text's references to Ekapādabhairava, an unusual one-legged form of the deity presiding over the Ekāmra *pīṭha* and common in Orissan-provenance sculpture, but uncommon elsewhere. Temples suggestive of tantric goddess cults are, furthermore, widely attested in the sculpture of this region, particularly from the ninth century.[366] A region, like Orissa, of "peripheral" status in the Brahmanical cultural world would certainly seem congruous with the sociolinguistic milieu of the text.

On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine obscure villages such as Bṛhodarī of Sindh and Kaṇavīra, near Prayāga—neither of which seems traceable now—featuring prominently in the revelation narrative in the absence of a genuine connection to the text. Between the two, Kaṇavīra village has an especially strong claim, owing not only to its prominence in the revelation narrative, but also to the centrality of Prayāga in the *BraYā*'s cultic system. As observes Kiss (2015: 16),

> "... the fact that the centre of the initiation maṇḍala of the *BraYā* is Prayāga may have some weight, and may lead us to the supposition that the birth-place of the text should not lie extremely far from Prayāga, modern Allahabad. In support of Prayāga being the place of origin of the text, one could also refer to *BraYā* 1.27–28, in which Sattikā, the Goddess herself, is said to be incarnated in Kaṇavīra, a village near Prayāga."

Sattikā's disciple's disciple, Svacchandabhairava of Ujjayinī, is pivotal to the *BraYā*'s transmission in a career spanning multiple lives. Individuals associ-

[366]On Ekapādabhairava in Orissa, see Donaldson (1982); on Orissan temples providing evidence for *śākta* tantric cults, see especially Donaldson (2002, vol. 1).

ated with Prayāga and Ujjayinī thus figure as key agents in the text's revelation. Despite the narrative's mythical and literary qualities, it remains a distinct possibility that one of its purposes was to elevate such individuals—redactors of the *BraYā*, or prior gurus of their lineage—to divine status within a idealized tantric metacommunity spanning a vast temporal, geographical, and cosmological expanse. In other words, the redactors may have written their lineage of gurus (and perhaps themselves) into the revelation narrative.

Recently, Hans Bakker (2014: 257–60) has advanced a different proposal for the provenance of the *BraYā* and other early *Yāmalatantra*s. He suggests that the *BraYā*, at least in its early form, emerged in the Koṭīvarṣa region of Gauḍa in the second half of the seventh century, more or less contemporaneous with the old *Skandapurāṇa*. This working hypothesis is partly based on Koṭīvarṣa's origin myth in *Skandapurāṇa* 171, which, as reviewed earlier, also accounts for the origin the *Yāmalatantra*s, headed by the *BraYā*. Another factor is the fact that the initiation maṇḍala of *BraYā* 3 may demonstrate local knowledge of the Hetukeśvara temple of Koṭīvarṣa—although omitting mention of its tutelary godddess, Bahumāṃsā. In Bakker's (2014: 259) assessment,

> A date for the part of the *Brahmayāmala* under discussion [*BraYā* 3] that is slightly later than the composition and first redaction of the *Skandapurāṇa* could possibly explain this omission, although, admittedly, other reasons for the disappearance of the local tutelary goddess in the *Picumata*, such as the difference in context, cannot be excluded. The matter needs further research, but for the time being our working hypothesis is that at least this part of the *Brahmayāmala* came into being in the second half of the seventh century, when the Later Gupta dynasty was trying to restore authority in the region after the collapse of Harṣavardhana's empire, though the inception of the Yāmala tradition seems to have been contemporaneous with the composition of the *Skandapurāṇa*.

This "northeastern" hypothesis seems on the whole plausible. It should nevertheless be stressed that its grounds are not especially strong: *Skandapurāṇa* 171 certainly links the *Yāmala-/Mātṛtantra*s to Koṭīvarṣa, but the link may attest merely to association rather than origin. The *BraYā*'s knowledge of the pantheon of a major Śaiva sacred site may also be accounted for readily on other grounds. However, the possibility that the *BraYā* and/or older *tantra*s concerned with tantric worship of the *mātṛ*s derive from the Koṭīvarṣa region

deserves serious consideration. And regardless of its place origin, it is highly significant that the *BraYā* was known already to the redactors of the old *Skandapurāṇa*, based perhaps in Benaras,[367] while being in circulation in Gauḍa (Bengal), at so early a date.

Potentially bolstering this hypothesis is the possibility that the *Devīpurāṇa*, which draws upon the *BraYā*, not only circulated in Bengal but is of Bengali provenance, for which Hazra (1963: 35–194) makes a detailed argument. Unfortunately, his grounds for situating the *Devīpurāṇa* in Bengal are weak in most cases, though an east-Indian origin remains a credible possibility. One reasonable argument for this view is the survival of its manuscripts almost exclusively in eastern India and Nepal—though these manuscripts are at most several centuries old, and the text must once have circulated more widely. Hazra's arguments concerning the text's knowledge of Bengali topography and its citation by numerous sources of demonstrably east-Indian provenance may have more merit. On the other hand, the linguistic argument (pp. 85–90) seems tenuous: much of what he adduces as evidence of affinity to old Bangla is merely evidence of hybrid Sanskrit (e.g. the use of non-standard stems such as *devyā* and *mātā* for *devī* and *mātṛ*, respectively). While one cannot take for granted that the *Devīpurāṇa* has east-Indian origins, the scenario is plausible, and would affirm the *BraYā*'s circulation in this region, if not suggesting even stronger ties.

1.12 Provisional conclusions on the dating of the *Brahmayāmala*

Uncertainties surround both the absolute and relative chronologies of the *BraYā*, further complicated by the fact that the text appears to have multiple strata. Balancing a large number of factors, we may nonetheless narrow down the *BraYā*'s period of composition to a plausible range of dates, keeping in mind the provisional nature of this exercise. The various considerations outlined thusfar may be summarized as follows:

- A "*Brahmayāmala*" is mentioned in the original *Skandapurāṇa*, in a chapter (171) likely belonging to its final stratum (second half of the seventh century?).

[367] See the introduction to *Skandapurāṇa*, vol. II, as well as Bakker (2014: 10–21).

- A fragmentary hymn entitled *Bhairavīvardhamānaka* which appears to know the *BraYā* is present in an early ninth-century manuscript (the Cambridge *Pārameśvara* codex).

- The extant *BraYā* is known without ambiguity to the *Piṅgalāmata* (pre-Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha), *Bhairavamaṅgalā* (composed prior to the late ninth-century), and *Jayadrathayāmala* (composite, dating uncertain).

- The *BraYā* was drawn upon by a Buddhist *tantra*, the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* (eighth- or ninth-century); and by a work of non-tantric literature, the *Devīpurāṇa* (probably pre-tenth-century).

- The *BraYā* knows a full canon of *Siddhāntatantra*s, whose list it borrows from the *Dīkṣottara* of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, the comparatively late "fifth *sūtra*" of the *Niśvāsa*. *BraYā* 39's evident debt to the *Dīkṣottara* suggests that the text was composed in a milieu in which the archaic *Niśvāsa* corpus, inclusive of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, remained an important authority.

- The *BraYā*'s cosmology presupposes the earliest of the extant *Siddhāntatantra*s and probably also the more 'classical' cosmology of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (pre eighth-century). Nonetheless, archaic features may suggest that it predates the successful standardization of *tattva*s as thirty-six by the exegetes (among whom the influential Sadyojyotis was active *circa* 675–725 C.E.).

- The *BraYā*'s ritual has archaic features which place it in some degree of proximity to the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, and to the Buddhist *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*.

- In its *yakṣiṇīsādhana* chapter (65), the *BraYā* may draw upon a lost *Gāruḍatantra* or *Bhūtatantra*, or (perhaps indirectly) an unknown early or Buddhist *Kriyātantra*.

- The *BraYā* knows early works of the *vāmasrotas*, including the extant *Vīṇāśikhatantra*. It appears to have a degree of proximity to these, insofar as it incorporates elements of *vāmasrotas* pantheons.

- The *BraYā* likely knew the *Śivadharmaśāstra* (sixth century?), perhaps indirectly.

- The *BraYā* makes reference to an evidently famous work of seven-hundred verses, probably the Prakrit *Sattasaī* (early centuries C.E.) or just possibly the *Devīmāhātmya* (*circa* eighth-century).
- The *BraYā* seems likely to predate the extant *Svacchandatantra* as well as the *Tantrasadbhāva*, while its relationship to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, earliest of the Trika *tantra*s, is unclear.
- The *BraYā* has two or more strata separated by uncertain intervals of time.

In general terms, these parameters place the *BraYā* more or less in the seventh to eighth centuries, without definitively ruling out the sixth and ninth. I am nonetheless inclined to exclude the sixth century on account of the *BraYā*'s apparent knowledge of a developed canon of early *Siddhāntatantra*s. In particular, the *BraYā*'s knowledge of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, and the fact that it may postdate the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, mitigate against the earlier range of plausible dates. I am also inclined to rule out the ninth century: there are simply too many sources which demonstrably know the *BraYā* which seem likely to date to the ninth century or earlier. In the matter of dating I thus am inclined to set aside more extreme scenarios, such as the possibility that the late-sixth to early-seventh century redactors of the *Skandapurāṇa* knew of the *BraYā* in its current form, or that the *BraYā*'s original redactors knew the *Devīmāhātmya* (if indeed YOKOCHI is correct in dating the latter to the second half of the eighth century). Within what seems the most plausible span of dates—the seventh to eighth centuries—the *BraYā*'s doctrinal and ritual archaisms may more likely support the lower and middle rather than upper range.

Crucial for further insight is the question of when a text akin to the *BraYā* could most plausibly have been in circulation. At what point, in particular, are characteristic Vidyāpīṭha goddess cults and antinomian ritual forms first attested? When do they become prominent (and likewise, when *passé*)? The evidence is lean, but some signs point towards the importance of the latter part of the seventh century and beginning of the eighth. On the Buddhist side, an important landmark is the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, a "proto-*Yoginītantra*" which existed in some form in the early-eighth century (SZÁNTÓ & GRIFFITHS 2015) and which may draw upon *vāmasrotas* and Vidyāpīṭha sources and models.[368] SANDERSON (2009: 156) has suggested that the very title is calqued upon those of the *Sarvavīrasamāyoga* and *Yoginījālasaṃvara*, lost

[368] For a detailed argument concerning the text's Śaiva models, see SANDERSON (2009: 145–

Vidyāpīṭha works mentioned in accounts of the Śaiva canon.[369] Attestation of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* in the early-eighth century may hence confirm that Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha works, or their immediate antecedents, were by then in circulation.

It might be argued that there is earlier evidence: for example, Dharmakīrti (fl. c. 550–650) makes reference to Tantras of the Ḍākinīs (*Ḍākinītantras*) and Tantras of the Sisters (*Bhaginītantras*, i.e. *tantras* of the *vāmasrotas*). I suspect, however, that these and other sixth- to early seventh-century sources intimate the existence of magical traditions and tantric systems predating the extant *Bhairavatantras* of the Vidyāpīṭha.[370] It is only in a dramatic work from the first quarter of the eighth century, the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti,[371] that a goddess-centered tantric Śaiva cult of the type described in Vidyāpīṭha works finds detailed attestation in a reliably dated source. While not naming specific texts, it vividly portrays ritual practices of the Vidyāpīṭha cultic milieu.[372] By way of contrast, the earlier *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa, a contemporary of king Harṣavardhana (r. 606–47 C.E.), intimate the existence of Bhairava-centric tantric ritual traditions (perhaps at the level of the early Mantrapīṭha) as well as antinomian tantric goddess cults of a nascent kind likely to predate the *BraYā*.[373] As I had concluded earlier (HATLEY 2007: 80–82),

> … tantric Śaivism as known to Bāṇa was in a stage where ritual forms characteristic of the *Bhairavatantras* and a tantric cult of Caṇḍikā had developed, but in which focus upon the *yoginī* was not yet central or well-known. … There might, in addi-

156). On the possible debt of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*'s mantra encoding system (*mantroddhāra*) to the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, see TOMABECHI (2007).

[369] The *Sarvavīrasamāyoga* heads the list of Vidyāpīṭha scriptures in the *Jayadrathayāmala* and is mentioned in exegetical literature (SANDERSON 2014: 41, n. 153; 2007b: 236, nn. 21–22). Texts which mention and may in fact draw on the *Yoginījālasaṃvara* include the *Jayadrathayāmala* (SANDERSON 2007b: 236, n. 22) and the *Narapativijayacaryā* (see §1.1, note 7 above). The *BraYā* and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* both list the *Yoginījāla*, probably a short version of the title; the *BraYā* also mentions the *Prapañcayoginījāla*, and uses the expression *yoginījālaśaṃvara* repeatedly (*BraYā* 57.92b, and throughout *BraYā* 59).

[370] For a detailed review of the literary and other evidence for the early Mantramārga, see SANDERSON (2001, 2009).

[371] On the dates of Bhavabhūti, see MIRASHI (1974: 1–11).

[372] For a detailed analysis of evidence for tantric Śaivism in the *Mālatīmādhava*, see HATLEY (2007: 84–94), as well as SANDERSON (1985b: 213, n. 89).

[373] On the dates of Harṣa and Bāṇa, see DEVAHUTI (1998: vii). BAKKER (2014: 170) suggests that the *Harṣacarita* is not very likely to predate 620 C.E.

> tion, be historical significance to the divergent characterizations of Bāṇa's two *tāntrika*s: while Bhairavācārya [of the *Harṣacarita*] is presented as a respected and powerful figure, the [*Kādambarī*'s goddess-worshipping] Dravidian ascetic is described as an exotic, morally ambivalent, and rather inept sorceror. It is tempting to read into this distinction an emergent divide between a well-established tantric Śaiva cult of Bhairava, on the one hand, and newer, marginal, and more esoteric goddess cults.

If Bāṇa's representations may be trusted, *śākta-śaiva* traditions of the kind attested in the *BraYā* and related works had not yet developed in the earlier part of the seventh century, though precursors are discernable. I would thus be inclined to place the *BraYā* closer to the period of Bhavabhūti than Bāṇa. The earliest Vidyāpīṭha Śaiva works may well have been composed in the interval between these two authors—perhaps between 650 and 700 C.E.—for texts akin to the *BraYā* must surely have existed prior to Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, which incorporates detailed knowledge of Vidyāpīṭha Śaiva *yoginī* cults. The *BraYā* seems unlikely to be among the first such texts: while it has pride of place among the *Yāmala*s, it already presupposes a sizeable canon of *Bhairavatantra*s, including multiple goddess-oriented *tantra*s of the Vidyāpīṭha (see table 1.6). Hence, if the old *Skandapurāṇa*'s final phase of redaction, in which the *BraYā* is mentioned, belongs to the second half of the seventh century, or at latest the early part of the eighth, we might tentatively place the old core of the *BraYā* between 675 to 725 C.E., subsequent to the earliest Vidyāpīṭha works and prior to or not long after Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*—and roughly in the period of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* as well.

To summarize, it seems that the most plausible period for the *BraYā*'s composition is approximately 650–750 C.E., without ruling out later additions into the early ninth century. Within this range of dates, for the reasons mentioned above, I am most inclined to the period of 675–725 C.E. for the text's old core. How long it might have taken for the *BraYā*'s two or three strata to come together is a matter of speculation. It is possible, for instance, that the earliest stratum belongs to the final phase of the original *Skandapurāṇa* (last quarter of the seventh century?), while the last stratum may be closer in date to the *Laghuśaṃvara* (second half of the eighth century?). Given the indications of historical development between strata mentioned earlier (§1.7.5), I am inclined to see the earliest material as being separated by several decades, if not half a century or more, from the *BraYā*'s final redaction.

Chapter 2

To Name a Tantra: Genealogies of Scripture and the Canon of Śaivism in the Epithets of the *Brahmayāmala*

आदिमो ज्ञानसन्दोहस्त्रिभिः स्रोत्रैर्विनिर्गतः ।
सदाशिवेन देवेन श्रीकण्ठाय प्रभाषितम् ॥९१॥
सपादज्ञानसन्दोहः श्रीकण्ठेन महायशे ।
दशस्रोत्रविभागेन भाषितं साधकेच्छया ॥९२॥
कोटिकोटिप्रविस्तारैः कल्पकल्पसहस्रकैः ।
प्रचोदितो महादेवि तद्विदैर्बहुधा पुनः ॥९३॥

"The primordial mass of scriptural wisdom emerged forth via three streams. The lord Sadāśiva expounded it to Śrīkaṇṭha. Śrīkaṇṭha, O woman of renown, taught the mass of scriptural wisdom having [one hundred] and a quarter [thousand verses], with division into ten streams, according to the desires of *sādhaka*s. Those who learned these further revealed [the wisdom] manifoldy, with millions upon millions of elaborations, and mantra-manuals by the thousands, O Mahādevī."

Brahmayāmala 39.91–92

Thus far referred to as "the *Brahmayāmala*," the *tantra* in question in fact designates itself by multiple titular epithets. Taking an alternative approach to

introducing the text, the present chapter explicates the meanings and historical significance invested in its names. These prove to be important lenses into the *tantra*'s contents, history, and rhetorical world, especially the position its redactors sought to articulate for it within a canon of Śaiva scripture.

Though possessing several names, the scripture was best known within the tradition as "*Brahmayāmala*," a title eventually held by multiple texts. However, the unique designation *Picumata* had considerable prominence as well, while the *tantra* has two additional major titular epithets: *Navākṣaravidhāna* ("Method of the Nine-Syllable [Vidyā]") and *Dvādaśasāhasraka* ("Tantra of Twelve Thousand [Verses]"). Abhinavagupta cites the text as *"Brahmayāmala"* on eleven occasions,[1] also making four references to the "*Picumata*" (and variations thereon).[2] Within the body of the text, exclusive of chapter colophons, references to the titles *Brahmayāmala* and *Picumata* cluster heavily in the latter sections of the *tantra*, mainly in chapters 62–90.[3] Exegesis of both titles' significance is a focus of paṭalas 71 and 72. Both titles, moreover, have the distinction of apotheosis, for chapters 72 and 69 describe the titular deities Yāmalabhairava or Yāmaleśvara, "Lord of the *Yāmalatantra*," and Picubhairava, respectively.[4] Such emphasis on the text's principal titles and reflection upon their significance thus appears to be a distinctive concern of the second half of the *BraYā*, i.e. *Ṣaṭka* II, inclusive of the *Uttaratantra* but not the *Uttarottaratantra*, and may support my argument in chapter 1 for the text's stratification.[5]

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[1]Viz. *Tantrāloka* 4.54b, 4.60b, 5.97c, 13.145ab, 15.44c, 18.9a, 23.43d, 27.29a, 28.419b, 28.423b, and 29.11a. See appendix B for a study of Abhinavagupta's citations of the *BraYā*.

[2] Evidently preferring the title *Brahmayāmala*, Abhinavagupta also mentions the *"Picumata"* in *Tantrāloka* 28.383a, while in 27.21d referring to *"Picuśāstra,"* and *"Śrīpicu"* in 28.409c. Note also the phrase *picuproktaṃ*, "spoken in the *Picu[mata]*," in *Tantrāloka* 27.24b. In addition, Jayaratha, commenting on *Tantrāloka* 1.18, quotes from a scriptural source that itself refers to the "*Picutantra*."

[3]Internal references to the title *Brahmayāmala*, or the abbreviated form *Yāmala*, occur in 39.34c, 62.1c (*yāmalaṃ tantram*), 62.35c (*yāmala*), 71.100c, 76.36d, 77.93a, 78.1c (*yāmalatantra*), 85.16b (*yāmala*), 85.101d, 85.124b, 89.85b, and 104.31a, besides numerous references in *BraYā* 72 and 75. References to the title *Picumata* (or °*matatantra*) occur in 62.7a, 62.250a, 72.110d, and 87.222c, while *Picutantra* occurs in 62.39a, 67.1b, 75.205c, 77.93c, 84.23d, 85.16d, 90.257b, and 90.258b.

[4]Yāmaleśvara and his mantra, maṇḍala-deities, and the *śakti* in union with him (*tadyāmale*) are taught in *BraYā* 72, while Picubhairava and his "lump" (*piṇḍa*) or "heap" (*kūṭa*) mantra are described in paṭala 69.

[5]On the text's divisions and stratification, see §1.7.1–5. The *Uttaratantra* comprises paṭalas 87–90, and the *Uttarottaratantra*, 91–104.

2.1 *Brahmayāmala*: Union Tantra of Brahmā

Yāmala has as its primary meaning "pair," and in tantric literature, frequently has the specific sense of "coupled god and goddess," especially in contrast to *ekavīra* or *ekavīrā*, a solitary deity (male or female, respectively).[6] The *Yāmalatantra*s as a genre appear defined, in principle, by teaching the cult of a coupled supreme Godhead.[7] On this basis I favour the English rendering "Union Tantra" for the scriptures designated *Yāmala* or *Yāmalatantra*, as proposed by Sanderson (1988: 672). In the *Brahmayāmala*, the supreme, paired divinity comprises the deities Bhairava, more specifically Kapālīśabhairava, and the Great Goddess, whose primary names include Caṇḍā Kāpālinī ("Fierce Skullbearer"), Aghorī ("Un-Dreadful;" also Aghoreśī and Aghoreśvarī), and Bhairavī. As noted earlier, Sanderson has shown that the gender polarity of this supreme divinity is imbalanced, for the mantric being of the supreme Goddess, the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, subsumes that of Bhairava and his female entourage.[8]

It might appear incongruous for a Śaiva *tantra* cast as a dialogue between Bhairava and the Goddess to bear the title *Brahmayāmala*, for the orthodox creator-deity Brahmā has remarkably little to do with the text. His role is confined to a narrative episode in *BraYā* 83, which contains a fascinating variant on the "Skull of Brahmā" (*brahmakapāla*) myth, analysed in §4.3. In this episode, Brahmā has the distinction of losing one of his heads to Bhairava, thence providing him a skull as alms-bowl. Brahmā's cosmogonic role exists only by the

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[6]Note for example Kṣemarāja's expression *bhairavayāmala*, in the sense of Bhairava together with Bhairavī, e.g. ad *Netratantra* 10.12ab and 10.13ab (...*bhairavayāmalaṃ yajeta*, and *bhairavayāmalaṃ dhyāyet*, respectively). In the *Tantrāloka*, Abhinavagupta uses the word *yāmala* in the sense of "male-female pair," for example in the well-known *maṅgalaśloka*, where he speaks of his conception by the *yāmala* of his own parents (Sanderson 2005c: 89, 99–101). In 29.120, he appears to use *yāmala* in the sense of "conjoined *śiva* and *śakti*" (*śaktiśaktimat*).

[7]*Jayadrathayāmala* I, 33.25ab, in an account of the *Yāmalatantra*s, seems to link the genre to worship of a conjoined divine couple: *dampatyayogataḥ pūjā yāmaleti nigadyate*, perhaps meaning, "The *yāmala* form of worship is so-called because of the union of the [divine] couple" (understanding *dampatya* in the sense of *dampati*, or as corrupt for *dāmpatya*). I am grateful to Alexis Sanderson for this reference (personal communication), and to Hugo David for ideas on its interpretation (personal communication).

[8]Sanderson (1988: 672), quoted in §1.1. See also Kiss (2015: 20–22), who suggests that *BraYā* 3, which delineates the full initiation maṇḍala, belongs to a stratum of the text in which Kapālīśabhairava was the central deity, there being no meaningful trace of a supreme female deity.

blessing of Bhairava[9]—and to the extent that his skull, filled with the blood of Viṣṇu, serves as locus for the creation of the primordial *śaktis*.[10]

Although few old *Yāmalatantras* survive, extant text lists show that their titles were formed by appending *-yāmala* to the names of Brahmanical deities, or in some cases other mythical figures. In this regard, the *Yāmalatantras* more or less mirror the naming conventions of purāṇic literature, which includes texts with titles such as *Skandapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Garuḍapurāṇa*, and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. More specifically, it appears that *Yāmalatantras* were, by and large, texts named after the Brahmanical deities who serve as counterparts to and namesakes for the Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*)—both the ubiquitous Seven (or Eight) Mothers and their less common sisters, the eight Mothers of the Directions (*diṅmātaraḥ*).[11] This finds support in several sources which identify the *Yāmalatantras* as *Mātṛtantras*, "Tantras of the Mother-goddesses." Among these is the old *Skandapurāṇa*, as discussed in §1.8. The eight *Yāmalatantras* listed in *BraYā* 39 correspond in name to six of the standard Seven Mothers, omitting the independent goddess Cāmuṇḍā while adding *Yāmalatantras* of Kubera and Vāyu, whose female counterparts, Kauberī and Vāyavī, feature among the directional Mother-goddesses.[12] Such links with the Mother-goddesses suggest a meaningful basis for the naming convention of *Yāmalatantras*. Evidence in support of this convention is nonetheless not fully conclusive; none of the early lists of *Yāmalatantras*, as identified by SANDERSON (2001: 7), map precisely to sets of *mātṛs*, although *Yāmalatantras* of Brahmā/Brahmāṇī, Rudra/Rudrāṇī, Viṣṇu/Vaiṣṇavī, and Skanda/Kaumārī feature prominently. In addition, many *Yāmalatantra* titles, whether of actual or idealized texts, do not seem compatible with this model. These include, for example, the *Nandiyāmala*,[13] bearing the name of Śiva's prominent retainer (*gaṇa*) Nandin, and the (extant) *Jayadrathayāmala*, named after the dubious warrior and Śiva-*bhakta* of the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Jayadrathayāmala* nonetheless advances precisely this Mother-goddess framework for understanding the *Yāmalatantras*. In the thirty-sixth chapter of

[9] *BraYā* 83.96–98b. Cf. 83.182, which states that Brahmā recovered the Vedas only by propitiating Bhairava by practice of the skullbearer's observance (*mahāvrata*).

[10] *BraYā* 83, e.g. 162c–63b: *brahmaṇasyottamāṅge tu viṣṇuśoṇitapūrite* || *mama dṛṣṭinipātena utthitā[ś] cātra raśmayaḥ* |. See the discussion in §4.3.

[11] On the directional *mātṛs*, see s.v. *diṅmātaraḥ* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

[12] *BraYā* 39.34–45: *rudrayāmalam anyañ ca tathā vai skandayāmalaṃ* | *brahmayāmalakaṃ caiva viṣṇuyāmalam eva ca* ||34|| *yamayāmalakaṃ cānyaṃ vāyuyāmalam eva ca* | *kuberayāmalaṃ caiva indrayāmalam eva ca* ||35||.

[13] Mentioned in e.g. *Skandapurāṇa* 171.129b.

the first book (*ṣaṭka*), a passage listing root scriptures of the Vidyāpīṭha refers to the sevenfold "Union Tantras of the Mothers" (*mātṛyāmala*), beginning with the Mother-goddess Brahmāṇī. In this conception, the *Brahmayāmala* is apparently first of seven scriptures corresponding to the Seven Mothers.[14] Accounting for the diversity of titles, chapter forty-two describes the five primary root-scripture *Yāmala*s as Mother-goddess Tantras, from which emerge secondary (*upa-*) *Yāmala*s. From the five *Upayāmala*s in turn emerge various *Yāmala*s of the *dūtī*s, *yoginī*s, and other minor goddesses.[15] While this model of the core *Yāmala*s as Mother-goddess Tantras might have historical value, it also reflects a posthumous and idealized classification. It would certainly appear that some of the *Yāmala*s and *Upayāmala*s posited existed only in name.

Naming conventions of *Yāmalatantra*s hence suggest that *"Brahmayāmala"* has as an important, perhaps even original meaning, "Union Tantra of Brahmā" (or rather, "of Brahmā-Brahmāṇī"), with the *Jayadrathayāmala* and other sources confirming a strong association between the *Yāmalatantra*s and Mother-goddesses. However, the text's self-understanding of its title diverges considerably. In the opening of chapter seventy-one, the Goddess asks, "But why [the word] *yāmala*, O God? I want to know truly."[16] Commencing to answer, Bhairava declares, "this *Brahmayāmalatantra* emerged through the sequence of [five] *brahma-*[mantra]s."[17] Elaborating upon the link between the *brahma-* of the title and the archaic Śaiva *brahmamantra*s, these five mantra-faces of Sadāśiva are identified with Tumburu and the Four Sisters, the core pantheon of the *Vāmatantra*s. As such, the *brahma*-mantras consist of both *śiva* (Tumburu) and *śakti* (the Sisters). The same passage also offers an alternative interpretation of *brahma-*, understanding it in the sense of *brahman*, the formless absolute, rather than the *brahma*-mantras or deity Brahmā. The scripture is called

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[14] This passage also speaks of divisions of six and five *Yāmala*s corresponding to smaller groups of *mātṛs*. *Jayadrathayāmala* I, 36.16–25 (text courtesy of SANDERSON).

[15] *Jayadrathayāmala* I, 42.1–7 (e-text of SANDERSON). In this model, the five *mūlayāmala*s are those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Skanda, and Umā, which give rise to the *Vetālayāmala*, *Īśānayāmala*, *Atharvayāmala*, *Sarasvatīyāmala*, and *Somayāmala*, respectively.

[16] *BraYā* 72.1ab: *yāmalan tu kathaṃ deva jñātum icchāmi tatvataḥ* |.

[17] *BraYā* 72.3ab: *brahmayāmalatantredaṃ brahmabhaṃgyā viniśṛtam*, understanding °*tantredaṃ* as °*tantram idam*, with metri causa elision of the case ending. (The same expression occurs as *BraYā* 104.31a.) *brahmabhaṅgi* refers to the sequence of five *brahma*-mantras, beginning with that of Sadyojāta. See GOODALL, et al. (2005: 136–37), and see also Kṣemarāja's explanation of the term commenting on *Svacchandatantra* 1.46a. In the *BraYā*, cf. 62.181cd: *pañcabhāgakṛtā[m] vidyā[m] brahmabhaṅgyā niyojayet*, "One should employ the Vidyā divided in five parts, with the sequence of *brahmamantras*."

Brahmayāmala because Śiva and Śakti, the *yāmala*, are both vast (*bṛhattvāt*) and cause expansion (*bṛṃhakatvāt*)—an etymology of *brahman*.[18]

An explanation in *BraYā* 71 focuses instead upon the term *yāmala*. The text is the *"Brahmayāmala"* because it encompasses within itself a variety of oppositions (*yāmala*): those of liberation and supernatural attainment (*mukti* and *bhukti*); ritual and doctrine (*kriyā* and *jñāna*); and teachings of both the 'pure' and 'impure' ways, as well as the 'mixed' and 'unmixed' ritual paths.[19] This

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[18] *BraYā* 72.67–69ab:

> *brahmaṃ pañcavibhāgasthaṃ na pañcarahitaṃ kvacit |*
> *kāmabāṇā jayādyāś ca devyas tumburupūrvvakāḥ ||67||*
> *nandādititha yaḥ pañca śivaśaktyātmakāḥ priye |*
> *bṛhatvād bṛṃhakatvāc ca śivaśaktiv ubhāv api ||68||*
> *jagaty asmin sugītau tu brahmayāmalasaṃjñayā |*
>
> 67c kāmabāṇā] *em.*; kāmabāṇa° **A** 67d °pūrvvakāḥ] *em.*; °pūrvvvakā **A** 68b śivaśaktyātmakāḥ] *em.*; śivā śaktyātmakā **A** 68c bṛhatvād] *em.*; b⟨a⟩hatvād **A**
>
> "*brahman* always has five divisions; in no case is it devoid of the five. [These correspond to] the arrows of Kāmadeva, the [four] goddesses who begin with Jayā, headed by Tumburu, and the five [auspicious] dates beginning with *nandā*, [all] consisting of *śiva* and *śakti*. Because of being vast and causing expansion, both *śiva* and *śakti* are well-known in this world by the designation *brahmayāmala*."

A's *kāmabāṇa°* in 67c is suspect; the connective *ca* suggests reading *kāmabāṇā jayādyāś ca*. If a compound, this should mean that the "arrows of Kāmadeva"—which number five—are to be identified with the Four Sisters and Tumburu, which seems less probable. In 68d, it seems that *śivaśaktiv* represents the dual *śivaśaktī*, with an unusual hiatus-breaking *-v-*. This could reflect influence of sandhi of the type *ubhāv api* for *ubhau api*. Perhaps one should simply emend to *śivaśaktī -r- ubhāv api*.

Cf. the definition of the word *brahman* provided in *BraYā* 60.24cd: *bṛhatvād bṛṃhikatvāc ca tad brahmaṃ śabdatāṃ gatam*. This is a standard etymological explanation (*nirukti*) of the term; note, e.g., Kṣemarāja's comments ad *Svacchandatantra* 1.46: *brahmaṇo bṛhattvāt bṛṃhakatvāt viśvātmanaḥ śaktimūrteḥ*. In *Parākhyatantra* 14.78cd, a similar etymology is provided for Brahmā, as one of the five Causal Lords (*kāraṇeśvara*): *bṛhattvād bṛṃhakatvāc ca brahmā vā brahmayogataḥ*, "[He is called] Brahmā because he is great, because He fills, or because He possesses *brahman*" (translation of Goodall).

[19] *BraYā* 71.99c–105b:

> *śuddhāśuddhe tathā mārge miśrāmiśre ca tatsamaḥ ||99||*
> *bhuktimuktikryājñānaṃ śuddhāśuddhasya lakṣaṇam |*
> *brahmayāmalam ity uktaṃ etad devyāmataṃ tathā ||100||*
> *śuddhāśuddhavibhāgena jñānam uktaṃ varānane |*
> *mantraśaktivivekena paravidyāmayena ca ||101||*

definition ties into the text's classification of scripture, ritual, and practitioners according to the threefold schema of pure, impure, and mixed.[20] Because the text teaches ritual paths for all three grades of *sādhaka*, characterized by the basic opposition of pure and impure, it is a *Yāmalatantra*; and because it contains the supreme [Nine-Syllable] Vidyā and readily bestows all *siddhis*, whether a *sādhaka* violates or observes ritual purity, it is the *Great Nondual Union Tantra* (*advaitaṃ yāmalaṃ mahat*).

śuddhāśuddhavibhāgasthaṃ miśrakaṃ yāmalaṃ smṛtam |
etad eva mahājñānaṃm advaitaṃ yāmalaṃ mahat ||102||
yo hi jānāti tatvena akle[ś]enaiva sidhyati |
grāmadharmarato nityaṃ somā[s]akta kṛyāspadaḥ ||103||
nityam madena conmatta sarvvāvasthakṛyātmanā |
homakarmarataś cāpi bhakṣābhakṣavikalpakaḥ ||104||
sidhyate nātra saṃdeho bhāgyahīno pi yo naraḥ |

[99cd] "The [*BraYā*'s *sādhaka*] is equanimous toward the pure and impure paths, and to the mixed and unmixed. [100] Possessing [both] power and liberation, ritual and doctrine, and pure and impure characteristics: this *Yāmalatantra* of the Goddess (*Devyāyāmala*) is thus called "*Brahmayāmala*." [101] O fair woman, scripture (*jñāna*) is said to be divided into pure and impure according to distinctions in the power of mantras, and because of its containing the supreme Vidyā [or not]. [102] Because of existing with pure and impure divisions, the [word] *yāmala* is taught to mean 'mixed.' This [Yāmala] alone is the great scripture, the *Great Nondual Union Tantra* (*advaitayāmalam mahat*)." [103ab] One who truly knows this [scripture] attains *siddhi* without difficulty. [103c–104b] Ever engaged in village ways [i.e. sexual activity], addicted to alcohol, busy with [ordinary] activity (? *kriyāspada*), ever crazed by intoxication, ...[104c–105b] even one who devoted to fire ritual and discriminating between what should and should not be eaten attains *siddhi*, without a doubt, even a man devoid of good fortune."

The translation is conjectural. Intriguingly, in 100d *Devyāmata* appears to be an epithet of the *BraYā*, though the syntax in doubtful. This is otherwise the title of an early *Pratiṣṭhātantra* associated with the *Niśvāsa* corpus, on which see Ślączka (2016). Cf. *Devyāyāmala*, the title of a lost work repeatedly quoted by Abhinavagupta. The final line (102cd) seems to adduce *Advaitayāmala* as additional titular epithet for the *BraYā*. Cf. 71.93ab, *evam etan manhātantram advaitaṃ sarvvasiddhidaṃ* ("Thus this great nondual tantra bestows all *siddhis*").

[20] See, e.g., the annotation ad *BraYā* 1.38–39 in the critical edition, and chapter 39, *passim*.

2.2 *Picumata*: Doctrine of the Mingled Fluids

Alongside *"Brahmayāmala," "Picumata"* figures as foremost among the titles and epithets appearing in the text's chapter colophons. As mentioned, references to the title *Picumata* (sometimes *Picutantra*) within the body of the text cluster heavily in chapters 62–90. Indeed, the absence of the title *Picumata* from earlier chapters and from the *Uttarottaratantra* (chapters 91–104) is so striking that I am tempted to refer to the middle portion of *Ṣaṭka* II, up to or possibly inclusive of the *Uttaratantra*, as the "*Picumata* stratum."[21] A number of other *tantras* also bear the designation *-mata*, "Doctrine [Tantra]," such as the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (a *tantra* of the Vidyāpīṭha) and *Devyāmata* (an early *Pratiṣṭhātantra*). The epithet *Picumata* actually occurs with twice the frequency of "*Brahmayāmala*" in chapter colophons, and the text is cited by this name and variations such as *Picutantra* in the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*[22] and *Tantrāloka*.[23] Throughout his oeuvre, Sanderson highlights this epithet's importance by referring to the scripture as the *Picumata* or *Picumata/Brahmayāmala*.[24] This choice has merit, for instance by clearly distinguishing the text from later *tantras* claiming the name *Brahmayāmala*. Nonetheless, I deem *Brahmayāmala* the primary title and generally refer to the text as such, giving weight to the balance of evidence from citations and text lists, in addition to internal references. The relative priority of a text's titles is of course a modern concern; the tradition itself readily embraced multiplicity.

Although a rare word, *picu* can have a number of meanings; according to the *Viśvakośa* of 1111 C.E., these include cotton (*tūla*), a particular weight (*karṣa*), a kind of leprosy, a certain *asura*, and a particular form of Bhairava.[25] However, both in Sanskrit and Pāli, "cotton" is clearly the usual meaning, while the well-attested compounds *picumarda* and *picumanda* refer to the neem tree. In the *BraYā* there are also some indications of a botanical identification: several passages make reference to *picu* trees, flowers, or leaves.[26] It is conceivable

[21] On the text's stratification, see §1.7.5.

[22] See below (notes 74, 116, and 117).

[23] See above (note 2).

[24] See for example Sanderson 1988, 2009, and 2014.

[25] *Viśvakośa*, p. 30: *picus tūle ca karṣe ca kuṣṭharoge 'surāntare | bhairavasya prabhede ca picuḥ kvāpi prakīrtitaḥ* ||3||. I am grateful to Dominic Goodall for bringing this passage to my attention.

[26] *BraYā* 65.51cd (*picuvṛkṣād adho* [em.; *ato* A] *devi kṛtvā maṇḍalakaṃ śubham*), 77.98ab (*arkapatram picoḥ patra[ṃ]* †*durbhagā*†*puṣpam eva ca*), and 77.104cd (*arkapuṣpaṃ picoḥ puṣ-*

that these refer to neem (Sanskrit *nimba*), *picuvṛkṣa* ("*picu* tree") being, that is, identical in meaning to *picumanda* and *picumarda*. More likely, though, is that "*picu* tree" refers to the Indian tree cotton, or to the much larger silk cotton tree (Sanskrit *śalmali*, etc.).

Irrespective of the identity of the *picuvṛkṣa* (etc.), a botanical referent cannot be reconciled with most of the *BraYā*'s references to *picu*, not further qualified by "tree," etc. In most passages, *picu* appears to be a liquid of ritual significance, a substance one "fills" ($\sqrt{}$*pūr*) into a vessel or the mouth, or uses to sprinkle on and thereby sacralize ritual space.[27] Frequently, it is a liquid used in the guest-water offering (*argha*) for deities, particularly as proffered from a skull-bowl. Often, *argha* is specified as consisting of either *picu* or alcohol, or both together.[28] It can also serve as an oblation in the fire ritual (*homa*).[29] *BraYā* 46, expounding the deity Manthānabhairava and his unusual "churning [of the cauldron]" ritual, is particularly rich in references to *picu* as an offering substance. Typical is its instruction, "a skull filled with *picu*, fully empowered by the Vidyā and its ancillaries—with that, the guest-offering should be given to the goddesses and to Bhairava."[30] In *BraYā* 6 and 8, the term *picuvaktra* occurs adjectivally in an iconographical context, probably meaning "having *picu* in the mouth." Related to this, Picuvaktrā is the name of a minor goddess mentioned in the *Agnipurāṇa* and *Tantrasadbhāva*, while the latter also mentions a Bhairava named Picuvaktra.[31]

Although references to *picu* are rare beyond the *BraYā* and its satellite texts, Kashmirian nondual exegetical literature does attest the expression *picuvaktra* ("*picu*-mouth"), but in a different sense: as a synonym for *yoginīvaktra*, "the mouth of the Yoginī." In a vision of the scriptural canon articulated in the *Tantrāloka* and *Tantrasāra*, Abhinavagupta posits Kaula scriptures as revelations of a sixth, hidden stream, emerging not from Sadāśiva's five faces but a "lower

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paṃ rāsabhasya tu sekajam).

[27] Cf., e.g., 46.105, quoted below (note 30).

[28] Cf., e.g., 46.52cd (*picunā madireṇaiva devīdevān sa tarpayet*) and 47.38ab (*vigṛhya dāpayed arghaṃ picunā surayātha vā*).

[29] Cf. *BraYā* 49.23cd: *picupūrṇṇāhutiṃ dadyāt sādhyabījasamanvitam.*

[30] *BraYā* 46.105: *kapālaṃ picunā pūrṇaṃ vidyāṅgābhiḥ sumantritam | tenārghaṃ tu pradātavyaṃ devīnāṃ bhairavasya tu ||*.

[31] *Agnipurāṇa* 146.19ab (*piśācī picuvaktrā ca lolupā aindrīsambhavāḥ*), *Tantrasadbhāva* 13.83cd (*bhairavī jharjharī caiva picuvaktrā tathāpar[ā]*), and *Tantrasadbhāva* 13.41ab (*bhairavo jharjharaś caiva picuvaktras tathāparaḥ*).

face/orifice" (*adhovaktra*, etc.) or "netherworld [facing] face" (*pātālavaktra*).[32] His commentator, Jayaratha, expands the range of synonyms to include *picuvaktra* and *yoginīvaktra*.[33] Abhinavagupa himself uses the latter expression, which is attested in Kaula scriptural sources, mainly in the context of the sexual *kulayāga* ("clan rite").[34] Here the consort's sexual organ becomes the homologue of the "mouth of the Yoginī" (*yoginīvaktra*), the divine source of the lineage teachings (*sampradāya*) and scriptural wisdom, drinking from which is thus a medium for gnostic experience. Although the topic is complex,[35] this nexus of terms and practices suggests a link between *picu* and the body's nether regions and products.

Having these Śaiva exegetical passages in mind, David White posits that *picuvaktra* should be understood in the sense of "cotton mouth," which his hermeneutics of "literal readings" discovers to be synonymous with "vagina."[36] (Cotton, apparently, implies pubic hair.) Extrapolating further, he renders *picu* itself as "vagina," interpreting the title *Picumata* to mean "Doctrine of the [Nether] Cotton Mouth" (White 2003: 101). This interpretation seems improbable, for *picu* is almost certainly a substance rather than a body part. On sounder footing, Marc Dyczkowski suggests that the title *Picumata* means "the Doctrine of Picubhairava," the latter deity being expounded in *BraYā* 69.[37] However, this meaning is likely secondary, for Picubhairava seems to be an apotheosis of the title *Picumata* in much the same manner as Yāmalabhairava or Yāmaleśvara, a deity expounded in *BraYā* 72.

Despite substantial data, the identity of the substance *"picu"* is not entirely certain. As a liquid used in ritual, *picu* must surely be distinguished from the *picu*-tree and its products. It is in fact almost certainly a bodily substance, and appears most likely to refer to a mixture of semen and female sexual or menstrual fluids. That it is a bodily product is suggested, for instance, by references to *mahāpicu*, in which the prefix "great" (*mahā-*) carries its not-so-secret code sense of "human" (cf. *mahāmāṃsa*, "human flesh"). In no case where *picu* is listed alongside other substances does seminal fluid find separate mention. For

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[32] The expression *pātālavaktra* is found in *Tantrāloka* 15.206a, and *adhovaktra* in 6.193c.

[33] Jayaratha provides *picuvaktra* as a synonym for *yoginīvaktra*, etc., in commenting on *Tantrāloka* 15.206.

[34] *Tantrāloka* 29.40d, 29.124d, and 29.221d. On scriptural references to the *yoginīvaktra*, see s.v. *picuvaktra* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

[35] For a more detailed discussion, see my article *picuvaktra* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

[36] White (2003: 101; on "literal readings," see pp. 7–8).

[37] Dyczkowski (1987: 168–70, n. 56).

instance, *BraYā* 50 makes reference to cooking rice for the oblation gruel (*caru*) using *rajaḥ* (menses), *picu*, or else blood (*rakta*); paired with menses and blood, *picu* must be an 'impure' liquid other than these, probably of bodily origin.[38] As discussed below, several *BraYā* passages exegetical in nature unambiguously identify *picu* with the combined male and female sexual fluids, although these passages read much else into the term as well. Taking account of this exegesis, as well as occurrences of *picu* in ritual contexts, the term's most likely referent is sexual fluids, whether male or female (including menstrual fluids), but probably both. *Picu* is in other words likely a synonym of what chapters 22 and 24 call the "secret nectar" (*guhyāmṛta*). This would explain, for instance, what the *Matasāra* means by "sporting with *picu*" (*picukrīḍā*); while not explicitly clear, the context suggests that this is something done after copulation.[39] One meaning of the titular epithet *Picumata* is thus "Doctrine [Tantra] of the Mingled Sexual Fluids."

Somewhat confusing matters, there is indication that *picu* could instead be

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[38] *BraYā* 50.10c–12b:

> *rajaḥpicubhi vā raktaṃ taṇḍulāṃs tena bhāvayet ||10||*
> *tryahañ ca bhāvayet prājñaḥ śoṣayitvā sthāpayet punaḥ |*
> *tat sādhayīta carukaṃ picunā kroṣṭhukasya tu ||11||*
> *bhakṣayed amṛtaṃ divyaṃ bhakṣayitvā śivo bhavet |*
>
> 10a rajaḥ°] *corr.*; raja° **A** (*unmetrical*) 10d taṇḍulāṃs] *em.*; taṇḍulā **A** 11a tryahañ] *em.*; trāhañ **A** bhāvayet] *em.*; bhāvaye **A**
>
> "Blood, or with *rajaḥ* and [/or?] *picu*—one should prepare the rice with that. The wise person should prepare it for three days; and then, after drying it out, should set it up again. He should prepare that *caru* with the *picu* of a jackal. He should consume the divine nectar; after consuming it, he would become Śiva."

Incidentally, one might wonder whether and how Śaiva ritualists actually procured sexual fluids by the pitcher-full or skull-full. Although the texts say little on the subject, the sexual fluids used in ritual may have been heavily diluted in water. Note for example the following instruction in *BraYā* 24.11c–12: *kṣobhayitvā tato śaktiṃ yoniṃ prakṣālayet tataḥ ||11 || kṣālanaṃ bhāṇḍake gṛhya aśeṣam raktasaṃyutam | pūrvoktena vidhānena carukaṃ śrāvayet tataḥ ||12||* ("Next, after bringing the *śakti* to orgasm, one should then wash the female organ. After gathering the rinse-fluid into a container, completely, together with the female sexual fluid, one should cook the oblation gruel (*caru*) [with that], in accordance with the aforementioned procedure.") Similarly, references to *picumadya*, "*picu*-liquor," imply dilution in liquid.

[39] *Matasāra*, chapter 1: *bījaṃ jīvamayaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ mṛtyujid rasam uttamam | picukrīḍā[ṃ] tataḥ kuryād devyā mantreṇa mantrayet | madyena surayā vātha pūrayec cārghapātrakam |*. NGMPP B28/16, folio 6r (transcription courtesy of Somadeva VASUDEVA).

the mixture of bodily substances known as the "five nectars" (*pañcāmṛta*).[40] What suggests this possibility is a description of the deity Picubhairava as having a body "consisting of the five nectars," to which the five phonetic elements of his mantra correspond.[41] However, here the five nectars are five of the body's constituent elements (*dhātu*), such as flesh, which in this context do not include sexual fluids. It is thus unlikely that *picu* has the five nectars as its basic referent; as other contexts clarify, it must be a liquid, and should at least include, if not consist of, sexual fluid. Further problematizing *picu*'s identity, an unmetrical verse quarter in *BraYā* 46 might make reference to *gajapicu*, "*picu* of an elephant;" but this may be corrupt for the orthographically similar *rajapicu* (or *rajaḥpicu*), "menses and *picu*." Elsewhere, reference seems to be made to *picu* of the jackal (*kroṣṭuka*) as well.[42] These isolated references to animal-*picu* might

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[40]On this mixture, see s.v. *pañcāmṛta* (2) in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

[41]*BraYā* 69.14c–17:

> *picubhairavam evoktaṃ pañcāmṛtaśarīriṇam* |
> *yāmalena tu mārgeṇa pūjitavyaṃ prayatnataḥ* ||14||
> *picurūpeṇa dravyāṇāṃ pañcānāñ cāpahārakam* |
> *īkāreṇa hared raktaṃ hakāreṇa tu phalguṣam* ||15||
> *sakāreṇa tvacāṃ hartte* [em.; *tvacārhartte* A] *kṣakāro medasaṃyutam* |
> *bindukaṃ snehahartṛtve pañca*† *daivyesa*† *saṃyutam* ||16||
> *sarvvātmaka[ḥ] smṛto bindu pañcānāṃ picusaṃgrahī* |
> *picubhairava ity uktam cintāmaṇi svayaṃ śivaḥ* ||17||
>
> "[The mantra of] Picubhairava, whose body consists of the five nectars, has been taught thus. He should be worshipped with care, accordingly to the way of the *Yāmalatantra*, in the form of *picu*—stealer of the five [bodily] substances (*dravya*). Through the syllable Ī he removes blood; via HA, flesh. Through SA he steals skin, along with marrow [by means of] KṢA. [By the nasal] *bindu* [is indicated] the fact of removing fat. (¿) …conjoined with five …(?), [the deity in the form of] *bindu* is said to consist of all of the five [bodily substances], possessing the aggregate of *picu* (? *picusaṃgrahī*). Picubhairava has been taught thus. He is the wish-fulfilling jewel, Śiva himself."

In 14a, note the use of *eva* in the sense of *evaṃ*, metri causa; and the irregular indicative *hartte* (of √*hṛ*), though by emendation (cf. *saṃhartte* in *BraYā* 69.28d).

[42]On *kroṣṭukapicu*, see *BraYā* 50.10c–12b, quoted above (note 38). *Gajapicu* is mentioned in *BraYā* 46.21c: *gajapicukasaṃyuktaṃ bhīmavaktrābhimantritam* ||21|| *pūrayitvā kapālaṃ tu vāyavyāṃ sthāpayet priye* |. However, given the similarity of *ga* and *ra*, *gajapicuka*° may well be corrupt for *rajapicuka*° (*picu* with menstrual blood). Meter in fact speaks in favour emending to *rajaḥpicuka*° (cf. 50.10c, quoted above, which attests the expression *rajapicu* or *rajaḥpicu*). This section, for which A is not fully legible, outlines a maṇḍala with an inner circuit of eight skulls arrayed in the cardinal and ordinal directions, filled with various 'nondual' liquids. These

suggest that term denotes "bodily secretions" in general, even if the *BraYā* usually uses *picu* in the specific sense of "mixed sexual fluids." In support of the broader interpretation, several words potentially related to *picu* in Dravidian languages refer to bodily substances other than sexual fluids.[43]

Whatever may be its basic, material referent, the *BraYā* also uses *picu* as a multivalent technical term (*saṃjñā*) some distance removed from the *picu* substance. As such, the title *Picumata* invokes a range of embedded homologies, from mixed male-female sexual fluids to the supreme Śakti. Several discussions of the term *picu* occur in the *BraYā*'s second half (*Ṣaṭka* II), prior to the *Addendum Tantra*s, particularly in chapters 67, 69, and 72. In the last section of 72, the Devī asks, "Why does this *tantra* have the designation '*Picu*'? What is stated by the syllable *pi*, and the syllable *cu*, O Maheśvara? [And what] through the conjunction of the two? Tell [me] everything."

In reply, Bhairava embeds in this two-syllable word a series of doctrinal and ritual meanings. Within the syllable *pi* is present the supreme Śiva, for the entire universe "fell" (*papāta*), i.e. came to pass, through his contact with the *śakti*. The verb *papāta* may also allude to *śukrapāta*, seminal emission. In union with Śiva, the supreme Śakti is *cu*, for she kisses (*cumbana*) and sucks (*cūṣaṇa*). Their orgasmic discharge (*kṣobha*) is "the great substance" (*mahādravya*), the seed of creation. Since the entire world is composed of *śiva* and *śakti*, the term *picu*, furthermore, connotes supreme nonduality (*parādvaya*). A subsequent, problematic line apparently describes *picu* as blood—presumably menstrual blood or female sexual fluid—as well as cognition (*buddhi*), and the "yoga of meditation upon Śiva."[44] *Picu* is nothing other than Śiva and Śakti; it is the nectar of immortality, in which all substances have origin. *Picu* has the nature of gnosis, the ever-exalted Ucchuṣmabhairava. *Pi* has the form of the penis, while *cu* denotes male and female sexual fluids.[45]

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are empowered by the mantras of the Four Devīs and Four Dūtīs who are installed therein. The other liquids include, for instance, human and rabbit blood, blood of the practitioner (*yoginasya* [!]), alcohol, and human *picu* (*mahāpicu*).

[43] As noted s.v. *picu* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III, Sanderson (personal communication) has suggested to me a link between *picu* and Tamil *piccu*, "bile, madness," for which meanings see Burrow & Emeneau (1994: 367). Also potentially relevant are, for instance, Tamil *picupicu* ("to drizzle, sprinkle; to be moist, sticky" etc.), and Kannada *piccu* ("slimy impurities of the eyes"), *pisaru*, and *pisuru* ("filth of the body;" ibid.).

[44] This line—*picu raktaṃ tathā buddhi dhyānayogaṃ śivātmakaṃ*, 72.117ab—is highly problematic. It is conceivable that *buddhi* is a corruption of *viddhi*, the imperative of $\sqrt{}$*vid*.

[45] *BraYā* 72.110–21ab:

devy uvāca ||
picusaṃjñā mahādeva tantrasyāsya kathaṃ bhavet |
kiṃ vā pikāram ity uktaṃ cukāraṃ vā maheśvara ||110||
ubhayor yogayogena kathayasva samastakam |
bhairava uvāca ||
śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi picupraśnārtham uttamam ||111||
pratyakṣaravibhāgena yathāvasthaṃ varānane |
papāta śaktiyogena yasmāt sarvaṃ carācaram ||112||
pikārasthaṃ śivaṃ vindyād vyāpakaṃ vibhur avyayam |
cumbanaṃ cūṣaṇaṃ yogaṃ sarvagaṃ śivayojitam ||113||
sā śaktiḥ kurute yasmāc chivayogād varānane |
picusaṃjñācalā śambhuyuktā proktā varānane ||114||
ubhayor bhogayogāc ca kṣobho yaḥ paramārthataḥ |
picuvad bījavaj jñeyaṃ mahādravyañ ca pārvati ||115||
śivaśaktir na cānyaṃ hi sarvatrāpi ca dṛśyate |
vyāpitva-m-aprameyatve picusaṃjñā parādvaye ||116||
picu raktaṃ tathā buddhir dhyānayogaṃ śivātmakam |
picu śaktiśivābhyāṃ tu nāntaraṃ varavarṇini ||117||
yogatvā sarvabodhāc ca sarvasatvavivecanāt |
nityayuktaṃ picu jñānaṃ sārvvajñaikopamāsthitaṃ ||118||
amṛtaṃ mṛtyunāśaṃ tu sarvadravyaṃ picūdbhavam |
picu jñānasvabhāvaṃ tu ucchuṣmaṃ satatoditam ||119||
pikāro liṅgasaṃsthānaṃ cukāraḥ śukraśoṇitam |
picu-r-akṣarasaṃyogā śuddhāśuddhavilakṣaṇā ||120||
antaḥkaraṇake bāhye saikā śaktiḥ śivānvitā |

111d °praśnā°] *corr.*; °prasnā° **A** 114a sā śaktiḥ] *corr.*; śā śakti **A** yasmāc] *em.*; yasyāc **A** 115a bījavaj] *em.*; bījava **A** 116a °śaktir] *em.*; °śakti **A** 118a °bodhāc] *em.*; °‹bodhāc› A^{pc}; °— A^{ac} 118b °satva°] *em.*; °satvaṃ **A** 118d sārvvajñaiko°] *em.* (Hugo David); sārvvannaiko° **A** 119a °nāśaṃ] *em.*; °nāsaṃ **A** 119d satato°] *em.*; śatato° **A** 120b °śoṇitam] *em.*; °sroṇitaṃ **A** 120d °vilakṣaṇā] *em.*; °vilakṣaṇaṃ **A** 121b śivānvitā] *em.*; śivānvitāṃ **A**

"[110–11b] The Goddess spoke: 'O Mahādeva, why does this *tantra* have the designation *picu*? What is stated by the syllable *pi*, and what by the syllable *cu*, O Maheśvara? [And what] by joining them in combination? Tell me everything'. [111c–13b] Bhairava spoke: 'Hear, O goddess, the ultimate answer to the question about *picu* with the division of each syllable as it truly is, O fair woman. Since the entire universe came to pass (*papāta*) through [his] union with the Śakti, the pervasive, immutable lord, Śiva, should be known as present in the syllable *pi*. [113c–14] Since, due to her union with Śiva, the Śakti kisses (*cumbanaṃ*), sucks (*cuṣaṇaṃ*), (¿) [and] creates a union that is all-pervasive, conjoined with Śiva (?), the immovable [Śakti] is said to have the title *picu* when united with Śiva, O fair woman. [115–16] And the orgasm fluid (*kṣobha*) from their combined pleasure, composed of *picu*, should in truth be known as the

Many of these ideas find echo in chapter 67, which describes *picu* as the union of Śiva and Śakti, taking the form of the two-syllable mantra PHUṂ PHE. The syllable *pi* connotes the male genitals and semen, and *cu* menstrual/sexual fluid and the female "hole" or "vessel" (*kuṇḍa*). In addition, *picu* is the supreme Śakti, Aghorī, from whose womb the entire creation arose. Thus, consistent with the scripture's emphasis on the female pole of the Godhead, although *picu*'s syllables are homologous with *śiva* and *śakti*, as an integral unit they seem primarily to embody the supreme Śakti—she who gives birth to the universe.[46]

> great substance (*mahādravya*), O Pārvatī, containing the seeds [of creation]. For everywhere are seen *śiva* and *śakti*, and nothing else. The term *picu* denotes pervasiveness, immeasurability, [and] supreme nonduality. [117] (¿) *picu* is blood and cognition (*buddhi*); yoga and meditation consist of Śiva (?). *picu* is none other than *śiva* and *śakti*, O fair woman. [118] (¿) Because of its connection [to all things] and cognizing everything, and because of discriminating knowledge of all beings, *picu* is knowledge, omniscience contained in a single comparison (?). [119] It is the nectar which destroys death; all substances originate from *picu*. *picu* has the nature of wisdom; it is the ever-arisen Ucchuṣmabhairava. [120–21b] The syllable *pi* has the form of the penis; the syllable *cu* is semen and female fluid (*śoṇita*). Possessing the conjoined syllables *pi* and *cu*, having both pure and impure characteristics, the Śakti is singular, both internally and externally, conjoined with Śiva.

The text and interpretation offered are provisional, 118 being particularly problematic.

[46] *BraYā* 67. The text of this passage has several problems, in part because the palmleaf MS., **A**, is not fully legible. The following edition reports the readings of **A**, **B**, and **D**:

> *etad dvyakṣarasaṃyogaṃ picurūpaṃ prakīrttitaṃ* ||5||
> *phuṃkāre bhairavo devo phekārasthā maheśvarī* |
> *ubhābhyāṃ yo 'tra saṃyogo śaktikuṇḍe maheśvari* ||6||
> *raktaretātmako hy ekaḥ picurūpaḥ sadāvyayaḥ* |
> *sā śaktir devadevasya śivabījasamanvitā* ||7||
> *akṣarākṣarayogena pralayotpattikāraṇam* |
> *viśvotpattivibhāgena śaktirūpaṃ mahodayam* ||8||
> *picusaṃjñāgataṃ devi lolībhūtaṃ tu sarvvagam* |
> *pikāro liṅgam ity uktaṃ cukāraḥ kuṇḍa ucyate* ||9||
> *pi śukrañ cugataṃ raktaṃ picuyogaṃ bhavātmakam* |
> *jīvadehavibhāgena śaktiśaktimataṃ picuṃ* ||10||
> *pradhānaṃ jaṭhare sā tu yayotpannaṃ carācaram* |
> *dṛṣṭaṃ śaktimayaṃ devi tena śaktir udīryate* ||11||
> *cintāmaṇisamā devi jagaty asmiṃn aghorikā* |
>
> 5c etad] **D**; eta **AB** 6a phuṃkāre] **A**; huṃkāro **B**; huṃkāra **D** 6b phe°] **AB**; pha° **D** °kārasthā] **D**; °kārastho **AB** 6c yo 'tra saṃyogo] *em.*; yo ≀tra≀⟨sa/śa⟩yo≀go≀ **A**; śrotasaṃyogāc **B**; yātra saṃyogo **D** 6d śakti°] **AD**; chakti°

These various meanings invested in *picu* are affirmed and extended by the *BraYāSāra* and *Jayadrathayāmala*, both of which contain passages on the subject. According to *BraYāSāra* 51, *picu* represents the conjunction of Śiva and Śakti, agent (*kāraka*) and action (*kriyā*), lingam and yoni, and so forth.[47] The *Jayadrathayāmala*'s exegesis (I, 40.157c–61b) echoes many of the aforementioned meanings, but inverts the sexual polarity; *pi* becomes menstrual fluid (as well as the body, *piṇḍa*), and *cu*, male seed.[48]

Distinctive to the *BraYā*, the multivalent term *picu* has little life beyond such closely affiliated Śaiva texts. It is thus intriguing to see the term show up in mantras of several Buddhist *Yoginītantras*: the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*,

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B kuṇḍe] **AB**; kuṇḍa **D** ekaḥ] **AD**; eka **B** 7b °rūpaḥ] **A**; °rūpa **BD** 7c sā] **AB**; so **D** śaktir] *corr.*; śakti **ABD** 7d °samanvitā] *em.*; °samanvitāḥ **ABD** 9a °saṃjñā°] **BD**; sa⟨ṃ⟩jñā **A** 9c pi°] **BD**; p⟨a/i⟩° **A** 9d cukāraḥ] **AD**; cukāra **B** 10a pi śukrañ cugataṃ] **A**; pi śukra tu gataṃ **B**; pi śukraṃ vugataṃ **D** 10b picuyogaṃ bhavātmakam] **A**; picuyāgaṃ tavātmakam **B**; picuyāgaṃ bhavātmakaṃ **D** 11a jaṭhare] **AB**; jaṭhara **D** tu] **B**; tuḥ **AD** 11b yayotpannaṃ] *conj.* Isaacson; yathotpannaṃ] **ABD** 12 cintāmaṇisamā] **AB**; cintāmaṇisamo **D** 12b aghorikā] **A**; aghārikā **B**; aghyārikā **D**

"[5c–7b] This conjection of two syllables [PHUṂ PHE] is proclaimed to have the form of *picu*. In the syllable PHUṂ is the god Bhairava; Maheśvarī is present in the syllable PHE. The conjunction of both here, in the hole of the consort, O Maheśvarī, as one, has the form of the everlasting *picu*, which consists of female fluid and semen. [7c–8b] It is the Śakti of the god of gods, possessing the seed of Śiva. Through combination of the respective syllables, it is the cause of the universal creation and destruction. [8c–9b] Through the divisions of the creation of the universe, it has the glorious form of the Śakti, located in the designation *picu*, vibrating and omnipresent. [9c–10b] The syllable *pi* means "penis;" the syllable *cu* means "the hole" (*kuṇḍa*). *Pi* is semen; female fluid is present in *cu*. The combination *pi-cu* contains the universe (*bhava*). [10c–11b] *picu* is [both] *śakti* and the possessor of *śakti*, through the [gendered] division of the bodies of living beings (*jīva*). She is Prakṛti (*pradhāna*), by whom was born from the womb the animate and inanimate universe. [11c–12b] Everything seen consists of *śakti*, O goddess. That is why the Śakti, Aghorī, is said to be like a wish-fulfilling jewel in this world, O goddess."

The interpretation of this somewhat obscure material is again provisional.

[47] *BraYāSāra* MS. S_1, *f.* 55r: *pikāram īśvaran devaṃ cukāraḥ śaktir ucyate* || … *pikāro liṅgasaṃsthānaṃ* [em.; *°santānaṃ* S_1] *cukāro śukraśoṇitaṃ* || *picu-r-akṣarasaṃyogaṃ dvaitādvaitabhavaṃ viduḥ* | …*liṅgayonisamanvitaṃ* | … *yā kriyā śaktir ākhyātā* [em.; *śakti mayā khyāto* S_1] *kārakaḥ parameśvaraḥ* ||. (The passage here excerpted from is highly corrupt.)

[48] *Jayadrathayāmala* I, 40.157cd, 159cd: *pikāraḥ piṇḍarūpas tu cukāro bīja iṣyate* || … *pikāraṃ kāminīpuṣpa reto nāraṃ cu-r-ucyate* ||.

Kṛṣṇayamāritantra, and *Hevajratantra*. It features prominently, for instance, in the latter source in the "heart mantra" (*hṛdaya*) of Hevajra: OṂ DEVA PICUVAJRA HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.[49] According to ISAACSON, commentators on the *Hevajratantra* understand *picu* to refer to "fine cotton," with Hevajra's epithet *picuvajra* indicating his simultaneously soft or grace-bestowing nature and his hard, *vajra*-nature as destroyer of obstacles and evil.[50] Outside of mantras, I am unaware of the occurrence of *picu* as a technical term in Buddhist tantric sources, wherein it thus appears anomalous—perhaps inherited from teachings no longer present in surviving scriptures, or drawn from Śaivism, likely the tradition of the *Picumata* itself.

As is evident from *picu*'s meanings, the title *Picumata* intimates the theological prominence of *śakti* and the ritual prominence of sexual fluids and coitus. Exegesis of the term advances a rudimentary theology of sexual ritual, embedding in *picu*'s two syllables the polarity of *śiva* and *śakti* and their earthly embodiment in male and female fluids. The title *Picumata* should thus be understood as "The Doctrine of *Pi* [Śiva/Penis/Seed] and *Cu* [Śakti/Womb/Menses]," or, more expressively, "Doctrine Tantra of the Divine Phallus and Cosmic Womb." That the title is to be interpreted through the individual meanings invested in *pi* and *cu*, and not just their conjunction, is confirmed by one of the text's secondary epithets: "The Two-Syllable Śāstra" (*dvi-r-akṣaraśāstra*).[51]

2.3 *Navākṣaravidhāna*: Method of Nine Syllables

Among the secondary titular epithets of the *BraYā* is *Navākṣaravidhāna*, "Procedure/Method of the Nine Syllables." These syllables form the *vidyā* of the supreme Goddess, the *parā śakti*: Aghorī, Bhairavī, or Caṇḍā Kāpālinī. Although it did not initially have this sense, *vidyā*, "lore" or "spell," in the period of the *BraYā* often denotes "female mantra," i.e. the syllabic form of a goddess, as opposed to *mantra*, the syllabic form of a male deity.[52] Such gendering seems

[49] *Hevajratantra* I, ii.5.

[50] Unpublished annotation to Ratnākaraśānti's *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana*.

[51] I.e. *dvyakṣaraśāstra*; the intervocalic *-r-* is a sandhi consonant (EDGERTON § 4.61). This expression occurs in *BraYā* 61.19b: *śāstre 'smin tu dvi-r-akṣare*.

[52] On one of the earliest Śaiva mantras designated as a *vidyā*, that of *Guhyasūtra* 16–17, see GOODALL et al. (2015: 20–22). This ten-syllable *vidyā* appears to be male (it is the *daśākṣaradeva*). Concerning the proto-tantric use of the term *vijjā* (i.e. *vidyā*) in the Jaina *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, see HATLEY (2007: 95–99).

Table 2.1: Deities of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā

FOUR DEVĪS	FOUR DŪTĪS
Raktā (CAṂ)	Karālā (LI)
Karālī (ḌE)	Danturā (NI)
Caṇḍākṣī (KĀ)	Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ)
Mahocchuṣmā (PĀ)	Mahābalā (HĀ)
SIX YOGINĪS	**EIGHT MOTHERS**
Kroṣṭukī (OṂ HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI NAMAḤ)	Maheśvarī (AṂ)
	Brāhmī (E)
Vijayā (OṂ …SVĀHĀ)	Vaiṣṇavī (Ā)
Gajakarṇā (OṂ …HŪṂ)	Kaumārī (A)
Mahāmukhī (OṂ …VAUṢAṬ)	Vaivasvatī (Ī)
Cakravegā (OṂ …VAṢAṬ)	Indrāṇī (I)
Mahānāsā (OṂ …PHAṬ)	Caṇḍikā (SVĀ)
	Aghorī (HĀ)

inherent to the distinction between *Bhairavatantra*s of the Mantrapīṭha and of the Vidyāpīṭha, to which the *BraYā* belongs. The title *Navākṣaravidhāna* foregrounds the pivotal function of the *navākṣarā vidyā* ("Nine-Syllable Vidyā"), mantra-form of the Goddess herself, in cementing this text's doctrinal vision and vast corpus of ritual into a coherent whole. Whether in accounts of the cosmos, mantra, or ritual, the Nine-Syllable Vidyā of Aghorī serves as the organizing principle which patterns and establishes order among these intersecting domains. As the sonic embodiment of the Goddess, the Vidyā, moreover, encodes the core pantheon of the *BraYā* and the mantras for its systems of practice. Its syllabic form is [OṂ] HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ, the nine syllable-deities accordingly being HŪṂ-CAṂ-ḌE-KĀ-PĀ-LI-NI-SVĀ-HĀ: Bhairava; Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā—the Four Devīs or Guhyakās; and Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā—the Four Consorts (*dūtī*, *kiṅkarī*, or *anucarī*). A syllabic series based upon the vowels of the Vidyā embodies the Eight Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*), while the Six Yoginīs comprise a set of inflected forms of the Vidyā. As the nine-syllable whole, the goddess Aghorī subsumes all (table 2.1).

Vidhāna and its synonym *vidhi* connote in this context the processes of ritual. Procedures for mantra-incantation and consecration are, for instance, called *japavidhāna* and *abhiṣekavidhi*, the subjects of chapters 18 and 34, respectively. The *vidhāna*s of the *BraYā* are patterned by mantra-configurations representing so many inflections of the Nine, their uninflected configuration being the "basic/root pantheon" or *mūlayāga*, consisting of Bhairava-Bhairavī, the Four Devīs, and the Four Dūtīs. These pattern the entire gamut of ritual, from fire sacrifice to *vrata*s to yoga. For instance, in *nyāsa*, installation of the mantra-deities upon the body and other substrates preliminary to almost all ritual, the practitioner or ritual object embodies the mantra-deities in various configurations. Among the fundamental rituals of the system are the *vidhāna*s of the *navayāga*, "Nine Pantheons," these being the *mūlayāga* and eight other configurations of the pantheon.[53] *Vrata*s or ascetic observances are also ninefold, or fivefold, corresponding to the mantra-deities of all nine syllables or of the Four Devīs with Bhairava, respectively.[54] Other *yāga*s are based upon different and extended configurations of the Vidyā's mantra-deities.[55] *Cakra*s or maṇḍalas drawn upon a substrate, usually the ground, provide templates for these pantheon configurations and loci for many of the *vidhi*s connected with them.

The mantra-deities of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā comprise the subject of the *BraYā*'s second chapter, edited in this volume, which follows after the narrative of revelation (*BraYā* 1.1–119) and a short exposition on the supreme Śakti (1.120–33). The Vidyā's mantric form and embedded pantheon were first identified by SANDERSON:

> ...the essential components of the *mantras* of the nine deities who form the core of the greater maṇḍala and are the pantheon of daily worship are the syllables of the *mantra* of Caṇḍā Kāpālinī: (OṂ) HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ ('...O Caṇḍā Kāpālinī ...!'). Thus Kapālīśabhairava (HŪṂ), his four goddesses (Raktā (CAṂ), Karālā (ḌE), Caṇḍākṣī (KĀ) and Mahocchuṣmā (PĀ)) and their four attendant powers or Dūtīs (Karālī (LI), Danturā (NI) Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ) and Mahābalā (HĀ)) are aspects of a feminine power which

[53] The Nine Yāgas form the subject of *BraYā* 13. The opening verses of chapter 3, the *mahāyāgapaṭala* (KISS 2015), first provide names for each of the Nine.

[54] The nine and five *vrata*s form the primary subject of chapter 21, edited by KISS (2015).

[55] *BraYā* 25 in particular, the *yāganirṇayapaṭala*, teaches extended inflections of the basic pantheon.

transcends the male-female dichotomy which patterns the lower revelations.[56]

This account of the Vidyā requires correction in one detail: the second Devī is Karālī, while Karālā is first of the Dūtīs.[57] The confusion is understandable, for these deities of similar nomenclature are frequently mixed up in the manuscript evidence.[58] Besides the nine core deities, the Vidyā contains within itself a pantheon augmented by a sextet of *yoginīs* and an octad of *mātṛs* (table 2.1). The Six Yoginīs "emerge from the limbs of Aghoreśvarī,"[59] although as the *aṅga*-mantras of the Vidyā,[60] these deities appear distinct from the *aṅga*-mantras of the supreme Goddess.[61] Somewhat less natural (and not entirely secure) is the derivation of the Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*): they seem to form the syllabic series AṂ-E-Ā-A-Ī-I-SVĀ-HĀ, which maps loosely to the vowels of the Vidyā, while avoiding duplication.[62]

Evidence confirming SANDERSON's reconstruction of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā is ample. The point of least clarity concerns its first syllable, HŪṂ, which

[56]SANDERSON (1988: 672). Elsewhere SANDERSON (2001: 44–46) reconstructs the Nine-Syllable Vidyā on the basis of a passage from *BraYā* 88 (verses 42–43ab in his numbering).

[57]Among the numerous lists, see for example a concise one in chapter 4, quoted in full in the annotation ad *BraYā* 1.8c–9; and another passage from the same chapter (verse 262): *raktāyās tu karālā* [em; *karālaṃ* A] *syāt karālyāyās tu danturā | bhīmavaktrā tu caṇḍākṣyā* [em.; *caṇḍākṣī* A] *ucchuṣmāyā mahābalā |* ("[The attendant] of Raktā is Karālā, but of Karālī, Danturā; of Caṇḍākṣī, Bhīmavaktrā; of Ucchuṣmā, Mahābalā"). (The genitive *karālyāyāḥ* of *karālī* occurs with great frequency in the *Brahmayāmala*, formed on the extended stem *karālyā*. Cf. the locative *ujainyāyām* in 1.81a and the discussion ad loc.)

[58]For instance, in **A**, chapter 62 (vv. 133–42) lists Karālī as first of the Dūtīs, while for the second Devī, it provides *karālāyā[ḥ]*, the genitive of *karālā*. There is no metrical reason why these could not be emended to *karālā* and *karālyāyā[ḥ]*, respectively, and the confusion is probably scribal. In *BraYā* 10, which concerns the derivation of the goddesses' mantras (*mantroddhāra*), **A** is inconsistent: three of the occurrences of the names in question imply the order suggested by SANDERSON (41b, 51a, and 86b), while two follow the pattern I believe to be correct (47d and 81b).

[59]*BraYā* 2.14ab.

[60]On the concept of "ancillary" mantras, see s.v. *aṅga* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I, 93–95.

[61]Although in principle the Vidyā *is* Aghorī, an important distinction emerges between the two as well. The supreme Goddess is embodied by the Vidyā as a whole, yet also appears as a subset within it—as eighth of the Mother-goddesses, Parā or Yogeśī, the *mātṛpūraṇī* ("she who makes the Mothers complete"; cf. *BraYā* 2.18b, etc.). The latter's root mantra is HĀ, and her *aṅga*- and other ancillary mantras are based upon this, rather than the Vidyā (see *BraYā* 10.210c–215b). It hence appears that two levels of being are posited for the Goddess, the higher of which comprises the Nine-Syllable Vidyā.

[62]On this problem, see the annotation to *BraYā* 2.17.

is the root mantra of Bhairava (more correctly हूँ, with *candrabindu*). On the evidence of chapter two alone, it might appear that the Vidyā begins with OṂ, and that this is the root mantra of Bhairava; 2.15a states that "the god [Bhairava] exists in the *praṇava*,"[63] and the chapter gives no indication of *praṇava* having a sense different from its normal referent, OṂ. There are, moreover, mantras in the *BraYā* which begin, as would the Vidyā, "OṂ CAṆḌE ...".[64] However, elsewhere the stated form of the Vidyā clearly begins with HŪṂ. Note for example 90.113–15, where we find mantra-installation (*nyāsa*) having the sequence HŪṂ-CAṂ[65]-ḌE-KĀ-PĀ-LI-NI-SVĀ-HĀ—the Nine-Syllable Vidyā. It seems in fact likely that *praṇava* in *BraYā* 2.15 refers to HŪṂ. This possibility is illustrated by the *Svacchandatantra*, which also designates HŪṂ, the seed-mantra of Svacchandabhairava, as *praṇava*.[66] The *BraYā*, furthermore, once uses the expression *bhairavapraṇava*;[67] and this must refer to HŪṂ, for the context is installation of the maṇḍala deities of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā onto the body, beginning with Bhairava. Yet while the Vidyā proper hence begins with HŪṂ, in many of its applications, OṂ is nonetheless prefixed to the nine syllables. This reflects standard mantra formation in this system;[68] a mantra not preceded by OṂ is said to be "headless."[69]

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[63] *praṇave tu sthito devo.*

[64] In form, these resemble seven mantras provided in the prose following 87.55, beginning with OṂ CAṆḌE MOHANEŚVARI GHĀTANI HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

[65] Here A reads *cakāra* instead of *caṃkāra*. This might not be a corruption; although CAṂ is unambiguously the root mantra of Raktā in 2.6 (cf. the *saṃkalanavidhi* quoted in note 73 below), *ca* occurs as her *bīja* for *nyāsa* in 11.24a. KISS (2015: 316, 324) understands the anusvāra to belong with the subsequent syllable, Raktā thus being CA and Karālī ṆḌE rather than ḌE.

[66] Concerning *praṇava* in the *Svacchandatantra*, s.v. *praṇava*, *pañcapraṇava*, and *niṣkalanātha* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. See also the discussion in the annotation to *BraYā* 2.15.

[67] *BraYā* 12.60cd: *śikhāyā[ṃ] praṇavaṃ nyasya bhairavākhyaṃ na saṃśayaḥ.*

[68] Cf., e.g., *BraYā* 88, which opens with the mantra OṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ VAUṢAṬ KAPĀLABHAIRAVĀYA NAMAḤ.

[69] *Brahmayāmala* 11.16c–19b:

koṭayaḥ sapta mantrāṇāṃ oṃkārasya na saṃśayaḥ ||16||
kiṃkaratvaṃ prakurvanti evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt |
sarveṣāṃ mantrajātīnāṃ mastako praṇavaḥ smṛtaḥ ||17||
yatrādau na bhavaty eṣa amuṇḍo mantra ucyate |
nānena tu vinā mantraḥ sidhyateha kadācana ||18||
tenādau praṇavaḥ proktaḥ sarvamantreṣu suvrate |

16c mantrāṇām] *em.*; mantrāṇā A 18c nānena] *em.*; nāmena A 18d cana] *em.*; canaḥ A

As the root mantra of Kapālīśabhairava and the initial syllable of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, HŪṂ (or हूँ, rather) possesses particular significance in the *Brahmayāmala*. It is given the special designation *smaraṇa*, "remembrance," here perhaps in the sense of "that which is ever to be contemplated." The syllable is formed by conjoining the sixth vowel (Ū) and the nasal *candrabindu* (ँ) to the *haṃsa* (HA).[70] One is to affix the *smaraṇa* to all mantras, particularly those of the *BraYā*.[71] Knowing the syllabic content of the *smaraṇa*, the form of the *navākṣarā vidyā* can be confirmed from multiple other passages. In *BraYā* 88,

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> "The seventy million mantras are undoubtedly subordinate to OṂ. *Thus did speak Bhairava.* The *praṇava* is called the 'head' of all classes of mantra. When it is not present at the beginning, the mantra is called 'headless.' A mantra never bears fruit in this world without it; that is why the *praṇava* is taught at the beginning of all mantras, O pious woman."

The preceding verses make explicit that the *praṇava* is here OṂ.

[70]Cf. 11.36c–39b:

> *haṃsākhyaṃ satataṃ bījaṃ niṣkalaṃ tu samuccaret* ||36||
> *ādyasvaraṃ tathā caiva uccaren nātra saṃśayaḥ* |
> *ekīkṛtaṃ mahādevi hakāraḥ parikīrtitaḥ* ||37||
> *ṣaṣṭhasvareṇa saṃyuktaṃ kartavyaṃ tu maheśvari* |
> *ardhendubindukalayā saṃyuktaṃ kārayet tataḥ* ||38||
> *smaraṇasaṃjñā samākhyātā sarvamantreśvareśvaraḥ* |
>
> 36c haṃsākhyaṃ] *em.*; hansākhyā **A** 37a °svaraṃ] *corr.*; °śvaraṃ **A** 37d hakāraḥ] *em.*; hakāra **A** parikīrtitaḥ] *em.*; parikīrttitaṃ **A** 38a °svareṇa] °śvareṇa **A** 39a smaraṇa°] *em.*; smaraṇaḥ **A** °ākhyātā] *em.*; °ākhyātāḥ **A**
>
> "One utters [the mantra] called *haṃsa* constantly, but [just] the seed-syllable [H] without a vowel. One likewise utters the first vowel [A], no doubt. Made one, O Mahādevī, this is known as the syllable HA. One should conjoin this with the sixth vowel [Ū], O Maheśvarī, and then make it joined with the crescent moon and dot [i.e. *candrabindu*]. The term '*smaraṇa*' has been taught, the lord of all Mantra-lords."

Based on the same passage, Kiss (326) concludes that the *smaraṇa* is in fact HAŪṂ, probably in light of the emphasis upon *ha*'s inherent vowel *a* in 37a. This does not seem consistent with other evidence, such as the homology of the deities with the *smaraṇa*'s visual form in *BraYā* 62.91–98 and 88.45c–50b, which seems predicated on there being a single composite akṣara.

[71]*BraYā* 11.75c–76b: *yāvan mantro mahādevi asmi[ṃs] tantre viśeṣataḥ* || *smaraṇasaṃpuṭitaṃ kāryaṃ khecaratvajigīṣiṇām* | ("As many mantras as there are, particularly in this *tantra*, those aspiring to become sky-travellers must frame with the *smaraṇa*"). The masculine *mantro* appears to be a collective singular, in agreement with the neuter °*puṭitaṃ kāryaṃ* and *yāvat*. Cf. 39.43a, *yāvan mantragaṇo devi*.

for example, we find the *navākṣarā vidyā* headed by HŪṂ and called the "Heart of All Śaktis":

> Possessing the *smaraṇa*, with the word CAṆḌE [afterwards] in the beginning, ending KĀPĀLINI, and decorated [at the end] by the word SVĀHĀ—this is the Heart of All Śaktis, bestower of the fruits of supernatural experience and liberation.[72]

BraYā 35 offers further evidence confirming the form of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā.[73]

While HŪṂ is ubiquitous as the root mantra of Bhairava, the designation '*smaraṇa*' appears distinctive to the *BraYā*. References to it, rare elsewhere in Śaiva literature, seem always to be linked with the *BraYā*. Thus the

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[72] *BraYā* 88.42c–43: *smaraṇena samāyukta[ṅ] caṇḍetyādipadānvitam* ||42|| *kāpālinyantasaṃyuktaṃ svāhāpadavibhūṣitam* | *hṛdayaṃ sarva[ś]aktīnāṃ bhuktimuktiphalapradam* ||43||. This passage is cited and discussed by SANDERSON (2001: 44–46).

[73] This extensive chapter, entitled *Mantrasaṃkalanavidhi*, teaches the prelimary ritual for preparing or empowering (*saṃkalana*) the basic mantras of the system, apparently necessary for entitlement to *ācāryābhiṣeka*, consecration as an officiant. Its instructions begin thus:

> *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi mantrasaṃkalanāvidhim* [em.; °*vidhiḥ* A] |
> *yena vijñātamātreṇa dīkṣāṃ vai kartum arhati* ||1||
> *praṇavaṃ coccaren mantrī punaḥ smaraṇam uccaret* |
> *punaḥ smaraṇam uccārya punaḥ praṇavam uccaret* ||2||
> *svāhākārāntasaṃyuktām āhutyaikāṃ tato hunet* |
> *punaḥ smaraṇa+m uccārya+ punaḥ praṇavam uccaret* ||3||
> *puna[ḥ] smaraṇam uccārya svāhākārāntakaṃ hunet* |
>
> "Next, I shall further teach the procedure for preparing the mantras, upon the mere learning of which one is worthy to bestow initiation. A *mantrin* should first utter the *praṇava*, then utter the *smaraṇa*; then after again uttering the *smaraṇa*, then again utter the *praṇava*. [After uttering the *vidyā*] conjoined with SVĀHĀ at its end, one should offer sacrifice of one oblation. After again uttering the *smaraṇa*, one should again utter the *praṇava*. After again uttering the *smaraṇa*, one should sacrifice, [uttering the *vidyā*] ending with SVĀHĀ."

(It seems that 3b should mean *ekām āhutim tato juhuyāt*. Note the optative verb *hunet* for *juhuyāt*, a Middle-Indic influenced form based on the non-standard, non-reduplicated present indicative *hunate* for *juhoti*. In the *BraYā*, I note one occurrence of *hunate*, in 50.7a; none of *juhoti*; nearly two-hundred instances of *hunet*; and eleven of *juhuyāt*.) In this inimitably tedious style, which continues for fifteen folios, the text then instructs the following sequence: *smaraṇa* → CAṂ → *smaraṇa* → SVĀHĀ oblation; *smaraṇa* → CAṂ → *smaraṇa* → SVĀHĀ oblation; *smaraṇa* → ḌE → *smaraṇa* → SVĀHĀ oblation; *smaraṇa* → ḌE → *smaraṇa* → SVĀHĀ oblation. This patterns continues with the remaining syllables of the *vidyā*, KĀ-PĀ-LI-NI-SVĀ-HĀ, and probably implies OṂ HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ as the full form of the mantra.

Bhairavamaṅgalā refers to the "eightfold *smaraṇa*" as "originating from the *Picutantra*,"[74] while Abhinavagupta only refers to the *smaraṇa* when citing the *BraYā* on the subject of expiation ritual (*prāyaścitta*).[75] SANDERSON (2001: 44–46), moreover, shows that a reference to the *smaraṇa* found its way into the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, in a passage redacted from *BraYā* 88, for which the text's commentators vainly endeavored to offer a plausible interpretation.

Despite the central importance of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, a number of alternate or parallel configurations of mantra-deities exist within the *BraYā*, which while correlated in various manners with the Vidyā and its pantheon, cannot be said to derive therefrom. Such for example is true of the *kula-* or *khecarīcakra*, which is connected with the *kulavidyā* ("Vidyā of the Clans") and related mantras rather than the *navākṣarā vidyā*.[76] A number of the deities taught in separate chapters of the second *ṣaṭka* (often called *kalpa*s), furthermore, have only loose connections with the *navākṣarā vidyā* and its pantheon; these include Mahākāla,[77] Garttābhairava,[78] Hairambhabhairava (Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati as Bhairava),[79] and Utphullakabhairava.[80] Mantra-pantheons of these deities are distinguished by their derivation via the *nārācaprastāra* ("Arrow Chart"), which is absent from the *BraYā*'s first fifty-three chapters.[81]

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[74] *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 235ab: *smaraṇaṃ aṣṭadhā jñātvā picutantrā['] samudbhavam.* Cf. *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 242: *avadhūtā tu sā śakti īśvarākhyā mayoditā | nirācāra[ḥ ś]ivo jñeyaḥ smaraṇatve vyavasthitaḥ ||* ("The Avadhūtā Śakti is the [same] one I said is called 'Īśvarā'. Śiva is known as 'beyond regulated conduct' (*nirācāra*), existing as the *smaraṇa*"). NAK 5-687, *f.* 13*v*; electronic transcription courtesy of Somadeva VASUDEVA. Regarding the technical terms *avadhūtā* and *nirācāra*, see the annotation to *BraYā* 2.1c–2.

[75] Abhinavagupta's citations of the *BraYā* in the in the *Tantrāloka* are discussed in appendix B.

[76] The *kulacakra* or *khecarīcakra* forms the subject of *BraYā* 14. Its basic form consists of sixteen vowel-goddesses arrayed around Bhairava as spokes (*nāḍī*), in which it resembles the *bhautikacakra* of *BraYā* 19.

[77] Mahākāla and his maṇḍala of Eight Mother-goddesses are the subject of *BraYā* 55.

[78] Chapter 70 teaches this "Subterranean Bhairava" and his maṇḍala of four goddesses.

[79] Taught in *BraYā* 77, this skull-bearing, elephantine Bhairava has four heads and ten arms, and stands upon a dead rat (*mahāmūṣakapreta*). His is a ten-syllable *vidyā*, and he possesses a maṇḍala of *yoginī*s.

[80] The subject of *BraYā* 85. While Utphullaka's pantheon mirrors the *mūlayāga* in having a nine-syllable mantra, embodying himself in a maṇḍala of *śakti*s, the mantra-deities are distinct.

[81] For some remarks on the *nārācaprastāra*, see §1.7.1. Concerning the various forms of Bhairava taught in the *BraYā*, see table 1.2.

2.4 *Mūlatantra*: Root Scripture

In the revelation narrative of chapter one and at several other points in the text, the *BraYā* refers to itself as the *mūlatantra*, the "Root Tantra" or "Root Scripture."[82] Yet although claiming the status of the foundational, originary scripture, it also describes itself as originating from a text of 125,000 verses called the *Vimala* or "Immaculate," the primordial font of scripture. These claims are embedded within a theology of revelation that posits 'scriptural wisdom' (*jñāna*, *śivajñāna*; also *śivaśāstra*, etc.) as a transcendental essence which descends in streams or currents (*srotas*) from its primordial source at the apex of the hierarchy of reality levels or ontic principles (*tattva*), taking on concrete, linguistic form according to the capacities of its various redactors and audiences.[83]

Perhaps the earliest surviving account of the 'descent' (*avatāra*) of revelation in Śaiva sources occurs in the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. In its simple description, scripture (the *śāstra* or *śivatantra*) emerges from the formless, supreme Śiva as subtle sound (*nāda*), which Sadāśiva sets down into language. This he transmits to the gods, whence it reaches the sages and mortals in various redactions (figure 2.1).[84] A demonstrably later scripture, the *Svacchandatantra* describes a more detailed genesis of scripture. In its conception, from the supreme, formless Śiva emerges a sonic resonance (*tad dhvanirūpam*), which Sadāśiva transmits to Īśvara in the form of countless scriptures suitable

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[82]Colophons to chapters 2, 31, and 35. Passages within the body of the text describing the *BraYā* as *mūlatantra* are discussed below.

[83]For an overview of Tantric Śaiva conceptions of revelation, see Hanneder (1998: ch. 1). In the present context, "scriptural wisdom" has been selected as the rendering of *jñāna*, given the textual connotations the term carries in *BraYā* 39, on the subject of revelation. The word is sometimes synonymous with *tantra*, "scripture;" cf. *BraYā* 98.18: *kulajñānāni yāvanti aśeṣādhvasthitāni tu | vetti sarvāṇi deveśi dadāti ca tadarthinām* || ("He [becomes one who] knows all the Clan scriptures [*kulajñāna*]—as many as exist in the entire universe—and gives [these] to their seekers, O Queen of the gods").

[84] *Niśvāsatantra, Uttarasūtra* 1.22cd–25:

> *śivatantrasya cotpattiṃ kīrtyamānāṃ nibodha me* ||22||
> *adṛṣṭavigrahe śānte śive paramakāraṇe* |
> *nādarūpaṃ viniṣkrāntaṃ śāstraṃ paramadurllabham* ||23||
> *sadāśivas tu vettā vai sa ca māṃ prati bodhakaḥ* |
> *nādarūpasya śāstrasya ahaṃ granthanibandhakaḥ* ||24||
> *anuṣṭupchandabandhena devebhyaḥ pratipāditam* |
> *riṣibhiś ca punaḥ prāptaṃ tebhyo martyeṣu santatiḥ* ||25||

to the variety of beings deserving of grace. Īśvara then teaches the *tantras* to Mantra-lords and *rudras* of the upper reaches of the universe, as well as to Śrīkaṇṭha, via whom the teachings descend to various lower *rudras*. Bhairava too takes initiation from Śrīkaṇṭha and learns the scripture, and teaches the Goddess, who transmits *tantras* to the *gaṇas*, gods, *mātṛs*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, etc., whence it finally reaches the sages and humankind (figure 2.2).[85] While both of these sources attest the notion of a subtle, sonic original wisdom, neither however applies to this or its first textual evolutes the term *mūlatantra*.

The *BraYā*'s conception of the genesis of scripture is more complex. It in fact posits a hierarchy of levels of the originary scriptural wisdom: an undifferentiated totality, a gargantuan scripture called the *Vimala* ("Immaculate"), and a root tantra (*mūlatantra*) of the Bhairava-stream of revelation (figure 2.3). In some accounts, these appear to be distinct levels or stages of the primordial 'wisdom' in its descent into the texts of the canon, while other passages appear

[85] *Svacchandatantra* 8.28cd–39 (KSTS edition):

tad evāpararūpeṇa śivena paramātmanā ||28||
mantrasiṃhāsanasthena pañcamantramahātmanā |
puruṣārthaṃ vicāryāśu sādhanāni pṛthak pṛthak ||29||
laukikādiśivāntāni parāparavibhūtaye |
tadanugrahayogyānāṃ sve sve viṣayagocare ||30||
anuṣṭupchandasā baddhaṃ koṭyarbudasahasradhā |
guruśiṣyapade sthitvā svayaṃ devaḥ sadāśivaḥ ||31||
pūrvottarapadair vākyais tantram ādhārabhedataḥ |
taj jñānam īśvare 'dāt tad īśvareṇa śivecchayā ||32||
vidyāyāḥ kathitaṃ pūrvaṃ vidyeśebhyas tathādarāt |
māyāniyatiparyantais tasmād rudrair avāpi tat ||33||
śrīkaṇṭheneśvarāt prāptaṃ jñānaṃ paramadurlabham |
tenāpi tadadhaḥ proktaṃ rudrāṇām īśvarecchayā ||34||
pradhānāc chatarudrāntaṃ dīkṣayitvā vidhānataḥ |
mamāpi ca purā dīkṣā tathā caivābhiṣecanam ||35||
śrīkaṇṭhena purā dattaṃ tantraṃ sarvārthasādhakam |
mayāpi tava deveśi sādhikāraṃ samarpitam ||36||
tvam api skandarudrebhyo dadasva vidhipūrvakam |
brahmaviṣṇvindradevānāṃ vasumātṛdivākṛtām ||37||
loke saṃgṛhya nāgānāṃ yakṣāṇāṃ parameśvari |
kathayasva ṛṣīṇāṃ ca ṛṣibhyo manujeṣv api ||38||
evaṃ tantravaraṃ divyaṃ siddharatnakaraṇḍakam |
tvayā guptataraṃ kāryaṃ na deyaṃ yasya kasyacit ||39||

A Nepalese codex, NAK 1-224, in 37ab reads *tvañ cāpi gaṇarudrāṇāṃ dadasva siddhipūrvakam*; and in 38ab, *lokapālāgrahāṃ nāgāṃ yakṣāṇāṃ parameśvari.*

to conflate one or more of them. Chapter one (vv. 1–7ab, 33–44) describes the supreme Śakti, Śiva's volition, as awakening *bindu*, the primordial substance of cosmic sound, from which emerges the undifferentiated totality or "flood" of scriptural wisdom (*jñānoghaṃ niṣkalaṃ*). This takes the form of a body of mantra (*mantravigraha*, *BraYā* 1.35) situated at the level of the *sadāśivatattva* in the pure universe (*śuddhādhvan*). At the time of creation, Sadāśiva causes the *Vimala* to emerge forth from this, which represents the first descent of the primordial wisdom to the level of language, taking shape as a text of 125,000 *śloka* verses.[86] This primordial text, the font of all scripture—even of the universe, in some descriptions[87]—also exists at the level of the *sadāśivatattva*. Thus, just as does the supreme deity, the mass or totality of scriptural wisdom (*jñānogha*) possesses a higher, undifferentiated (*niṣkala*) and a differentiated (*sakala*), manifest form, the latter being the *Vimala*. It is from the *Vimala* that the Root Tantra emerges. Description of the Root Tantra as a text of twelve-thousand verses identifies this as the *BraYā*, one of the epithets of which is *The [Tantra of] Twelve Thousand [Verses]* (*dvādaśasāhasraka*).

Mirroring and in some accounts interwoven with the cosmogenesis, scripture hence descends into the world from the apex of the universe through the levels of reality (*tattva*) into the materiality of language. In this conception, the scriptural wisdom first takes on fixed, linguistic form as the *Vimala* of one and a Quarter Hundred Thousand verses, learnt by Śrīkaṇṭha, who transmits it to humankind in countless abbreviated redactions.[88] This is not a scheme which automatically privileges the *BraYā*, a problem apparently addressed by providing it the status of Root Tantra.

Further evidence on this issue emerges in *BraYā* 39, "Chapter of the Exposition of the Streams of Revelation" (*srotranirṇayapaṭala*), which, as noted earlier (§1.9), shifts focus from the *BraYā*'s genesis to the broader delineation and hierarchical ordering of the Śaiva canon. Its account articulates more clearly the nature of the Root Tantra in relation to the *jñānogha*. From the primordial *jñānogha* emerges the scriptural wisdom in three streams, which Sadāśiva transmits to Śrīkaṇṭha, "the first guru."[89] These comprise *Bhairavatantra*s of the

[86] *BraYā* 1.37–38. Cf. *Mṛgendratantra*, *vidyāpāda* 1.21: *sṛṣṭikāle maheśānaḥ puruṣārthaprasiddhaye | vidhatte vimalaṃ jñānaṃ pañcasrotobhilakṣitam* || ("At the time of creation, the Great Lord produces the immaculate scriptural wisdom [*vimalaṃ jñānaṃ*], distinguished by five streams, for accomplishing the aims of mankind").

[87] Cf. *BraYā* 1.44ab and 33.329–30, quoted below.

[88] *BraYā* 1.34–42.

[89] *BraYā* 39.25cd, 91–93. The notion that the wisdom initially flows forth from Sadāśiva in

Figure 2.1: The 'Origin of Scripture' (*Śivatantrotpatti*) according to *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, Uttarasūtra* 1.23–25

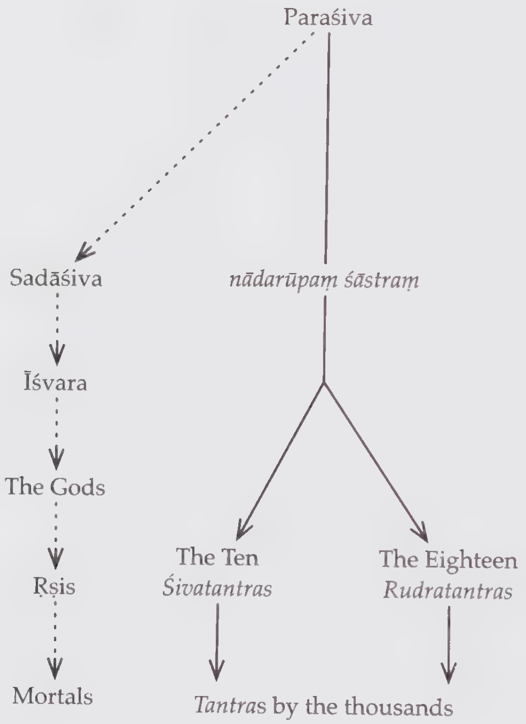


Figure 2.2: The 'Descent of Scripture' (*śāstrāvatāra*) according to *Svacchandatantra* 8

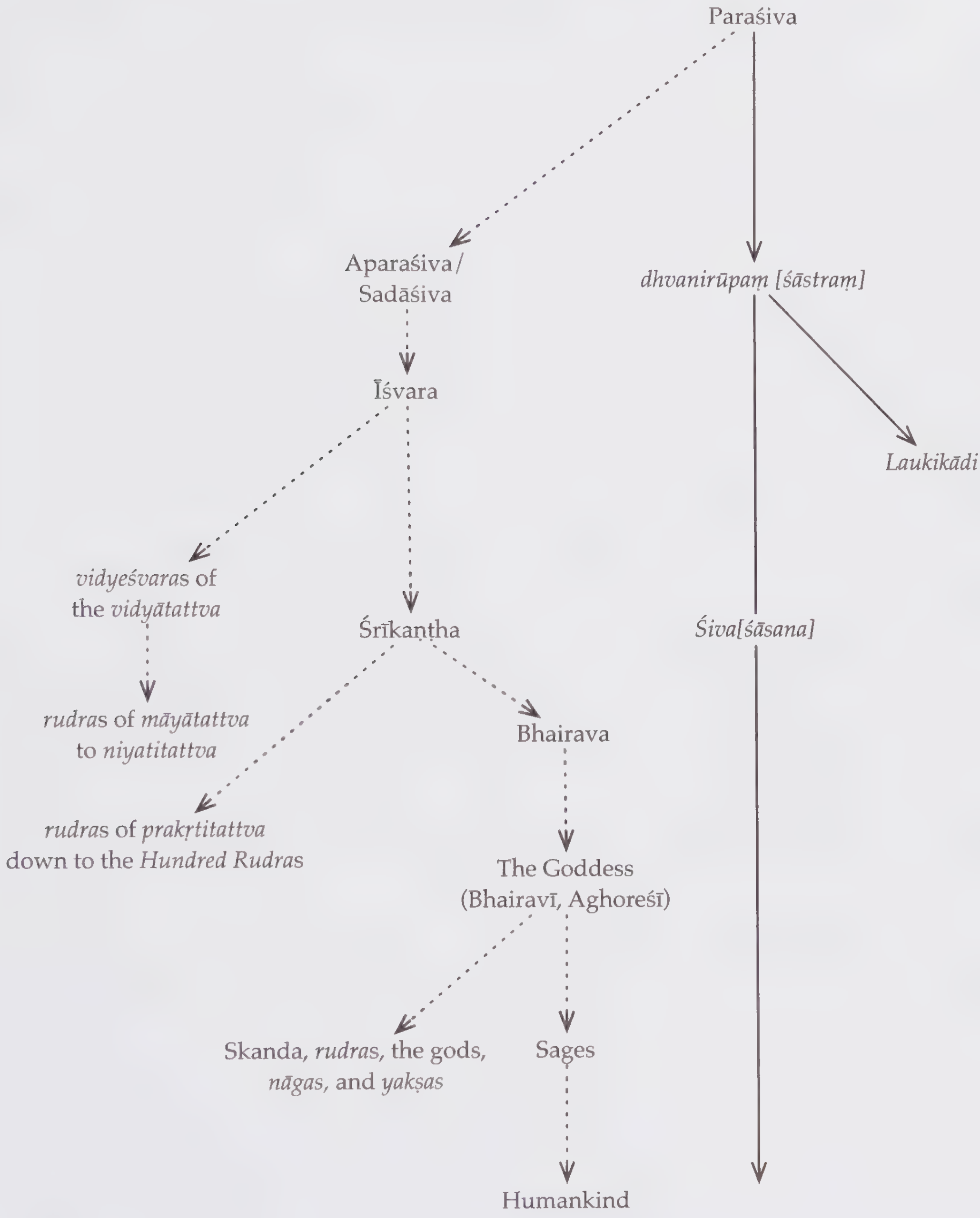
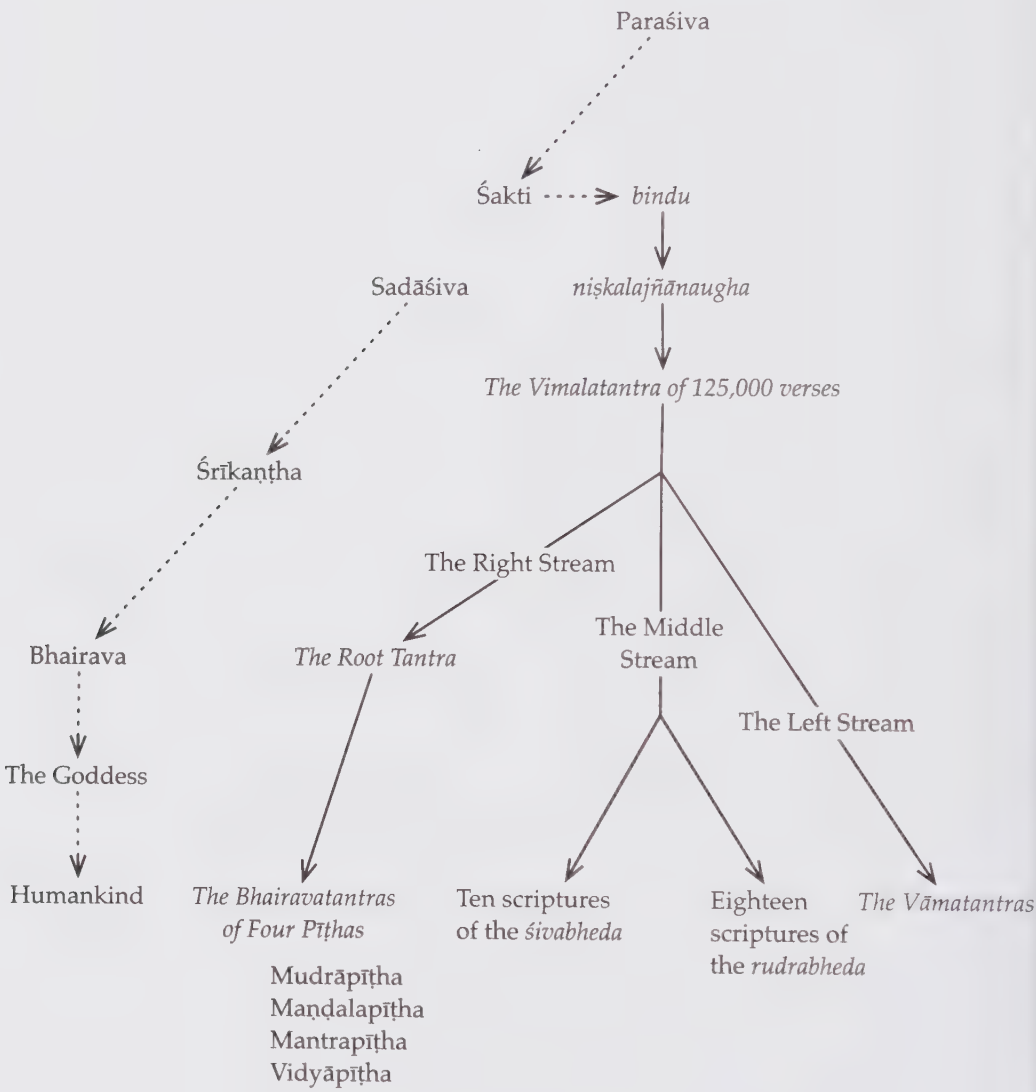


Figure 2.3: The 'Descent of Scripture' (*śāstrāvatāra*) according to *Brahmayāmala* 1 and 39



rightward stream (*dakṣiṇasrotas*), *Vāmatantra*s of the leftward stream (*vāmasrotas*), and *Siddhāntatantra*s of the middle stream (*madhyamasrotas*), impelled (*codita*) by a triad of Śiva's powers: the *śakti*s Dakṣiṇā, Vāmā, and Madhyamā, respectively. Following Sadāśiva's transmission of the tripartite scriptural wisdom to Śrīkaṇṭha, the latter transmits it to the world in ten streams in the ten directions, with *tantra*s by the millions (vv. 91–93).

In the vision of *BraYā* 39, at the root of the Bhairava-stream lies the *mūlatantra*, the *Bhairavatantra of Four Corpora* (*catuṣpīṭhaṃ* ... *tantraṃ bhairavasaṃjñitam*, 19cd):[90]

> [16c–18] The supreme flood of scriptural wisdom emerged forth in three streams, situated on the left, right, and middle, having manifold divisions. Seventy million mantras emerge from the rightward stream, with a profusion of manifold *tantra*s based upon it, with distinctions in ritual. Even within that [stream], the recipients vary, being pure, impure, and mixed. [19–20ab] Through the path of the rightward stream arose *The Bhairava Tantra of Four Corpora*, possessing divisions in ritual. Everything manifesting in the rightward stream emerged forth from this.

Revealed by Śrīkaṇṭha to Bhairava,[91] the *Catuṣpīṭhabhairava* serves as the source of scriptures of the *dakṣiṇasrotas* in its four divisions or corpora (*pīṭha*)—those of mantras, maṇḍalas, *mudrā*s, and *vidyā*s—which it alone contains within itself. Although not specifically designated as the *mūlatantra* here, it functions as such, insofar as it is the source of the Bhairava-stream.[92] As Root Tantra of the

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three streams, becoming tenfold at the level of Śrīkaṇṭha (vv. 91–92), must be reconciled with the idea that Sadāśiva teaches the primordial wisdom to Śrīkaṇṭha in the form of the *Vimala* (*BraYā* 1.34–39).

[90] *BraYā* 39.16–19:

> *jñānoghaḥ paramo yas tu tṛbhiḥ srotrair vinirggataḥ* ||16||
> *vāmadakṣiṇamadhyastho nānābhedavyavasthitaḥ* |
> *sapta koṭyās tu mantrāṇāṃ dakṣiṇāyā vinirggatāḥ* ||17||
> *tam āśṛtya kriyābhede nānātantrapravistaraiḥ* |
> *tatrāpi āśrayo bhinnaḥ śuddhāśuddhavimiśritaḥ* ||18||
> *dakṣiṇāsrotramārgeṇa kriyābhedavyavasthitam* |
> *catuḥpīṭhaṃ samutpannaṃ tantraṃ bhairavasaṃjñitam* ||19||
> *dakṣiṇāsrotrasaṃbhūtaṃ sarvvaṃm asmād vinirggatam* |

Concerning the text's constitution and interpretation, see the annotation to the translation.

[91] *BraYā* 1.16–19.

[92] See also *BraYā* 39.28–31.

highest scriptural stream, it occupies a position in the canon above all but the *Vimala*—the undifferentiated, transcendent wisdom in its first linguistic manifestation. It is in this light that one should interpret the *BraYā*'s description of itself as *The Great Bhairava Tantra* in numerous chapter colophons.[93] Like the epithet *Catuṣpīṭhabhairava*, this signals the text's status as Root Tantra.

In the conception of *BraYā* 39, after Sadāśiva transmits the three scriptural streams to Śrīkaṇṭha, the latter transmits the canon to the world in ten streams in the ten directions, with *tantras* by the millions (table 1.3).[94] In this ten-stream model, the three primary streams remain largely the same. However, the *Siddhāntatantras* become distributed among five streams, with the upward face of Sadāśiva revealing *śiva*-division *tantras*, and four streams in the intermediate directions consisting of *rudra*-division *tantras*. The eastern face of Sadāśiva teaches the Vedic revelation, while in the "downward" stream the *BraYā* places texts it considers the least worthy of veneration: treatises on alchemy, magical herbs, exorcism, and snakebite cure; last, and perhaps least, are the *tantras* of the Vaiṣṇavas (see tables 1.3–6).

This three- and ten-stream model is unusual, and probably archaic, as argued earlier (§1.9); what actually becomes normative is a five-stream model of Śaiva revelation, in which the primary three streams are augmented by the *Bhūtatantras*, in the west, and *Gāruḍatantras* in the east. And although the Root Scripture, the *Bhairava Tantra of Four Corpora*, is given a compelling position in the canon, never in this chapter is its identification with the *BraYā* stated explicitly, though it is elsewhere.[95] In fact, the *BraYā* has a relatively humble position as third of eight *Yāmalatantras* in the Vidyāpīṭha division of the *Bhairavatantras* (v. 34). This speaks to the creative tension inherent to legitimizing the text within the constraints provided by existent models of revelation. Key to negotiating this is the layering of the *BraYā*'s identity: the redactors continually blur the boundaries between it and 'higher' levels of the scriptural wisdom, allowing for it to be at once a *Yāmalatantra* of the Vidyāpīṭha, the Root Tantra of the Bhairava-stream, and the primordial *Vimala*, thus being uniquely reflective of the transcendental essence of scriptural wisdom.

There is some variety to the *BraYā*'s conceptions of the Root Tantra. Chap-

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[93]In colophons to chapers 1–4, 17, 27, 31, 35, 38, and 65, *Mahābhairava* or *Mahābhairavatantra* is first among the text's titular epithets.

[94]*BraYā* 39.91–93.

[95]The identification is made in the very opening verses, viz. *BraYā* 1.2–3ab. Numerous colophons also refer to the text as both *mūlatantra* (etc.) and *Brahmayāmala*.

ter thirty-three, teaching initiation (*dīkṣā*), contains a passage contrasting the *jñānogha*, the font of both scripture and the universe, with the *Bhairavatantra of Four Corpora* (*Catuṣpīṭhabhairava*) which emerges from it. In contrast with the account of chapter one, here the *jñānogha* itself is identified as "Primordial Root Tantra," rather than the *Catuṣpīṭhabhairava*. In this account, no mention is made of the *Vimala*, nor is the *BraYā* specifically identified with the *Catuṣpīṭhabhairava*:[96]

> [320–21] Via the ontic level of Sadāśiva (*sadāśivatattva*), awakened by Śiva's *śakti* and possessing a body filled by the mass of

[96] *BraYā* 33.320c–31:

sadāśivena tatvena śivaśaktyodbodhitena ca ||320||
jñānoghapūrṇṇadehena trailokyasya hitāya vai |
tatra te nirggatā sarvvaṃ nātra kārya vicāraṇāt ||321||
siddhāntaṃ mantravādañ ca tantravādam udāhṛtam |
tat sarvvaṃ nirggataṃ cāsmā jñānoghād varavarṇṇini ||322||
vākyavistarabhedais tu śabdaratnavibhūṣitaiḥ |
sadāśivena devena ubhayamārggānuvarttinā ||323||
tat sarvvaṃ nirggataṃ devi jñānoghāsmā na saṃśayaḥ |
śuddhamārgge tathāśuddhe śuddhāsuddhe tathaiva hi ||324||
śuddhāny eva hi proktāni aśuddhāny api kāni ca |
śuddhāśuddhau tu cānyāni ebhir bhedaiḥ sthitāni tu ||325||
pṛthakpṛthāni mantrāṇi ubhayamārggopasevinām |
sadāśivena proktāni bahubhir vā pravistaraiḥ ||326||
ayan tu jñānasandohaṃ svarūpeṇaiva saṃsthitam |
na dvitīyaṃ yato cāsmā tenādvaitaṃ paraṃ smṛtam ||327||
śuddhāśuddhavimiśraṃ syāt trividhasthāpy asaṃśayaḥ |
yathāvasthitakaṃ proktaṃ jñānoghaṃ paramaṃ sthitam ||328||
asmā jñānā yato mantrās trailokyaṃ sacarācaram |
aśeṣāni tu tantrāṇi bhedayitvā sthitāni tu ||329||
tenādyaṃ tu samākhyātaṃ mūlatantraṃ na saṃśayaḥ |
asmād vinirgataṃ devi catuḥpīṭhaṃ tu bhairavaṃ ||330||
tato 'smiṃ dīkṣito yas tu sarvatantreṣu dīkṣitaḥ |
śuddhāśuddhavimiśreṣu nātra kārya vicāraṇāt ||331||

322c sarvvaṃ] *em.*; sarvva **A** cāsmā] *em.*; cā⟨n/t⟩smā **A** 323c devena] *conj.*; deveśe **A** 327b saṃsthitam] *em.*; saṃsthitāṃ **A** 328a syāt] *em.*; syā **A** 328b °py asaṃśayaḥ] *conj.*; °pi saṃśayaḥ **A** 328c °vasthitakaṃ] *em.*; °vasthitakāṃ **A**

Note in this passage the profusion of ablatives having their final consonants elided (e.g. *asmā jñānā* in 329a). For the hypermetrical compound in 320d, perhaps consider *śivaśaktyudbhavena*.

> scriptural wisdom, all these [scriptures] emerged from this [ocean of the scriptural wisdom],[97] for the good of the triple universe. About this, there is no need for deliberation. [322–23b] The *Siddhānta*, the *Mantravāda*, and [that] called the *Tantravāda*:[98] all this emerged forth from the mass of scriptural wisdom, O fair woman, with differences in their prolixity, ornamented with jewel-like words. [323c–24b] Through the Lord Sadāśiva, who follows both paths [viz., the pure and impure], all this [scripture] emerged from this mass of scriptural wisdom, undoubtedly. [324c–26] For the pure way, the impure, and likewise the [mixed] pure-impure, were taught pure [*tantras*], some that are impure, and others that are pure-impure, [respectively]. With these divisions, Sadāśiva taught a variety of separate mantras with numerous elaborations for the followers of both [the pure and impure] ways. [326–27] But this [scripture] is the mass of scriptural wisdom, existing as [its] very true nature. Since it is second to none, it is therefore known as 'supremely nondual'.[99] [328] Pure, impure, and mixed comprise the threefold states, undoubtedly. The supreme mass of scriptural wisdom has been taught as it is.[100]
>
> [329–30] Since the mantras [and] the triple universe, with its animate and inanimate [beings], came from this, [and] the *tantras*, without remainder, have divided from this, it is therefore called the *Primordial Root Tantra* (*ādyaṃ mūlatantram*), without doubt. From this emerged, O goddess, the *Bhairavatantra of Four Corpora* (*catuṣpīṭhaṃ bhairavam*). [331] Therefore, one initated into this is initiated into all the *tantras*, pure, impure, and mixed. About this, there is no need for deliberation.

Here too the boundary between the primordial scriptural wisdom and the text

[97] *tatra* probably refers back to *jñānoghasāgare* in 33.319d.

[98] As contrasting scriptural categories, presumably, *mantravāda* and *tantravāda* are unusual and somewhat opaque. Cf. *Kriyākālaguṇottara* 1.8, which contrasts the *Gāruḍa*, *Siddhānta*, and *Mantravāda* (*gāruḍaṃ mantravādaṃ ca siddhāntaṃ yac ca -m- uttamam*).

[99] There is here a play on the words *dvaya* ("two," and "dual") and *dvitīya* ("second").

[100] The implication here is that scripture is redacted from its primordial source in accordance with the differences in the dispositions of its audience—i.e. *pṛcchakāśrayabhedena*, as stated in 39.14a (quoted below). Cf. *Svacchandatantra* 8.32b, referring to *ādhārabheda*, "difference in the locus [of revelation]."

one actually reads is obfuscated: the proximate pronoun (*ayam*) describes the *jñānogha*, as though it is the present text, while the *catuṣpīṭhaṃ bhairavam*—i.e. the *BraYā*—is referred to as another scripture altogether. Through such rhetorical slippage, the *BraYā* continually inscribes upon itself the identity and authority of the primordial scriptural wisdom.

The closing verses of the *BraYā* propose what seems to be another variation on the conception of its 'descent'. In agreement with chapter one, the twelve-thousand verse *BraYā* emerges from the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand* (*lakṣapādādhika*). However, the *BraYā* is also said to be the ultimate essence of a *tantra* of one billion verses.[101] This might imply that the billion-verse text forms the source of the 125,000-verse scripture, this in turn being the source of the *BraYā*; elsewhere, however, the 125,000-verse *tantra* is said to emerge from the undifferentiated totality of scriptural wisdom (*niṣkala-jñānogha*). Both schemes of course agree in positing three fundamental levels of originary scripture: gargantuan, 125,000 verses, and 12,000 verses.

Invoking the authority of an intangible Ur-wisdom and claiming for itself the status of *mūlatantra*, the *BraYā* positions itself at the apex of actual and possible texts within the parameters of existing models of the canon. 'Scriptural wisdom' (*jñāna*) is a transcendental essence which descends in streams from a primordial source, taking on concrete form according to the capacities of its various redactors and audiences. These linguistic manifestations of scripture are provisional, and the canon fundamentally an open one. Possibilities for new revealed texts are endless, each containing within itself the essence of what precedes.

This model of revelation dictates that a new scripture claim for itself a privileged position on a hierarchical scale of texts, if necessary reconfiguring and extending models of the canon and their implicit hierarchies. As the Root Tantra, the *BraYā* claims to be uniquely reflective of the primordial wisdom. Being the source and essence of the Vidyāpīṭha, it places itself at the head of the four-fold (*catuṣpīṭha*) canon of *Bhairavatantra*s, which in turn it places as highest of the three streams of Śaiva revelation. And in broader sectarian terms, its taxonomy of ten scriptural streams further positions the *BraYā* above the orthodox Veda, the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra, and so forth. Most distinctive about its articulation of its place in the canon, however, is the layering of the *BraYā*'s identity.

Drawing upon the notion of scripture as an essence existing on a scale of

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[101] This passage (*BraYā* 104.31–32) is quoted in §1.7.3.

texts, the *BraYā* continually blurs the boundaries between itself and 'higher' levels of the scriptural wisdom. This begins with chapter one's revelation narrative: the text opens with the Goddess stating that, having learned the *mūlatantra*, she now desires to hear the *Vimala* from which it emerged. Bhairava's narration, moreover, is concerned primarily with the descent of the *Vimala*, and this—not the twelve-thousand verse *BraYā*—is in fact what he promises to teach her.[102] Throughout the text, references to the *BraYā* "as" the Root Tantra, the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand*, and the *Vimala*, the boundaries of which are never completely clear, serve to articulate multiple levels of identity: it is but one of several *Yāmalatantra*s, but also the Root Scripture of the entire Bhairava-stream, while simultaneously embodying scripture's very primordial source.

The *BraYā* is by no means unique in invoking the concept of *mūlatantra*. The idea of a vast scripture as the source of texts on a smaller, more human scale is attested in both Śaiva and Buddhist tantric sources, and similar conceptions are found in Sanskrit texts of a variety of genres. Ideas of a divine-scale source text abound in the *purāṇa* corpus, while the *Mahābhārata* itself is sometimes said to exist among the gods in a version of millions of verses. It seems probable to me that the purāṇic notion of a *mūlasaṃhitā*, an Ur-*purāṇa*, has influenced the tantric conception of *mūlatantra*s.[103] Note also, for instance, in the medical literature, that the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* claims to originate from a text of 100,000 verses composed by Brahmā himself, which was divided and abridged for the good of a short-lived and dull-witted humanity.[104] In the Buddhist tradition, the exegetical tradition of the Cakraśaṃvara cycle of *Yoginītantra*s conceives of a root scripture of one hundred-thousand verses as the source of the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* or *Herukābhidhāna*.[105] Commentarial literature of the

[102] See *BraYā* 1.42–44, especially.

[103] On the notion of an Ur-*purāṇa*, both in the *purāṇa*s themselves and colonial-period Indology, see Rocher (1986: 41–47). As for the *Mahābhārata*, note for example two verses found in some manuscripts of *Svargārohaṇaparvan* 5 (quoted on p. 29 in the apparatus of the critical edition), which speak of the *Mahābhārata* as having an Ur-text of six million verses, a three-million verse recension in the world of gods (*devaloka*), versions of one and a half and 1.4 million verses among the Ancestors (*pitṛ*) and the *nāga*s and *yakṣa*s, respectively, as well as the 100,000-verse text known to humankind.

[104] *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.1.6. This case was brought to my attention by Isaacson (personal communication).

[105] See Bhavabhaṭṭa's remarks on *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 1.1, commenting on its opening phrase, *athāto rahasyaṃ vakṣye*: *bhagavān śrīcakrasaṃvarādhimuktānām arthāya lakṣaparimāṇān mūla-*

Hevajra cycle also invokes a fabulously large root tantra,[106] while the Kālacakra tradition purports to have the lost *Paramādibuddha* as its original scripture; the extant *Kālacakratantra* is but an "abridged *tantra*" (the *Laghukālacakratantra*), much as is the *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra*.[107]

Among early Śaiva scriptures, the *Svacchandatantra* professes descent from a version of a billion verses, which posed understandable obstacles for short-lived mortals. Like the *mūlatantra* the *BraYā* describes, the original *Svacchandatantra* is the *Catuṣpīṭhamahātantra*, containing within itself all four divisions (*pīṭha*) of the Bhairava canon.[108] The conception of root tantras continued to have currency in Kaula sources as well; note for example that

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tantrāt tad [laghusaṃvaratantram] ākṛṣya deśayate ...mūlatantradeśanāyā anantaraṃ mūlatantram evākarīkṛtya ***rahasyaṃ vakṣye*** *iti sambandhaḥ.* Sarnāth edition, p. 3. Similarly, Vajrapāṇi makes numerous references in the *Laghutantraṭīkā* to the root tantra as *Lakṣābhidhāna*, the "One-Hundred Thousand Verse [Heruka-]Abhidhāna Tantra."

[106] Although conceptions of the Hevajra *vistaratantra* or *mūlatantra* are diverse, perhaps most common is that of a *Hevajratantra* five hundred-thousand verses in extent, from which the received text was drawn (Isaacson 2001).

[107] On the subject of the *Paramādibuddha*, the root scripture of the Kālacakra cycle, see Newman (1987: 118); and especially Sferra (2005: 255–273), who also mentions the case of the *Yoginīsañcāratantra* and its references to a *mūlatantra* (p. 268).

[108] *Svacchandatantra* 1.4c–7 (ksts edition):

> *yat tvayā kathitaṃ mahyaṃ svacchandaṃ parameśvara* ||4||
> *śatakoṭipravistīrṇaṃ bhedānantyavisarpitam* |
> *catuṣpīṭhaṃ mahātantraṃ catuṣṭayaphalodayam* ||5||
> *na śaknuvanti manujā alpavīryaparākramāḥ* |
> *alpāyuṣo 'lpavittāś ca alpasattvāś ca śaṃkara* ||6||
> *tadarthaṃ saṃgrahaṃ tasya svalpaśāstrārthavistaram* |
> *bhuktimuktipradātāraṃ kathayasva prasādataḥ* ||7||
>
> "O supreme lord, the great *Svacchandatantra* which you had taught me, possessing [all] four divisions (*catuṣpīṭha*) [of the *Bhairavatantras*], bestowing the four fruits [of *kāma*, *artha*, *dharma*, and *mokṣa*], ten-million verses in extent, and spread forth with an infinitude of divisions, humans are incapable [of comprehening], being of little vital energy and prowess, short-lived, and of little wealth and courage, O Śaṅkara. For this reason, please be gracious to teach an abridged version (*saṃgraha*) of it with very little elaboration on the scripture's meaning, which bestows supernatural experience and liberation."

A Nepalese codex, NGMPP reel B28-18, offers as substantive variants °*ānanta*° for °*ānantya*° in 5b, *alpacittās* in 6c, and *ato 'rthasaṃgrahaṃ samyak* for 7a. However, in the latter case the Bodleian Library's Nepalese codex of the *Svacchandatantra* agrees with the KSTS edition (Törzsök 1999: 198).

the *Ūrmikaulārṇava* (a.k.a. *Nīratantra* and *Bhogahasta*) refers to itself as "extracted from the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand* (*lakṣapādoddhṛta*)."[109] Both the *Manthānabhairavatantra* and *Sarvavīratantra* reportedly attribute their origins to massive *mūlatantras*,[110] as also do Vaiṣṇava *tantras* such as the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* and *Pādmasaṃhitā*.[111] The trope of root tantras remains relevant in post-12th century scriptures as well, such as the *Kulārṇava*, which, like the *BraYā*, posits its origin in a text of 125,000 verses.[112]

Not all root tantras were pious fictions, moreover, for the epithet is applied to real texts deemed fundamental to particular traditions. As is the case with the *BraYā* itself, being or claiming to be an authorative source-text justifies the designation *mūlatantra*. The Trika *Tantrasadbhāva*, for example, refers to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* as *mūlatantra*, although in a version one billion verses in extent.[113] This might echo the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*'s own claim of being the source of the sixty-four *tantras*, including the *BraYā*.[114] Reinforcing this status, the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* claims origin from a version of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* "ninety-million [verses] in extent," via the intermediary stages of the thirty-million verse Ur-*Mālinīvijayottaratantra* and a *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* of twelve-thousand verses.[115]

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[109] Thus the colophon to *Ūrmikaulārṇava* 1: *iti nīratantre śrīmadūrmikaulārṇṇave mahāśāstre lakṣapādoddhṛte paramarahasye śrīśrībhogahastakramāyāte śrīkaulagiripīṭhavinirgate śrīmīnapādāvatārite ṣaḍsatādhike śate maṃtroddhārarahasyaguruśiṣyaparīkṣāvicāro nāma prathama paṭalaḥ* ||. NAK 5-5207 (NGMPP reel B115/9).

[110] Dyczkowski (1987: 99, 110–11).

[111] See Sferra (2005: 268).

[112] Note the colophon to chapter 8 of the *Kulārṇava*: *iti śrīkulārṇave nirvāṇamokṣadvāre mahārahasye sarvāgamottamottame sapādalakṣagranthe pañcamakhaṇḍe ūrdhvāmnāyatantre tattvatritayapānādibhedakathanaṃ nāma aṣṭamollāsaḥ* ||.

[113] *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.13–14b (see chapter 1, note 113).

[114] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.19: *evamādyās tu ye tantrāś catuḥṣaṣṭivibheditāḥ* | *nirgatā iha caṇḍākṣi siddhayogeśvarīmate* ||19||. Cf. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 31.5, which seems to refer to the *bhairavasrotas* as possessing one hundred-thousand verses: *śṛṇuṣvaikamanā bhadre yad vakṣyāmi samāsataḥ* | *yena pūryanti kāryāṇi kalābhir bhairavasya tu* | *srotasya tu samagrasya lakṣapādayutasya ca* ||5||. Törzsök (1999: 182) understands *lakṣapādayutasya* to refer to multiple lacs of verses, which is also possible.

[115] *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 1.8–12:

svasthānastham umā devī praṇipatyedam abravīt |
siddhayogeśvarītantraṃ navakoṭipravistaram ||8||
yat tvayā kathitaṃ pūrvaṃ bhedatrayavisarpitam |
mālinīvijaye tantre koṭitritayalakṣite ||9||
yogamārgas tvayā proktaḥ suvistīrṇo maheśvara |

At least two later sources support the *BraYā*'s claim for the status of root tantra. In the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, the Goddess declares, "you have indicated the eightfold *smaraṇa*-mantra [taught] in the *mūlatantra*."[116] Confirming that *mūlatantra* refers to the *BraYā*, several verses later the text refers to the "eightfold *smaraṇa*-mantra originating in the *Picutantra*," i.e. *BraYā*.[117] The *Jayadrathayāmala*, which conceives of multiple root scriptures, lists five *Yāmalatantra*s, beginning with the *BraYā*, among the *mūlatantra*s of the Vidyāpīṭha. This account of the Vidyāpīṭha and *Yāmala*s gives pride of place to the *BraYā*, and indeed many lists of *Yāmalatantra*s place the *BraYā* at their head. In support of its claim to be a root scripture, there are indications that the *BraYā* served as the primary authorizing scripture for a distinctive tradition of practice and exegesis. For while the record is more fragmentary than in the case of the Trika, several surviving sources, namely the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, *Piṅgalāmata*, *Jayadrathayāmala*, and the *Matasāra*, claim to belong to the tradition of the *BraYā*.[118]

2.5 *Dvādaśasāhasraka*: Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses

A number of Indic texts are known by their verse count. Famous examples mentioned earlier include the Prakrit *Sattasaī* compiled by Hāla, and the

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bhūyas tasyopasaṃhāraḥ prokto dvādaśabhis tathā ||10||
sahasraiḥ so 'pi vistīrṇo gṛhyate nālpabuddhibhiḥ |
atas tam upasaṃhṛtya samāsād alpadhīhitam ||11||
sarvasiddhikaraṃ brūhi prasādāt parameśvara |

"The goddess Umā prostrated to [Śiva] in his own abode, and said this: 'the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* which you had previously taught me extended ninety-million verses, spread forth with the three divisions [of *śakti*?]. [And] the path of yoga which you had taught in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* possessing thirty-million verses was extremely lengthy, O Maheśvara. And furthermore, the abridgement of this you had taught with twelve-thousand verses was also lengthy, not understood by those of little intellect. Hence, for the good of those of little intelligence, please further abridge this and teach [a *tantra*] which produces all the *siddhis*, O supreme lord'."

[116] *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 230ab: *aṣṭadhā smaraṇaṃ deva mūlatantre tu sūcit[a]ṃ*.
[117] *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 235ab: *smaraṇaṃ aṣṭadhā jñātvā picutantrā[t] samudbhavam*.
[118] On the "satellite texts" of the *BraYā*, see Sanderson (2014: 39), and §1.8 above.

Durgāsaptaśatī or *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, both compositions of approximately seven-hundred verses. There exists also the *śataka* or "century" genre, comprising texts of approximately one-hundred verses, such as the *Amaruśataka* and Bāṇa's *Caṇḍīśataka*. A number of Śaiva scriptures also make prominent reference to their length in colophons or within the text, sometimes even in their titles. This is particularly notable in the *Kālottara*'s numerous recensions, which include, for example, the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* ("Three-hundred and Fifty-Verse Addendum to the Kālatantra"). This naming convention has parallels in Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature; most famously, the various recensions of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* are differentiated by length, for instance the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* ("The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Verses"). For its part, the *BraYā* calls itself *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, the "[Tantra] of Twelve Thousand [Verses]." Twelve thousand is not an exaggeration, for the text in fact consists of 12,850–900 verses.[119]

According to the revelation narrative (*śāstrāvataraṇa*) of chapter one, the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* is but one of many redactions of various lengths from the *Vimala* or *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand*. In this narrative, the numerous *tantra*s mentioned are almost all referred to by length alone. The *Dvādaśasāhasraka* descends at the advent of the Kali yuga, revealed to the residents of the Isle of Maidens (*kumārīdvīpa*). Taught the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand* by the supreme Goddess herself, a guru named Svacchandabhairava contracts this to the size of twelve-thousand verses, and then teaches the scripture to Viṣṇubhairava in the village of Kalāpa. Viṣṇubhairava then reveals the text to the residents of the Isle of Maidens, among whom the scripture attains paramount popularity. In the last portion of the Kali yuga, however, the scripture and lineage disappear altogether, snatched by the *yoginī*s, not to reappear until the commencement of the next Kali yuga.[120]

The epithet *Dvādaśasāhasraka* hence places the *BraYā* within a canon of myriad actual, possible, and mythical texts, structurally embedded in the cosmos and its cycles of time. In the course of cosmic cycles, the lineages of gurus abbreviate the scriptural wisdom and redact it into countless scriptures of various lengths for the good of a variously-abled humankind. Its ultimate conden-

[119] The text is copied on seven-hundred and thirteen folio sides with a typical range of 17.5–18.5 verses per folio. For calculation purposes, chapters were mechanically divided into verses of 4-quarters.

[120] *BraYā* 1.102c–105.

sation consists of the Vidyā alone.[121] At the other extreme lies the *Vimala* of 125,000 verses, from which directly emerges the *mūlatantra* of twelve-thousand verses—the *BraYā*. In these idealized terms, the *BraYā* is thus a redaction of merely medium length. Its size, however, makes it almost uniquely voluminous among surviving *tantras*, surpassed only, I believe, by the *Jayadrathayāmala* and *Manthānabhairavatantra*.[122] Other large and early surviving scriptures include the *Tantrasadbhāva*, and there may have existed several more extremely voluminous *tantras*. When the *BraYā*'s revelation narrative speaks of a *tantra* of twenty-four thousand verses, it appears to imply that anything larger would be beyond the capacity of mere humans.[123]

Within the wider Śaiva tradition, the epithet *Dvādaśasāhasra* was by no means associated exclusively with the *BraYā*. I am not aware of external references to the *BraYā* by this epithet, with the possible exception of the *Tantrasadbhāva*.[124] In fact, the verse-count of twelve thousand was associated with multiple fictive source-scriptures as well as several actual compositions. As mentioned above, the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* claims to be an abridgement of a version of twelve-thousand verses—itself derived from a vast Ur-*tantra*—though there is little reason to suppose such a text existed. Another Kaula work, the comparatively brief *Ūrmikaula*, makes similar claims of descent from a root tantra of one hundred thousand-verses via a version of twelve thousand.[125] Along the same lines, the *Śivadharmottara*, an important work of the

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[121] *BraYā* 1.67.

[122] SANDERSON (1988: 674) reports that the *Jayadrathayāmala* consists of twenty-four thousand verses. According to DYCZKOWSKI (1987: 97), the *Manthānabhairavatantra* calls itself a *tantra* of twenty-four thousand verses as well, its actual verse-count being closer to 17,000.

[123] 1.49ab.

[124] The passage in question (1.234) is quoted in §1.9.2 (note 262).

[125] *Ūrmikaulārṇava*, paṭala 3, from Diwakar ACHARYA's transcription of NGMPP reel no. B115/9 (the passage corresponds to 3.109–112 in the DLMIRI e-text):

> *anāmakam idaṃ yasmā mahākaulārṇavoddhṛtam* ||
> *ūrmikaulārṇavaṃ guhyaṃ lakṣapādaṃ mahādbhutam* |
> *nāmnā śrībhogahastākhyaṃ guhyakauleti gīyate* ||
> *tasmā dvādaśasāhasraṃ kaularājaṃ samuddharet* |
> *pūrvaṣaṭkadvayā[d] devi ūrme[ḥ] kaulamahārṇavāt* ||
> *saṃkṣepā uddhṛtaṃ devi idaṃ śāstrottamottamam* |
> *sārdhatrīṇi sahasrāṇi mukhakauleti viśrutam* ||
> *tasmāt sāra[ṃ] samuddhṛtya guhyasaptaśatābhidham* |
> *idaṃ rahasyaṃ paramaṃ khecarīvaktragocaram* ||
> *mahākṣetre kāmarūpe śrīnāthena prakāśitam* |

Śivadharma corpus, claims to be the abridged "essence" of a version of twelve-thousand verses.[126] Multiple lost tantras seem to have actually measured thus: Jayaratha, in quoting from the *Ānandeśvaratantra*, refers to this scripture as consisting of twelve-thousand verses,[127] while the *Śaukrasaṃhitā*, a lost *Vāmatantra*, purportedly measured likewise.[128] In addition, an incomplete South Indian *Kālottara* manuscript names one of its sources as the *Dvādaśasāhasrasaṃhitā*, a *Kālottara* recension of twelve-thousand verses.[129] Among Buddhist *tantra*s, the *Vimalaprabhā* "commentary" on the *Kālacakratantra* spans twelve-thousand verses, as does its purported root tantra, the *Paramādibuddha*.[130] Similarly, the *Abhayapaddhati* commentary on the *Buddhakapālatantra*, an early *Yoginītantra*, implies that the scripture derives from a twelve-thousand verse root tantra.[131]

Closer to the orbit of the *BraYā*, the *Piṅgalāmata* makes the exaggerated

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> *kaularājaṃ*] em. (Dyczkowski, dlmiri e-text); *kaularāṃ* Cod.
>
> "This scripture is called *The Nameless* since it was extracted from the *Great Ocean of Kaula Wisdom*. [This] secret, greatly wondrous *Ūrmikaulārṇava* of one and a Quarter Hundred Thousand verses, the glorious *Bhogahasta* by name, is [also] called the *Guhyakaula*. From this was extracted (*samuddharet = sumuddhṛtam*?) the *King of Kaula Tantra*s of twelve-thousand verses. From the prior collection of twelve thousand was extracted this greatest of all scriptures, O goddess: the three and a half thousand verses known as the *Mukhakaula*. Having extracted its essence, called the *Secret Tantra of Seven Centuries*, confined to the mouths of the *khecarī*s, Śrīnātha revealed this supreme secret in the great sacred field of Kāmarūpa."

As with representations of the *BraYā*'s redactions, the slippage here between versions of various lengths is remarkable: these share a fundamental essence that manifests upon a scale of texts, from an Ur-*tantra* of one hundred-thousand verses to a composition of seven-hundred.

[126] *Śivadharmottara* 12.260-263, as quoted by Magnone (2005: 578, n. 13): *uktaṃ dvādaśasāhasraṃ śivadharmottaraṃ mahat | agastyāya munīndrāya kumāreṇa mahātmanā* ||260|| *itīha karmayogasya jñānayogasya tattvataḥ | dharmādharmamatīnāṃ ca svarūpam upavarṇitam* ||261|| *ity etad akhilaṃ buddhvā saṃkṣipyāgastir abravīt | dvādaśādhyāyasaṃyuktam iti sāraṃ vimuktidam* ||262||.

[127] Commenting ad *Tantrāloka* 15.281, Jayaratha refers to the *Ānandeśvaratantra* as *dvādaśasāhasra*.

[128] The *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* (v. 258 in the transcription of Hanneder 1998) describes the *Śaukrasaṃhitā* as *dvādaśasāhasrī*, "containing twelve thousand."

[129] IFP transcript T. 59, typed by Anil Kumar Acharya. Multiple chapter colophons (18, 27, 30, 43, 67, and 68) make reference to the *Dvādaśasāhasrasaṃhitā*.

[130] The *Laghutantraṭīkā* quotes from the *Paramādibuddha*, referring to it as *dvādaśasāhasrika* (chapter xiv, p. 124).

[131] *Abhayapaddhati* 9.9 and 11.9, as observes Hong (2010: xxxi).

claim of spanning twelve-thousand verses in one colophon.[132] Most intriguing, however, is the final colophon of a MS. of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, which speaks of the *Niśvāsa* corpus of five *sūtra*s as spanning twelve-thousand verses.[133] Given that the *Niśvāsa* may have been an important authority for the *BraYā*'s redactors, who knew and drew from the *Niśvāsakārikā*,[134] this could in fact have been their model for shaping the *BraYā* into the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand*. Indeed, the *BraYā* echoes the very language of the final colophon of the *Niśvāsakārikā* in speaking of itself as a text of twelve-thousand verses "resplendant with five *sūtras*" (*pañcasūtrojjvala*).[135]

2.6 *Vimala* and *Ucchuṣmabhairava*

Although there are but a handful of references to the *BraYā* as the *Vimalatantra* or the *Ucchuṣmatantra*, these have a distinctive status in the text's self-presentation. What sets apart these particular epithets is that one or both might refer to independent scriptures upon whose tradition and authority the *BraYā* draws, and with which the text occasionally identifies itself. The *Jayadrathayāmala* confirms the *BraYā*'s association with these titles, once referring to *Picumata* as being "named the *Vimala* and *Ucchuṣma*."[136] How the two sources interrelate is an open question: while their representations differ considerably, the *BraYā* does once appear to conflate the *Vimala* with the *Ucchuṣmatantra*.

As already discussed, the *BraYā*'s revelation narrative provides *Vimala* ("Immaculate") as the name for the primordial mass of scriptural wisdom (*jñānogha*) in its manifest form as a text of 125,000 verses, the source of all scripture. This finds echo in the *Mṛgendratantra*, which speaks of the primordial scrip-

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[132] Thus reads the colophon to the *vāstvadhikāraprakaraṇa*: *ityādye jayadrathādhikāre dvādaśasāhasre piṅgalāmate vāstvadhikāro nām[a]*. Whether *Jayadrathādhikāra* is intended to be a synonym of *Piṅgalāmata*, or its source text, is ambiguous (likewise ambiguous is which *dvādaśasāhasre* describes).

[133] *Niśvāsakārikā*, MS. T.17 (colophon as adduced by GOODALL et al. 2015: 23): *samāpto 'yaṃ saṃhitā iti || idaṃ pañcasūtrojvalaṃ samudāyena dvādaśasāhasrikaṃ samāptaṃ niśvāsakārikākhyaṃ tantraṃ.*

[134] As argued in §1.9.1.

[135] *BraYā* 104.32ab, quoted in §1.7.3. The latter section also analyses the problematic issue of the *BraYā* consisting of *sūtras*.

[136] *Jayadrathayāmala* III, 24.34cd (*Yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa*): *picutantraṃ mahāraudraṃ vimalocchuṣmasaṃjñitam.*

ture as the "immaculate wisdom" (*vimalaṃ jñānaṃ*).[137] In several instances the *BraYā* refers to itself by the title *Vimala*,[138] thus claiming as its highest identity the originary scriptural wisdom. While the notion of 125,000 verses is surely mythic, a Śaiva scripture called the *Vimala* might nonetheless have existed. No old *tantra* by this title appears to survive;[139] however, the *Vimala* has a place in some accounts of the fundamental Śaiva canon of twenty-eight scriptures, and may hence have been an early *Siddhāntatantra*. Among the extant early Saiddhāntika sources attesting the ten-plus-eighteen model of the canon—that of ten scriptures of the *śiva*-division (*śivabheda*) and eighteen of the *rudra*-division (*rudrabheda*)—several, although not perhaps the earliest, include the *Vimala* among the *rudrabhedas*.[140]

The colophon to *BraYā* 36 introduces *Ucchuṣmatantra* as yet another title for the *BraYā*,[141] while several chapters instead invoke the *Ucchuṣma* or *Ucchuṣmottarabhairava* as the source of specific teachings. In particular, several chapters link the goddesses of the core pantheon to the *Ucchuṣmatantra*,[142] and the closing passage of *BraYā* 53 implies that the *BraYā*'s supreme goddess, "Kapālinī," was previously taught in the "*tantra* revered by Mahocchuṣmabhairava."[143] Chapter 21 cites the *Ucchuṣma* as the source of its principal topic,

[137] *Mṛgendratantra, vidyāpāda* 1.21cd: … *vimalaṃ jñānaṃ pañcasrotobhilakṣitam*; see note 86 above.

[138] Viz., *BraYā* 4.8cd (*divyādivyāṃs tathā hy ete tantre 'smim vimalāhvaye*), 28.8cd (*aṣṭaman tu vijānīyād yāge 'smiṃ vimalāhvaye*), 91.149cd (*śaktayas tu tavākhyātā[s] tantre 'smin vimalāhvaye*), and 24.103cd (*etās tu tithayaḥ prokt[ās] tantre vimalasaṃjñake*).

[139] There does survive some material attributed to a *Vimalāgama* in composite South Indian manuscripts, but these Saiddhāntika ritual tracts give no suggestion of antiquity. Note for instance IFP T. No. 71, which contains a tract on the *prāsāda* (a mantra of the *Kālottara* system) drawn from the *Vimalāgama*. (This is a transcription of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, MS. no. R14398.) There also exists a Śaiva *paddhati* (ritual manual) called the *Vimalāvatī*, but this is certainly unrelated. It is preserved in a Nepalese palm-leaf MS. (NAK 1-1536, NGMPP reel B28/7), and apparently two paper manuscripts as well (NAK 3-586, NGMPP reel A187/1; and NAK 1-131, NGMPP reel A186/10).

[140] See GOODALL (1998: appendix III).

[141] *ity ucchuṣmatantre picumate nāḍīsañcārapaṭalaḥ ṣaṭtṛṃśatimaḥ.*

[142] See note 163 below.

[143] *BraYā* 53.180c–83: *kathitan tu mayā devi tantre bhairavapūjite* ||180|| *smaraṇādivibhāgasthaṃ kriyāvasthatanusthitaṃ* | *prakryāmantralakṣasthaṃ sarvvajñānamukhodbhavaṃ* ||181|| *nāmnā tu bhairavaṃ deva[ṃ] kapālīśaṃ parāparaṃ* | *mahocchuṣmārccite tantre yattrasthā tu kapālinī* ||182|| *parāpareṇa bhāvena vyaktamūrttā amūrttigā* | *svayaṃ viśveśvarī devī caṇḍā raudrī na saṃśayaḥ* ||183||.

namely the *vratas* connected with the Nine-Syllable Vidyā,[144] while chapter 28, concerned with the deity Vijaya- or Tripādabhairava, makes a similar claim.[145] Most explicit concerning its debt is *BraYā* 46, which cites the *Ucchuṣmottarabhairava* as the source of the extended version of a ritual it teaches in abbreviated form.[146] This may be identical to the *Ucchuṣmatantra* cited elsewhere, but could instead be an Appendix Tantra (*uttaratantra*) thereof. In either case, this reference suggests that the *BraYā*'s redactors did not merely invoke the authority of a revered source, but likely drew upon it directly.

Although no manuscripts appear to survive, we do have some knowledge concerning a text entitled *Ucchuṣmatantra* or *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra*. Abhinavagupta cites a scripture bearing this title in both the *Tantrasāra* and *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, while Kṣemarāja quotes from it in his commentaries on the *Śivasūtra*, *Netratantra*, and *Svacchandatantra*. One of the verses Kṣemarāja adduces from the *Ucchuṣmatantra* is also quoted by Jayaratha, without attribution, in the *Tantrālokaviveka*. From most of these short quoted passages it is difficult to ascertain the character of the text. Kṣemarāja, for example, quotes a passage which describes the distinct functions of the mantra elements OṂ, NAMAḤ, SVĀHĀ, PHAṬ, VAUṢAṬ, and HŪṂ.[147] More illuminating, in the *Tantrasāra*, Abhinavagupta appears to refer to the *Ucchuṣmatantra* as representative of the radical "far left" of Śaiva scripture, paired opposite the Saiddhāntika *Pārameśvara*.[148] This is corroborated to an extent by a passage Kṣemarāja quotes several times in support for the nondualist position of there being no such thing as 'impurity'.[149] Offering further confirmation of the text's orientation, the Buddhist

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[144] *BraYā* 21.1ab: *ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi vratān ucchuṣmasambhavān* ("Next, I shall teach the observances originating from the *Ucchuṣmatantra*").

[145] *BraYā* 28.1: *ataḥ param pravaksyāmi vidhānaṃ vijayaṃ* [em. (=*BraYāSāra* 13.1b); *vibhāgaṃ vimalaṃ* A] *dhruvam* | *ucchuṣmakamalodgīrṇṇaṃ ucchuṣmenāvatāritam* || ("Next, I shall certainly teach the rite of Vijayabhairava revealed by Ucchuṣmabhairava, uttered by the lotus-mouth of Ucchuṣmabhairava").

[146] See *BraYā* 46.124–25, quoted and discussed in §1.7.5.

[147] Commenting ad *Netratantra* 19.8. This passage is quoted by Bisschop & Griffiths (2007: 3–4).

[148] *Tantrasāra* 4.45: *tasmāt vaidikāt prabhṛti pārameśvarasiddhāntatantrakulocchuṣmādiśāstrokto 'pi yo niyamo vidhir vā niṣedho vā so 'tra yāvad akiṃcitkara eva iti siddham* | ("Therefore, any regulation, whether a rule or prohibition, even if it is stated in the scriptures—the *Siddhāntatantra* [called] *Pārameśvara*, the *Ucchuṣmatantra* of the Kula, etc., starting with Vedic [scripture]—is in this case inoperative. So it is established").

[149] Quoted in the *Svacchandoddyota* ad *Svacchandatantra* 8.249 and 11.927, and in the *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, KSTS edition, p. 8: *yāvan na vedakā ete tāvad vedyāḥ kathaṃ priye* | *vedakaṃ*

author Advayavajra quotes a verse from the *Ucchuṣmatantra* which speaks of the bliss of the union of Śiva and Śakti as the supreme nonduality (*paramādvaya*).[150] It would be a matter of considerable surprise if a *Bhairavatantra* antedating the *BraYā* exhibited developed nondualism of the gnostic variety, to the extent of being singled out for this by Abhinavagupta. We must hence consider the possibility that the *Ucchuṣmatantra* referred to in the *BraYā* is distinct from the text cited by later authors, or else underwent substantial revision. On the other hand, Abhinavagupta may simply be reading his own gnostic nondualism into the 'ritual nondualism' of an early *Bhairavatantra*, much as he does with the *BraYā*.[151]

What precisely the word *ucchuṣma* meant to the *BraYā*'s redactors remains unclear, though they associate it strongly with impurity. The expression occurs in the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* in connection with Agni,[152] and derives from *ut√śuṣ* ("to make dry" or "to parch"); cf. *śuṣma* or *śuṣman*, words connected with heat and light, and *ucchuṣka* ("dry, withered"). Sanderson (2007a: 197) suggests "desiccating fire" as the basic meaning. One of the *pariśiṣṭa* texts of the *Atharvaveda* bears the name *Ucchuṣmakalpa*, on which Peter Bisschop and Arlo Griffiths (2007) have contributed an important study. This opens with an invocation of the *ucchuṣma*s, who in this context form a class of minor male spirits.[153] Śaiva tantric literature also attests *ucchuṣma*s as a class of dangerous or defiling spirits, as well as female *ucchuṣmikā*s, vampiric beings associated with bodily impurity.[154] However, *ucchuṣma* is more frequently the name of

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vedyam ekaṃ tu tattvaṃ nāsty aśucis tataḥ || ("As long as they are not knowers, how can there be objects of knowledge, my dear? But the knower and object of knowledge are one; therefore 'impurity' is not something real (*tattva*)."). Cf. Bisschop & Griffiths (2007: 4), to whom my interpretation is indebted. See also s.v. *ucchuṣma* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I.

[150] *Sekanirdeśa*, verse 10: *śivaśaktisamāyogāt satsukhaṃ paramādvayam | na śivo nāpi śaktiś ca ratnāntargatasaṃsthitam* ||. (*Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, part IV, p. 50.) Remarking upon the verse, the (anonymous) editors identify the *Ucchuṣmatantra* with the *BraYā*, on the authority of Goudriaan & Gupta (1981: 42). I am grateful to Isaacson for this reference.

[151] For historical observations on nondualism in early Śaiva scriptural literature, see Törzsök (2014a), to whom I am grateful for suggestions on this issue. On Abhinavagupta's effort to find gnostic nondualism in the *BraYā*, see appendix B.

[152] *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* 1.6.2.2; see Bisschop & Griffiths (2007: 2). They note (p. 6) that the association of the word *ucchuṣma* with impurity "is not likely to be original" in view of its occurrences in earlier Vedic sources.

[153] oṃ nama ucchuṣmebhyaḥ (*Pariśiṣṭa* 36).

[154] For *ucchuṣma*s as dangerous spirits, see for instance 9.48 of a composite *Kālottara* manuscript, IFP T.59, where they figure among the deities to be offered *bali*: *piśācāḥ pre-*

a deity: the *rudra* Ucchuṣma features in early Saiddhāntika sources, including the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, the *Kiraṇatantra*, and *Mataṅgapārameśvara*,[155] while some other sources, most notably the *BraYā*, attest Ucchuṣma as a name or form of Bhairava. Further insight into this figure may be gleaned from Buddhist tantric traditions, where Ucchuṣma (sometimes Ucchuṣmajambhala) figures from an early period as a wrathful deity, one "invoked to remove the impurity of left-overs (*ucchiṣṭam*) and human waste by devouring them."[156] SANDERSON (2007a: 198) shows that the connection with impurity evident in Buddhist sources obtains in early Śaiva references as well, for the *Guhyasūtra*'s Ucchuṣma presides over the subterranean paradise (*pātāla*) to which go those who mishandle (and thus defile) the offerings leftover from Śiva's worship.

This connection with impurity seems integral to the term's usage in the *BraYā* and related literature. Much like its exegesis of *picu*, the *BraYā* contains an explication of *ucchuṣma* framed in doctrinal terms (*BraYā* 60.77–85). The Goddess asks, "Why the word *ucchuṣma*? What indeed is its referent, and what is the *ucchuṣma* of this [referent]?"[157] Bhairava's not entirely intelligible reply identifies the supreme Śakti as Ucchuṣmā: she who ever emits the world, like refuse (*ucchiṣṭa*), "through the workings (*vṛtta*) of her *ucchuṣma*."[158] In a

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tasaṃghāś ca ucchuṣmā rākṣasās tathā | devagrahāś ca kaumārāḥ ḍākinyaḥ pūtanās tathā ||. The *Tantrasadbhāva* uses the terms *ucchuṣmā* and *ucchuṣmikā* to describe a variety of female spirits. In a passage Kṣemarāja quotes in commenting on *Netratantra* 19.55, the *ucchuṣmikā* is described thus: *rātrau bhūtvā vivastrā yā mūtrayitvā pradakṣiṇam | kṛtvā tu prāśayed raktaṃ muktakeśī tu karṣayet || ucchuṣmikā tu sā jñeyā sādhakair vīranāyikā |*. This corresponds to 16.187–88ab in DYZCKOWSKI's draft edition. Aside from several probable corruptions, the Nepalese MSS. consulted attest two minor variants: *prāśayate nityaṃ* for *tu prāśayed raktaṃ*, and *vīravatsalā* for *vīranāyikā*. Retaining Kṣemarāja's text, one might translate thus, provisionally: "A woman who gets naked at night, urinates, and circumambulates, then would always, with hair unbound, attract [a victim] and consume blood—she *sādhaka*s should know to be an *ucchuṣmikā*, a heroine." Cf. the interpretation of BISSCHOP & GRIFFITHS (2007: 5).

[155] Concerning Ucchuṣma the *rudra* in the *Guhyasūtra*, see SANDERSON (2007a: 197–98). In the cosmology of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* (12.34d), he is one of the *rudra*s presiding over *kālatattva*, while in the *Kiraṇatantra*, Ucchuṣma is listed among the *rudra*s at the *tattva*s *kāla* and *niyati* (8.129a).

[156] SANDERSON (2007a: 197). On Ucchuṣmajambhala, a form of the *yakṣa*-lord Jambhala, see BISSCHOP & GRIFFITHS (2007b: 5–6).

[157] *BraYā* 60.77–78: *ucchuṣmasambhavaṃ tantraṃ devyā[ś] cocchuṣmasambhavāḥ | tvayoktan tu mahādeva sūtrādibhi maheśvara ||77|| katham ucchuṣmaśabdan* [em.; *ucchuśabdan* A] *tu ko vā vācyas tu tasya vai | katham ucchuṣma vā tasya prasādā vaktum arhasi ||78||*.

[158] *BraYā* 60.83: *ucchuṣmocchuṣmavṛttena sadocchiṣṭaṃ yato jagat | tadātmatvavidhir yā ca* [conj.; °*vidharyāc ca* A] *nirācārā hi sā smṛtā ||83||*. This might be interpreted as follows: "Since

similarly obscure passage, the *Bhairavamaṅgalā* invokes the term *ucchuṣma* in rejecting the very possibility of bodily purity, and hence the "dualistic" norms of ritual purity: "Born by way of *ucchuṣma*, but free from *ucchuṣma*; how could one coming forth via the path of *ucchuṣma* possess [bodily] purity?"[159] It may be the case that here, as well as in the aforementioned *BraYā* passage, *ucchuṣma* means "womb:" that is, *ucchuṣmamārga* might mean *yonimārga* ("birth canal"). A more general meaning along the lines of "impurity" or "defilement" might also suit the contexts.[160] While these passages of the *Bhairavamaṅgalā* and *BraYā* have a number of difficulties, on their basis it seems almost certain that *ucchuṣma* has a connection to the body, and more particularly, bodily impurity.

Historically, the *rudra* Ucchuṣma found in early *Siddhāntatantras* appears to have developed into a *bhairava* and acquired his own cult, for the *Ucchuṣmatantra* or *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra* must have expounded a pantheon headed by Ucchuṣmabhairava. In an analogous process, the *BraYā*'s own Kapālīśa appears also to have begun his career as a *rudra*, heading the list of one-hundred *rudras* in the *Guhyasūtra* before achieving his place among the eight *bhairavas* in the maṇḍala of Svacchandabhairava—thereafter, in the *BraYā*, becoming a cultic focus in his own right. The *BraYā* associates the name Ucchuṣma with the groups of goddesses forming the maṇḍala of Kapālīśabhairava. I would in fact suggest the possibility that Kapālīśa has inherited Ucchuṣmabhairava's pantheon, which likely consisted of female deities headed by his consort, Mahocchuṣmā (aka Kapālinī?[161]). In the *BraYā*, Mahocchuṣmā or Ucchuṣmā has an important position within the core maṇḍala as last—but perhaps highest—of the Four Devīs.[162] The *BraYā* explicitly links its entire goddess pantheon

the world is always emitted, like refuse (*ucchiṣṭa*), by the process of the *ucchuṣmā [śakti]*'s *ucchuṣma* [womb?], and [since] she is one whose worship possesses the nature of that [impure matter, *ucchiṣṭa*], she is said to be 'beyond regulated conduct' (*nirācārā*)." On the concept of *nirācāra*, see the annotation to *BraYā* 2.1c–2.

[159] *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, v. 249: *ucchuṣmeṇa tu saṃbhūto* [em.; *saṃbhūtā* Cod.] *ucchuṣmeṇa tu varjitaḥ | niṣkrāntocchuṣmamārgeṇa tasya śaucaṃ kathaṃ bhavet ||*. (Transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva.) Here understand *niṣkrānta* as nominative, with double application of sandhi (cf. Oberlies §1.8.4).

[160] Viz., "Born of the impurity, yet free from impurity; how could one coming forth via an impure path possibly possess purity?" (*Bhairavamaṅgalā*, v. 249).

[161] See note 143 above.

[162] The high status of Mahocchuṣmā is suggested by her position in cosmology: in descriptions of the "pervasion" (*vyāpti*) of the *tattva*-hierarchy by the mantra-deities, Mahocchuṣmā is placed at the level of Sadāśiva, above the other goddesses (tables 1.9c–d). This may be a vestige of an earlier system, for in most other contexts, Raktā heads the Four Devīs.

to Ucchuṣmabhairava, an association particularly strong with the Mother-goddesses (*mātaraḥ*), who are referred to as "the Mothers originating from the *Ucchuṣma[tantra]*," or simply, the "Ucchuṣma Mothers."[163] Ucchuṣmabhairava himself makes an appearance only in the maṇḍala of Picubhairava, in a configuration of male counterparts to the core eight goddesses of Kapālīśa's maṇḍala.[164] On several occasions, Ucchuṣma is nonetheless a synonym of the supreme Bhairava,[165] much as the supreme Śakti is designated Ucchuṣmā[166]—possible echoes of the *Ucchuṣmatantra*.

Given the nature of the *BraYā*'s references to the *Ucchuṣmatantra*, this seems to have been a closely-related contemporaneous text, one perhaps lying in its immediate cultic background. In contrast, the *BraYā*'s appeal to the authority of the *Vimala* seems intended to establish a link with the earliest canonical scriptures of the Mantramārga. Whether or not the texts' contents had a genuine relationship is another matter. There is a distinct possibility that the *Vimala*, if

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[163] Several passages link the Eight Mother-goddesses closely to the *Ucchuṣmatantra*: *BraYā* 1.133 designates the goddesses as "The Ucchuṣma Mothers" (*atra devyo 'tha dūtyaś ca yoginy-occhuṣmamātaraḥ | sarvvās tāḥ sṛjate devi śivecchām anuvarttinī ||*; cf. 91.244d), while *BraYā* 2.14cd describes them as being "from the *Tantra Originating from Ucchuṣma*" (*athāto mātarāṃ vakṣye tantre ucchuṣmasambhave*). Passages in *BraYā* 4, however, link other goddesses of the core pantheon to the *Ucchuṣmatantra*. *BraYā* 4.252 so links the Four Devīs or Guhyakās:

> *raktā karālī caṇḍākhyāṃ mahocchuṣmā tathaiva ca ||252||*
> *ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānāṃ na saṃśayaḥ |*

BraYā 4.262–63b, on the other hand, links the Four Dūtīs or Kiṅkarīs to the *Ucchuṣmatantra*:

> *raktāyās tu karālā syāt karālyāyās tu danturā |*
> *bhīmavaktrā tu caṇḍākṣyā ucchuṣmāyā mahābalā ||262||*
> *guhyakānucarā hy etāḥ kiṅkaryocchuṣmasambhavāḥ |*
>
> karālā] *em.*; karālaṃ **A** caṇḍākṣyā] *conj.*; caṇḍākṣī **A** etāḥ] *corr.*; etā **A** kiṅkaryocchuṣmasambhavā] *em.*; kiṅkaryācchuṣmasambhavā **A**

Cf. *BraYā* 60.77, which, more ambiguously, speaks of "the goddesses originating from the *Ucchuṣmatantra*:" *ucchuṣmasambhavaṃ tantraṃ devyaś* [corr.; *devyā* A] *cocchuṣmasambhavāḥ | tvayoktaṃ tu mahādeva sūtrādibhi maheśvara ||* ("O Mahādeva, by means of *sūtras*, etc., you have taught the *tantra* originating from Ucchuṣma and the goddesses arising from the *Ucchuṣma*, O Maheśvara"). On the connection between the *BraYā*'s supreme goddess and the *Ucchuṣmatantra*, see note 143 above.

[164] *BraYā* 69, especially verse 21.

[165] *BraYā* 90.96cd: *nirācāra[ḥ] sa evātra ucchuṣmaṃ parikīrtitam* ("That very [state of the supreme Bhairava known as] 'beyond conduct' (*nirācāra*) is here called *ucchuṣma*").

[166] So declares *BraYā* 60.85, the chapter's final verse: *tadrūpā tu nirācārā ucchuṣmā ca varānane | ekā prapūjyate sā tu sarvvayāgavyavasthitā | sarvvamantrātmake padme pūjitavyā guṇottarā ||*.

such a text even existed beyond lists of the canon,[167] had been lost by the time of the *BraYā*'s composition, continuing nonetheless to command prestige. Its actual contents largely forgotten, it served as an empty signifier of canonical authority on which to inscribe the pedigree of the *BraYā*.[168]

It is striking that, despite prominent mention in the revelation narrative of *BraYā* 1, the *Vimala*, and likewise *Ucchuṣmatantra*, are absent from the extended account of the Śaiva canon in *BraYā* 39. Understandably so given its status as the "mass/totality of scriptural wisdom" (*jñānogha*), the *Vimala* finds no place in the list of twenty-eight *Siddhāntatantras*; more puzzling is that the *Ucchuṣmatantra* does not figure among *BraYā* 39's eight *Bhairavatantras*.[169] Also somewhat puzzling is the close connection posited between the *Vimala* and *Ucchuṣmatantra*: the *BraYā* once describes the *Vimala* as "the *Tantra* originating from Ucchuṣma."[170] These titles are not elsewhere conflated, and the *Ucchuṣmatantra* is not, in contrast to the *Vimala*, represented as a gargantuan root scripture. Nonetheless, there might just possibly be substance to the connection, given Ucchuṣma's early history as a *rudra* and the *Vimala*'s presence in some lists of the *rudra*-division scriptures. According to the *Mṛgendratantra*, one of the sources listing the *Vimala* in its account of the canon,[171] Śiva only indirectly teaches the *rudrabheda*-scriptures; these are "brought forth by *rudras* who have been possessed/entered into by Śiva—not [brought forth] from their

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[167]It might also be possible that the notion of a mythic *Vimala* contributed to the inclusion of a text by this name in lists of the canon.

[168]This perhaps bears comparison with the phenomenon of "replacing" forgotten but authorative scriptures, passing off the new as the ancient so as to authorize contemporary practice. Such is best attested in the case of the South Indian Śaivasiddhānta, in which case texts were duly provided to fill in gaps between extant scripture and authorative accounts of the canon (Goodall 1998: xxxvi–xlvii). As mentioned (§1.1), the *BraYā* itself appears to have been "updated" in later times in both East India and Nepal, besides South India.

[169]The eight Bhairavas, who correspond to the eight *Bhairavatantras* of the Vidyāpīṭha, are Svacchanda, Krodha, Unmatta, Ugra, Kapālī, Jhaṅkāra, Śekhara, and Vijaya. *BraYā* 39.33c–35ab: *svacchandabhairavaṃ devi krodhabhairavam eva ca* ||33|| *unmattabhairavaṃ devi tathā caivograbhairavaḥ* | *kapālībhairavaṃ caiva tathā jhaṅkārabhairavaḥ* ||34|| *[ś]ekharañ ca tathā caiva vijayabhairavam eva ca* ||. A close parallel for this list of eight *bhairavas* does however include Ucchuṣma—that of the *Śrīkaṇṭhīya*, quoted by Jayaratha commenting on *Tantrāloka* 1.18: Svacchanda, Caṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta, Asitāṅga, Mahocchuṣma, and Kapālī. See also *Svacchandatantra* 2.117c–19.

[170]*BraYā* 1.4–5b: *yat purā sūcitan deva tantram ucchuṣmasambhavam* | *vimalāhveti yat proktaṃ jñānoghaṃ śaktipūrvakam* ||4|| *yasmiṃs tu saṃsthitaṃ hy etac catuḥpīṭhan tu bhairavam* |.

[171]*Mṛgendratantra* 1.46.

own intellects."[172] One might speculate that the historical *Vimala* had the *rudra* Ucchuṣma as its speaker, in which case its link with the *Ucchuṣmatantra* would be based upon the shared figure of Ucchuṣma, as a *rudra* or *bhairava*, respectively.

Although our knowledge of these sources remains vague, there is thus a significant possibility that the *BraYā* has, in the form of the *Vimalatantra* and/or *Ucchuṣmatantra*, woven historical texts into its genealogy and identity. By doing so, the *BraYā* constructs a pedigree rooted in earlier layers of the tradition: both the early canon of *Siddhāntatantras*, through the *Vimalatantra*, and earlier *Bhairavatantras*, through the cult and scripture of Ucchuṣmabhairava. That this scenario is plausible finds support in the authorizing strategies of later scriptures, which offer insight into the processes of legitimization the *BraYā* itself might have employed in relation to older literature. Adding new layers to the palimpsest of revelation, subsequent literature claiming to belong to the tradition of the *BraYā* continues the practice of self-identification with authorizing sources. This is exemplified by the final colophon of the *Matasāra* ("Essence of the [Picu]mata")[173] which proclaims, "Thus ends the thirty-third chapter within the *Matasāra* in the Vidyāpīṭhā, in the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand*, in the *Great Scripture*, the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand*."[174] Here the ambiguity of the locatives is meaningful: the passage may in part be read as a hierarchy of texts within texts, from the originary wisdom of 125,000 verses down to the *Essence of the [Picu]mata*, or it may be read as a series of identifications: the *Matasāra* which "is" the *BraYā* which "is" the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand*. And so continues the perpetual descent of the scriptural wisdom into the multiplicity of texts.

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[172] *Mṛgendrtantra* 3.43ab: *raudrā rudraiḥ śivāviṣṭair udgīrṇā na svabuddhitaḥ.*

[173] While the text refers to itself simply as the *Matasāra*, SANDERSON (personal communication, 2004) suggests that this means *"Picumatasāra."* Given the text's close relationship with and appeal to the authority of the *BraYā*, this seems highly likely.

[174] *iti lakṣapādādhike mahāsaṃhitāyāṃ dvādaśasāhasre vidyāpīṭhe matasāre trayoviṃśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.* NAK 3-379, f. 161v. Transcription courtesy of Somadeva VASUDEVA. I have understood *mahāsaṃhitāyāṃ* and *lakṣapādādhike* as co-referential, despite gender.

Chapter 3

Erotic Asceticism: The Razor's Edge Observance (*asidhārāvrata*) and the Early History of Tantric Coital Ritual[1]

एतच्च असिधारं तु दुश्चरं त्रिदशैरपि ।
"And this razor's edge observance is difficult even for the gods."

Brahmayāmala 40.33ab

3.1 Deconstructing "tantric sex"

The transnational reinvention of Tantra as "sacred sexuality" in contemporary popular culture has engendered a somewhat anemic response in scholarship.

[1]This chapter has been published in article form in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 79, 2 (2016): 329–45 (HATLEY 2016b). Minor modifications have been made in adapting this for the present book. I would like to thank Harunaga ISAACSON, Mrinal KAUL, Csaba KISS, James MALLINSON, and the editors and anonymous reviewer of the BSOAS for providing a number of valuable suggestions and corrections. I would also like to thank Jacob DALTON for inviting me to present a version of this chapter at a workshop, "The Evolution of Tantric Ritual" (Berkeley, March 2014). This provided an occasion to revise the paper, which was written in 2009.

While Indologists undoubtedly recognize how little New-Age "tantric sex" has to do with the tantric traditions practiced historically in Asia,[2] we have provided inadequate corrective in the form of detailed studies on sexuality in traditional tantric practice systems.[3] The present chapter represents a small contribution in this direction, analysing the history and practice of a coital ritual known as "the sword's edge observance" (*asidhārāvrata*).

By the early second millennium in India, tantric sexual practices had developed considerable variety. Without aspiring to be comprehensive, this may be illustrated by the following examples drawn from tantric literature:

1. First must be mentioned "love magic:" ritual technologies for winning the affection, or at least the submission, of a sexual partner. This is one of the major aims of rites for *ākarṣaṇa* ("attraction") and *vaśīkaraṇa* ("subjugation"). What makes these tantric are the techniques for acquiring a lover: the sexual acts themselves may or may not be ritualized. Love magic is ancient, and certainly predates the *tantras*.[4] It is a key theme in the Śaiva cult of Tripurasundarī, as illustrated by the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, one of its early scriptural sources.

2. The targets of love magic may include non-human and supernatural beings. In the Śaiva *tantra* corpus, one of the earlier and more colourful examples is a rite in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* by which one magically transforms a female goat or sheep (*ajā*) into a woman who "fulfills all of one's desires."[5] A more typical example is that of *yakṣiṇī-*

[2] By "tantric traditions," I refer to cults of a variety of deities in which texts known as *tantras* form the principal scriptural authorities. For the early-medieval period in India, these comprised mainly the Buddhist Mantranaya ("Mantra Method," including the Vajrayāna), Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra, and Śaiva Mantramārga ("Path of Mantras") and its offshoots; I refer to the later with the expression "Tantric Śaivism."

[3] Exceptions include the monographs of Miranda SHAW (1994), David WHITE (2003), and Loriliai BIERNACKI (2007). Among older works, Edward DIMOCK's (1966) is particularly noteworthy.

[4] On *ākarṣaṇa* and *vaśīkaraṇa*, and the history of Indian magic more generally, see Teun GOUDRIAAN (1978).

[5] *Guhyasūtra* 14.153: "Next, on either of the dark [nights], after fasting three nights, one takes hold of a ewe and smears its right ear with fresh butter. One should incant [the mantra] eight-thousand times before the southern image [i.e. face] of the deity. She becomes a beautiful woman and fulfills all of one's desires" (*atha kṛṣṇayor ekatamena trrātroṣito ajāṃ gṛhya dakṣiṇakarṇṇan navanītenābhyajya devasya dakṣiṇāyāṃ mūrttau aṣṭasahasraṃ japet | rūpavatī strī bhavati sā ca sarvakāmāṃ dadāti ||*).

sādhana, rites for mastering dryads (*yakṣiṇī*), who may provide erotic and other kinds of pleasure. *Yakṣiṇīsādhana* presumably has pre-tantric roots, and is described in a range of early Buddhist and Śaiva tantric texts, such as the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, and *BraYā*.[6]

3. A third, contrasting kind of tantric sexuality involves ritualized, orgasmic coitus wherein sexual fluids are given ritual function and meaning. This is exemplified by the *BraYā*'s rites for the male practitioner known as the *tālaka*, and his female partner, the *dūtī* ("consort") or *śakti* ("power").[7] Unlike the previous examples, these practices are highly choreographed and incorporated into a demanding disciplinary regimen. Though described from the male perspective, they are performed by a couple, both of whom have received tantric initiation.[8] Oriented towards the attainment of supernatural power, their coital rituals are virtuoso performances spanning long periods sequestered in a shrine or earthen chamber; in some cases these involve groups of women.[9] The gathered sexual fluids are both consumed and used as offerings to the deities. Although coitus is to be performed in a state of meditative concentration, gnosis and ecstasy are not otherwise emphasized.

4. Highly regulated coitus may form an element of the secret assembly or 'tantric feast' (*gaṇamaṇḍala*, *gaṇacakra*, etc.), as intimated in a number

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[6] *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Guhyasūtra* 10.81–84. This procedure, called *yakṣiṇīvidhi* (*yakṣiṇyā eṣa vidhiḥ*), involves worship of an image that comes to life when the rite is complete: "When mastered, she [says], 'what shall I do?' 'Be my wife'. He enjoys himself with her for the duration of the moon and stars" (*siddhā sā kiṃ karomīti bhāryā me bhavasveti | tayā saha ramate yāvad ācandratārakam*). The subsequent verse (10.84) provides means for making a wife of a snake goddess (*nāginī*). Cf. *Guhyasūtra* 14.83, which describes rites for subjugating female spirits—the *yakṣiṇī*, *piśācinī*, and *bhūtī*. For a study of *yakṣiṇīsādhana* in the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, see Miranda Shaw (2009); for a study of *yakṣiṇīsādhana* in the *Kakṣapuṭatantra*, see Chieko Yamano (2013). *Yakṣiṇīsādhana* is the topic of chapter 65 of the *BraYā*.

[7] The sexual practices of the *sādhaka* are examined in admirable detail by Csaba Kiss (2015). These rites are expounded primarily in chapters 22, 24 and 45 of the *BraYā*. See also Hatley (*forthcoming* a).

[8] Thus it is that the female practitioner is required to be knowledgeable in trance (*samādhi*), meditation (yoga), and scriptural doctrine (*jñāna*), and to be firm in her observances (45.188cd: *samādhijñātha yogajñā jñānajñā saṃśitavratā*).

[9] See *BraYā* 45.574–636 for a description of elaborate, protracted rituals performed by the male *sādhaka* and groups of seven or eight initiated women.

of Buddhist *Yoginītantras*, such as chapter eight of the *Saṃvarodaya*.[10] A Śaiva example is provided by the nocturnal "gathering of heroes" (*vīramelāpa*) described in the *Jayadrathayāmala*. While the gathering is in some respects tightly choreographed, the erotic acts are not: the Heroes and Yoginīs behave as impelled by the cosmic *śakti*. Some dance, laugh, leap, give voice to mantras or to poetry, or perform *mudrās*; others copulate, consuming the products thereof.[11] This unscripted sexuality takes on an ecstatic quality.

5. In another mode of tantric sexuality, coitus is integral to the ceremony of initiation. Within Śaiva traditions, this is exemplified by the *dūtīyāga* Abhinavagupta delineates in chapter twenty-nine of the *Tantrāloka*, wherein coitus is highly ritualized and has an ecstatic, gnostic emphasis.[12] Combining as it does the guru's performance of coitus with an esoteric Kaula initiation, this invites comparision to the higher Vajrayāna consecrations: the *guhyābhiṣeka* and *prajñājñānābhiṣeka* integral to initiation in most systems based on the *Yoginītantras*.[13]

6. Another variety of tantric coital ritual is represented by the sexual yogas of the completion stage (*utpannakrama*) in Vajrayāna *sādhana*, such as taught in chapter six of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*, or in the Yoga of Six Limbs (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) of the Kālacakra system.[14] While the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*'s completion stage involves copious, variegated coitus, in the latter, emphasis lies on interiority, gnosis, and the sublimation of bliss. Sexual union may be actual or performed through meditative visualization. (One might also mention visualizations of the deities involving erotic imagery as a distinct dimension of tantric sexual practice.)

7. Some sexual practices associated with the tantric traditions are markedly corporeal. A comparatively well-known, though misunderstood exam-

[10] A useful list of primary and secondary sources on the *gaṇacakra* is provided by Péter-Dániel Szántó (2014).

[11] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *ṣaṭka* IV, *vīratāṇḍavavidhikramapaṭala* vv. 5–30b (Sanderson 2007b: 284–87).

[12] For an annotated translation of this chapter, see Dupuche (2003).

[13] An erudite historical study of the higher consecrations is provided by Isaacson (2010), whose principal focus is the enigmatic "fourth empowerment" (*caturthābhiṣeka*).

[14] On the Kālacakra system's *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, see for instance Sferra (2000) and Wallace (2012).

ple is that of the haṭhayogic practice called *vajrolīmudrā*, recently studied by James MALLINSON (2018). Attested from the twelth or thirteenth century, this is a technique, he argues, by which the male practitioner learns to draw up liquids through the urethra with a tube, thereby attaining control over ejaculation; one may also, at least in theory, learn to draw sexual fluids back up into the body. *Vajrolīmudrā* thus facilitates sex without seminal loss. Haṭhayogic texts suggest that women too may practice this technique, the feasibility of which is unclear (ibid.).

These examples, which could be multiplied, intimate much of the range of erotic practice found in the tantric traditions, differing in procedure, aim, and premise, and emerging from multiple sectarian and historical contexts. "Tantric sex" is thus not a singular phenomenon, and clearer understanding of the history of tantric sexual practices requires detailed case studies. A final example forms the focus of the present chapter: a distinctive coital ritual known as "the sword's edge observance"—*asidhārāvrata*, *āsidhāraṃ vratam*, *khaḍgadhārāvrata*, or, in the less polished Sanskrit of the *BraYā* and some other sources, *asidhāravrata*. In brief, this is a practice in which the male practitioner exposes himself to various degrees of sexual temptation without fully consummating the act, maintaining sensory restraint. It seems to me that much can be learned concerning the early development of so-called "tantric sex" through historical examination of this practice, for, uniquely, its development can be traced through a range of orthodox Vedic, literary, Śaiva, and other texts. My study of the *asidhārāvrata* ensues directly from my effort to edit and contextualize chapter forty of the *BraYā*, published in the present volume—"The Chapter of the Sword's Edge Observance" (*asidhāravratapaṭala*), or, as I prefer to translate for reasons explained below, "The Chapter of the Razor's Edge Observance."

3.2 Traversing the razor's edge: asceticism, ritual, and metaphor

It has been proposed that "tantric sex" was, in its original form, principally a means for producing sexual fluids utilized as sacramental offerings to the goddesses.[15] Sexual fluids do figure prominently among the impure or "nondual"

[15] David WHITE (2003): 73–79. Venturing into considerably more speculative territory, WHITE, citing Dominique-Sila KHAN (1994), posits subaltern roots for such practices—and

substances (*advaitadravya*) offered to goddesses and/or consumed in ritual, as described in Śaiva *tantra*s of the Vidyāpīṭha,[16] especially the *BraYā*. Nonetheless, such an instrumental view of the role of sexuality in early tantric ritual systems seems unhelpful, given the variety and complexity of the rites attested. Moreover, coital practices in which sexual fluids were collected or consumed are unlikely to have historical precedence, for a sexual ritual significantly different in nature finds earlier attestation in Tantric Śaivism. This is the *asidhārāvrata*. Besides being the subject of chapter forty of the *BraYā*, this ritual is taught in the archaic *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (*Guhyasūtra* 3.38c–43b) and in another early *Siddhāntatantra*, the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* (*kriyāpāda* 11.41–53), as well as the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*ṣaṭka* I, 21) of the Vidyāpīṭha, as identified and discussed briefly by Alexis Sanderson (1985a: 565).

The *asidhārāvrata* attested in tantric literature appears likely to be an inflection of a Brāhmaṇical observance of the same name: a male ascetic discipline distinguished by maintenance of chastity while lying together with a sexually available woman. A number of references to the *vrata* in Sanskrit literary sources were noted in a brief article by Adolf Stenzler (1886). In the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. V.1, P. V. Kane (1974: 266) summarizes the discipline as follows (with abbreviations expanded):

> ...one has to sleep on bare ground, to bathe outside [the] house, eat food only in the night, to remain celibate even though sleeping in [the] wife's embrace, curb anger and be devoted to *japa* and *homa* to Hari. Different rewards according to length of time, the greatest being that after twelve years of this vrata the observer may secure the rulership of the world and on death become one with Janārdana. Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa III.218.1–25 quoted by Hemādri, Vrata section, II.825–827. The word means the vrata is as sharp or difficult as treading on the edge of a sword.

In its Brāhmaṇical variety, the *asidhārāvrata* is not hence a "sexual ritual" per

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indeed Tantra itself, which he opines "originated among a subaltern stratum of the Indian population that, lacking the means to procure the *dravyam*s of orthodox worship rites, made use of readily available human sexual fluids in its practice" (p. 67). As discussed in this chapter, the case of the *asidhārāvrata* instead suggests a degree of continuity between early Brāhmaṇical and tantric practices.

[16] For an overview of the Śaiva scriptural canon and discussion of the "Wisdom Mantra Corpus" (Vidyāpīṭha), a division of the "Tantras of Bhairava" (*Bhairavatantra*s), see Sanderson (1988).

se, but an ascetic discipline for men characterized by cultivation of dispassion in the presence of considerable temptation—perhaps not dissimilar to practices of a variety Mahatma Gandhi famously experimented with (Lal 2000), which have continued cultural resonance.[17]

The meaning of the observance's name and its relation to the practice are somewhat obscure. Remarking on *Raghuvaṃśa* 13.67, a verse mentioning the *asidhārāvrata*, Kālidāsa's commentator Dinakara states that it involves placing an actual sword (*asi*) in the bed of the chaste couple (presumably as a deterrent).[18] This idea is repeated by Bhavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Laghucakraśaṃvara*.[19] Adducing parallels from European folklore, Stenzler (1886: 525) suggests that there existed an ancient Indo-European custom in which a sword was placed between a couple observing chastity. While an intriguing possibility, it is difficult to assess its plausibility in the absence of early Indian evidence for the use of an actual sword. Mallinātha's interpretation of the name (also ad *Raghuvaṃśa* 13.67) is more in line with literary allusions to the *vrata* and descriptions of its procedure in most Sanskrit sources: "and this is called the 'edge of the sword observance' because of being comparable to walking along the edge of a sword" (*idaṃ cāsidhārācaṃkramaṇatulyatvād asidhārāvratam ity uktam*). The image conveys extreme difficulty as well as danger, both of which find echo in depictions of the observance: according to the *BraYā*, it is difficult even for the gods,[20] while the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* warns that, in its course, "one who becomes overpowered by lust goes to hell, assuredly."[21] In Sanskrit literature, the *asidhārāvrata* becomes metaphoric for a task of exceptional difficulty or precariousness. Both literally and figuratively, the image bears an affinity to the expressions "[on] the razor's edge" and "[on] a knife's edge," and

[17] In Deepa Mehta's film *Fire* (1996), for instance, the character Ashok observes such a practice with his wife as a test of his celibacy.

[18] "When a woman and man sleep on a single bed, observing celibacy, after placing a sword in the middle, this is the *asidhārāvrata*" (*ekasyām eva śayyāyāṃ madhye khaḍgaṃ nidhāya strīpuṃsau yatra brahmacaryeṇa śayāte tad asidhārāvratam*). Quoted by Stenzler (1886: 524).

[19] Commenting on 27.2cd (*dūtayo asidhāraṃ ca pavitraṃ puṇyavardhanam*; cf. *BraYā* 86.10cd), Bhavabhaṭṭa remarks, *dvayor madhye navaniśitaṃ khaḍgaṃ sthāpayitvā kamanīyakāminīśayyāśayanam asidhārāvratam* ("*asidhārāvrata* refers to a desirable man and passionate women laying on a bed after a newly whetted sword is placed between the two"). I am grateful to Christian Wedemeyer for drawing my attention to this passage (personal communication).

[20] *BraYā* 40.33ab (this chapter's epigraph).

[21] *Guhyasūtra* 3.40cd; see below.

I hence take the liberty of translating *asidhārāvrata* as "the razor's edge observance." The collocation echoes a well-known metaphor of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, which likens the difficulty of the path of spiritual knowledge to crossing a razor's sharp edge.[22]

It is unclear how old the *asidhārāvrata* is: KANE's summary is based on the description in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, which one thoughtful, if somewhat speculative interpretation would place in early eighth-century Kashmir (INDEN 2000: 81–84). A comparatively early reference, without elaboration, occurs in the *Vaikhānasagṛhyasūtra* in a description of the discipline of the *ghorācārika* householder;[23] KANE (1968: 260) places this text around the fourth century CE. Another early reference—potentially the earliest—occurs in the Buddhist *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which likens the difficulty of developing non-attachment to sensory objects to the *asidhāravrata*.[24] As mentioned, the *circa* fifth-century *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa also refers to the observance, to which is likened Bharata's refusal to indulge in royal splendor—the "lady royal fortune" (Śrī)—in deference to his absent elder brother, Rāma.[25] The image of a king's abstention from royal splendour/goddess Lakṣmī (*rājalakṣmī*) as an *asidhārā-*

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[22] *Kaṭhopaniṣad* I, 3.14: "Arise! Awake! Pay attention, when you've obtained your wishes! A razor's sharp edge is hard to cross—that, poets say, is the difficulty of the path" (translation of OLIVELLE 1996: 240) (*uttiṣṭhata jāgrata prāpya varān nibodhata | kṣurasya dhārā niśitā duratyayā durgaṃ pathas tat kavayo vadanti ||*).

[23] *Vaikhānasagṛhyasūtra*, Praśna 8, *khaṇḍa* 5 (translation of CALAND 1929: 187): "The Ghorācārika householder, observing his daily duties, sacrifices for himself but not for others, studies the Veda but does not teach it, bestows gifts but does not accept them; he lives by gleaning grains and, being solely absorbed in Nārāyaṇa, observes, performing at evening and morning the *agnihotra*, in the months of Mārgaśīrṣa and Jyaiṣṭha, the vow of the sword edge, and attends to his fires with fruits of the wild" (*ghorācāriko niyamair yukto yajate na yājayaty adhīte nādhyāpayati dadāti na pratigṛhṇāty uñchavṛttim upajīvati nārāyaṇaparāyaṇaḥ sāyaṃprātar agnihotraṃ hutvā mārgaśīrṣajyeṣṭhamāsayor asidhārāvrataṃ vanauṣadhibhir agniparicaraṇaṃ karoti*).

[24] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10.775: "Sense objects are not the cause of bondage; bondage to the sense objects is the cause. The afflictions (*kleśa*) must be destroyed by knowledge. This truly is a razor's edge observance" (*na bandhahetur viṣayā hetur viṣayabandhanam | jñānavadhyāni kleśāni asidhāravrato hy ayam ||*).

[25] *Raghuvaṃśa* 13.67: "[Bharata is one] who, though a young man, out of deference to me [Rāma] does not partake of the Lady Fortune (*śrī*) who sits on his lap, handed over by father. It is as though he were, for all these years, practicing the severe *asidhārāvrata* with her" (*pitrā visṛṣṭāṃ madapekṣayā yaḥ śriyaṃ yuvāpy aṅkagatām abhoktā | iyanti varṣāṇi tayā sahogram abhyasyatīva vratam āsidhāram ||*).

vrata finds echo in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (early seventh century),[26] while a tale of the *Pañcatantra* compares the difficulty of dwelling with an enemy to the observance.[27] These references suggest that the *asidhārāvrata* was well-known by the fifth century CE, though somewhat or significantly older than this, hence most probably predating most or all extant works of Tantric Śaiva literature.[28]

In addition, the *asidhārāvrata* seems to be the first tantric ritual attested which involves sexual contact. The earliest surviving account of a tantric *asidhārāvrata* belongs in all likelihood to the archaic *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (hereafter *Niśvāsa*), perhaps the most ancient extant Śaiva *tantra*; while its older portions could date to as early as the mid-fifth century C.E., the *Guhyasūtra*, in which occurs the *asidhārāvrata* (3.38c–43b), probably does not belong to this stratum of the text (GOODALL and ISAACSON 2007).[29] In the *asidhārāvrata* of the *Niśvāsa*, as well as the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* (hereafter *Mataṅga*), we find an ascetic observance for the cultivation of sensory restraint transformed into a Mantramārga technology for supernatural attainment (*siddhi*). In the tantric observance, a key premise remains, *viz.* maintaining sexual restraint in the face of temptation, but this is incorporated within a framework of mantra-practice and meditation. The *asidhārāvrata* of the *Niśvāsa* is as follows:[30]

> *ratisambhogakuśalāṃ rūpayauvanaśālinīm* ||38||
> *īdṛśīṃ striyam āsādya niruddhendriyagocaraḥ* |
> *cumbanāliṅganaṃ kuryāl liṅgaṃ sthāpya bhagopari* ||39||
> *japadhyānaparo bhūtvā asidhārāvrataṃ caret* |

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[26] *Harṣacarita* 2 (p. 111), in a description of the emperor: "though he was pledged to chastity, he was embraced by [the goddess] royal fortune; though sworn to the vow of clinging to the edge of a sword, he was a royal sage who did not break his pledge" (*gṛhītabrahmacaryam āliṅgitaṃ rājalakṣmyā, pratipannāsidhārādhāraṇavratam avisaṃvādinaṃ rājarṣim*).

[27] *Pañcatantra* III, 11 (the tale of the lion *kharanakhara*), prose following vv. 206 and 211.

[28] After the publication of the article on which this chapter is based, Roland STEINER (personal communication, May 2016) kindly brought to my attention a reference to the observance in *Mokṣopāya* VI, 89.75, as well as an essay by Martin STRAUBE (2009) with an insightful discussion of some references to the *vrata* (pp. 487–88).

[29] The *Mukhāgama* of the *Niśvāsa*, in a chapter describing lay religion (*laukikadharma*) and in a section mainly concerned with fasting, also mentions an observance akin to the non-tantric *asidhārāvrata*, though not named as such (3.57c–58b): "One who, together with his wife, practices the arduous celibacy observance would attain perfection in this world and the next; he will attain the ultimate destiny" (*brahmacaryavrataṃ kaṣṭaṃ yaś caret strīsamanvitaḥ* ||57|| *ihāmutra ca siddhyeta gatiṃ yāsyati cottamām* |).

[30] I cite the text of *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa* from the draft edition of GOODALL et al. (see bibliography).

yadi kāmavaśaṃ gacchet patate narake dhruvam ||40||
navātmakaṃ japel lakṣa ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ *siddhaye* |
abdaṃ ṣaṇmāsamātraṃ vā yaś cared vratam uttamam ||41||
tasya siddhiḥ prajāyeta adhamā madhyamottamā |
vratasthaḥ pañcalakṣāṇi punar japtvā tu sidhyate ||42||
sarve mantrāś ca siddhyante īpsitaṃ ca phalaṃ bhavet |

40cd °vaśaṃ gacchet patate] *conj.* (Goodall); °vaśaṃ cche patate Cod. 41b siddhaye] *conj.* (Goodall); –⟨ddh/dv⟩aye Cod. 42b °ottamā] *em.* (Goodall); °ottamāḥ Cod. 42c vratasthaḥ] *corr.* (Goodall); vratastha Cod.

"Skilled in the enjoyment of love, full of beauty and youth—after obtaining (*āsādya*) a woman like this, he should kiss and embrace her with his senses restrained. Placing the *liṅga* upon the vagina, and becoming focused on mantra-recitation and meditation (*dhyāna*), he should practice the razor's edge observance. Should he be overpowered by lust, he assuredly falls into hell. He should recite the Navātman-mantra one hundred-thousand times … for the sake of *siddhi*. One who would practice the preeminent observance for one year, or merely six months, obtains *siddhi* of the lowest, middling, or highest variety. Abiding in the observance, he attains *siddhi* after again reciting the mantra five-hundred thousand times. All mantras become perfected [for him], and the desired result would come about."

Occurring in the *Guhyasūtra* alongside rites harnessing such potent and impure materials as skulls, flesh, and menstrual fluid, the *asidhārāvrata* belongs to a corpus of ritual directed toward non-soteriological aims that presages the visionary ritual world of the *Bhairavatantras*. The *asidhārāvrata* of the *Mataṅga* too belongs to the ritual repertoire of the power-seeking *sādhaka* (Sanderson 1985a: 565), whose practices become the overriding concern in the *BraYā* and related sources.

With the tantric *asidhārāvrata*, the edge of the sword grew sharper. Descriptions of the observance in the *Niśvāsa*, *Mataṅga*, and *BraYā* all emphasize the erotic appeal required of the woman: she should be young, beautiful, and seductive. Moreover, the degree of physical intimacy goes beyond that envisioned in non-tantric versions of the rite. According to the *Niśvāsa*, the practitioner of the *vrata* does not merely lie in close proximity to the woman,

but must place his *liṅga* upon her genitals, though apparently without penetration (*liṅgaṃ sthāpya bhagopari*, 39d). The *Mataṅga* instructs that the *sādhaka* should adorn himself and behave seductively, though with a mind purified by yoga (11.42–43b).[31] He propositions a young woman who possesses the marks of auspiciousness, has not given birth, is skilled in the erotic arts, obedient, and so forth (vv. 43c–45). Without mentioning genital contact, it is said that the *sādhaka* should meditate on the mantras while in the woman's embrace, without ejaculation (vv. 46c–51).[32] The *BraYā* too enjoins kissing and embracing, but departs considerably by enjoining actual penetration (*liṅgaṃ tatra vinikṣipet*, 10d), though without orgasm (*kṣobha*). Absorbed in meditation (*dhyānaparāyaṇaḥ*, °*tatparaḥ*), he nonetheless goes through the motions of passionate lovemaking. While all three sources enjoin meditation in intimate contact with the woman, only the *BraYā*'s version unambiguously involves actual, though non-orgasmic coitus. Failure to control ejaculation is a ritual fault that requires arduous expiation, prior to re-commencing the observance (vv. 23–26).

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[31] The *asidhārāvrata* is described in *Mataṅga*, *kriyāpāda* 11.42–51:

bhrūbhaṅgasahitoktyā tu sālaṃkāraḥ sucarcitaḥ |
puṣpāyudhavikārais tu ceṣṭamāno 'jugupsitaḥ ||42||
mohayan bāhyavṛttena yogaśuddhena cetasā |
āhūyāvayavair bhadrair lakṣaṇaiḥ suśubhair yutām ||43||
subhagāṃ yauvanoddāmagarveṇa paramantharām |
sadācārakulotpannāṃ lālasāṃ priyavādinīm ||44||
aprasūtāṃ sadā kāntāṃ bhartuḥ śāsanatatparām |
śuklāmbaradharāṃ sādhvīṃ kāmaśāstrasupeśalām ||45||
vidyāṅgakṛtarakṣāṃ tu śṛṅgārakṛtabhūṣaṇām |
sarvaśuklopacāreṇa yaṣṭvā devaṃ trilocanam ||46||
carubhuk sādhakendras tu tasyās tejaḥpadaṃ hṛdi |
sādhyamantraṃ samuccārya mantram evānucintayet ||47||
nyastamantraḥ striyaṃ vidvān āśliṣyāṅgāni saṃsmaret|
svamantraṃ karṇikāsaṃsthaṃ yo 'yaṃ so 'ham iti sphuṭam ||48||
evamabhyasyatas tasya niścitasya kṛtātmanaḥ |
māsārdhena bhavet siddhir iti śāstre prabhāṣitam ||49||
abhīṣṭam āpnuyān mantrī phalaṃ mantrabaleraṇāt |
kṛtakṛtyena moktavyā yadi tasyā na rocate ||50||
rocate cet tataḥ siddhas tayā sārdhaṃ narottamaḥ |
krīḍate suciraṃ kālam aprakṣīṇabalaḥ sadā ||51||

In 51a, I follow MS. 'Ca' in reading *siddhas* rather than *siddhis*, the reading adopted by the editor.

[32] Following SANDERSON's (1985a: 565) interpretation of *aprakṣīṇabalaḥ*, 11.51d.

In addition to inflecting the observance by enjoining genital penetration, the *BraYā* provides an elaborate (if not always clear) description of the discipline, detailing how the coital rite is incorporated into a practitioner's demanding routine. It is possible that the redactors drew directly from the description of the *asidhārāvrata* in the *Niśvāsa*.[33] The actual sexual practices of the *BraYā*'s *asidhāravrata* chapter are described primarily in verses 40.8c–14b and 20–23. These follow a description of the qualities desired of the female partner, and precede a statement on the fruits of successful practice. I quote these passages, in translation (for the text and a discussion of its interpretation, see the edition and translation):

> Knowing the procedure, he should perform the external mantra-installation on her, placed at his left side, based on his own mantra-deity pantheon (*yāga*), on the body, excluding the hands. Likewise, he should accomplish the mantra-installation on himself, preceded by inner worship (*hṛdyāga*). [8c–9] After kissing and embracing, he should effect the external mantra-installation, [and] after mantra-installation on the consort's vulva, he should place her on a mat (*āsana*). After kissing and embracing, he should insert the *liṅga* there. [10] He should perform the mantra-recitation (*japa*) of the regular daily rites (*nitya*), the occasional ones (*naimittika*), [or] the rites with special aims (*kāmya*) in [a state of sexual] restraint (*avagraha*),[34] abiding in the state beyond regulated conduct (*nirācārapada*), absorbed in the ocean of the void. [11] If by mistake orgasm (*kṣobha*) should occur just spontaneously, without making it happen, the *sādhaka* should recite the mantra ten-thousand times, contemplating the true reality. [12] Gazing on the supreme reality, accompanied by kisses and embraces and lusty hisses, he should not engage in orgasm. [13] He should prompt (*prerayed*) an interruption of the ritual process for the daily wor-

[33]In particular, there are loose parallels between *BraYā* 40.10cd and *Guhyasūtra* 3.39cd, *BraYā* 40.12 and *Guhyasūtra* 3.40c–41a, and *BraYā* 40.27c–29b and *Guhyasūtra* 41c–42b. These passages of the *Guhyasūtra* are quoted as testimonia in the edition. That a direct relationship is possible is confirmed by the fact that at least one other passage in the *BraYā* derives from the *Niśvāsa*, while *BraYā* 39 appears to draw upon chapter four of the *Dīkṣottara* section of the *Niśvāsakārikā*; see the discussion in §1.9.1.

[34]On the technical term *avagraha*, see Kiss (2015: 48–49) and the annotation on *BraYā* 40.11 (note 20).

> ship (*āhnika*). [14b]
>
> ... Keeping silent, intent on meditation, the *mantrin* should observe separation from the consort. [Afterwards,] the *mantrin* should sleep together with her on the ground, always embracing each other, with amorous movements and so forth. [20–21b] They should always eat betel; they should engage in feeding it to each other. They should always sleep facing each other, never facing away. He should always prevent orgasm, remaining in the state beyond regulated conduct (*nirācāra*). [21c–22] [If the fluid] is spilled by itself, a wise one should do ten-thousand mantra-recitations. [If] he reaches orgasm intentionally, he should perform expiation ritual (*prāyaścitta*). [23]

Unlike the cases of the *Niśvāsa* and *Mataṅga*, coitus forms an integral rather than marginal element of the *BraYā*'s ritual system, although its practice is restricted primarily to the highest of three grades of *sādhaka*—the *tālaka*. Besides the *asidhāravratapaṭala*, the *BraYā*'s most detailed treatments of coital ritual occur in chapters 22 and 24 (both entitled *guhyāmṛtapaṭala*, "chapter of the secret nectar"), as well as chapter 45: the *sādhakādhikārapaṭala*, which delineates the disciplines of *sādhaka*s in considerable detail. In these accounts, ritual coitus is orgasmic, while the conjoined male-female sexual fluids—the "secret nectar" (*guhyāmṛta*) or *picu*—are among the most important substances utilized in ritual. In the context of the *BraYā*, the *asidhāravrata*'s focus upon ascetic mastery of sexual arousal and abjuration of orgasm are hence anomalous. This might explain why even the *sādhaka* known as the *carubhojin* ("consumer of the oblation gruel") may practice the *asidhāravrata*, though his discipline otherwise excludes coitus.[35] Within the *BraYā*, the *asidhāravrata* appears somewhat marginal, and the observance finds meager attestation in subsequent Tantric Śaiva systems. Abhinavagupta, for instance, makes reference to the *asidhārāvrata* (or *khaḍgadhārāvrata*) only in passing, and apparently viewed it as a form of penance (*tapas*) not specifically tantric in character.[36] It perhaps became obsolete with the development of coital ritual of the varieties emphasized elsewhere in the *BraYā*, as well as subsequent Kaula practices more ecstatic and gnostic in orientation. Nonetheless, given its historical priority, this observance may have

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[35] *BraYā* 40.31. My understanding of the text's threefold typology of *sādhaka*s has been improved considerably by Csaba Kiss's (2015) work on this subject.

[36] *Tantrāloka* 8.302ab (on which see below) and 15.541 (quoting the *Traiśirasa*).

had a profoundly important role in the development of "tantric sex," and has continuity with a range of later practices emphasizing seminal retention.[37] It is evident also that, despite the paucity of depictions of the observance in post-eleventh century tantric sources, the practice is not unknown in contemporary times.[38]

As should be apparent, the *asidhārāvrata* is depicted as a practice performed *by* a man, *with* a woman; he is the ritual agent, and the rite primarily or exclusively benefits him. She is represented more or less as a ritual object. According to the *Niśvāsa* and *Mataṅga*, the woman is selected on the basis of her erotic appeal, and there is no indication that she receives any kind of initiation. While the *sādhaka* purportedly aims for and may attain occult mastery, she is portrayed as desiring nothing more than coitus. In the words of the *Mataṅga*, "His aim accomplished, he should let her go, if she does not like [the practice]. Should she like [it], then that excellent man, who has attained *siddhi*, sports with her for a long time, without ever losing his seed."[39] The position of the woman in the *BraYā*'s *asidhāravrata* is more complex. Generally, the text envisions both participants in coital rituals as initiated practitioners, and provides evidence for the involvement of women in a variety of ritual capacities.[40] Women participating in sexual ritual are designated by the terms *śakti* ("power") and *dūtī* ("consort"), though only the former occurs in the *asidhāravratapaṭala*. In many ways the role of the woman in the *BraYā*'s *asidhāravrata* is similar to that of the *Niśvāsa* and *Mataṅga*. The description of her desired qualities heavily emphasizes erotic appeal, and there are no statements indicating that she benefits from the ritual. Her lack of ritual agency is illustrated by the exclusion of her hands from mantra-installation (*nyāsa*; v. 9ab), while her body and her vulva—objects of ritual action—do receive *nyāsa*. However, after the evening meal, they perform ritual together (the *nityavrata*, 18cd), an indication that here, as elsewhere in the text, both practitioners must be initiates.

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[37]Notably, Mallinson (2018) sees the *asidhārāvrata* as a practice belonging to the "same yogic paradigm" as the *vajrolīmudrā*.

[38]It is noteworthy that several former devotees of Swami Muktananda, the late guru of Siddha Yoga, have disclosed troubling first-hand accounts of their experiences with the Swami practicing what appears to be a version of the tantric *asidhārāvrata*. See especially Harris 1994; and http://www.leavingsiddhayoga.net/Radha_story.htm (accessed Sept. 2010).

[39]*kriyāpāda* 11.50c–51b (quoted above in note 31).

[40]On the *BraYā*'s representations of women and their ritual roles, see Hatley (*forthcoming* a).

3.3 A hypothesis on the early development of Śaiva coital ritual

While the record is fragmentary, it seems quite possible that the sexual rituals of early Vidyāpīṭha *Bhairavatantra*s, such as the *BraYā*, developed directly out of a tradition of ritual experimentation with sexuality represented by the *asidhārāvrata* of early *Siddhāntatantra*s—the *Niśvāsa* and the *Mataṅga*. A Kashmirian author, Takṣakavarta, in fact reports the existence of a Saiddhāntika lineage having this *vrata* as its characteristic practice, intimating the kind of context in which ritual experimentation with eroticism might have taken place.[41] Should this hypothesis prove correct, it suggests that the razor's edge proved sharp indeed, the *asidhārāvrata* leading to the development of coital practices more "magical" or ecstatic in orientation than ascetic.

In closing, I would like to propose an additional possibility: that the early Mantramārga or tantric *asidhārāvrata* represents the adaptation of the observance as it was practiced within the Śaiva Atimārga—Pāśupata and related, more radical Brāhmaṇical Śaiva ascetic orders that Sanderson (2006a) has demonstrated were formative to the development of Tantric Śaivism. One indication of this possibility lies in a list of seven *caryāvrata*s ("disciplinary observances") for celibate neophytes (*brahmacārin*s) found in the *Svacchandatantra* and a handful of other sources.[42] While occurring in the context of a description of orthodox Vaidika disciplines, the list betrays a Śaiva, and probably Atimārga, orientation. One of the observances, the *unmattakavrata* ("madman observance"), is a characteristic discipline of the Lākula sect of the Atimārga (Sanderson 2006a: 209), while the names of four others identify them as Śaiva: *bhauteśa* ("of [Śiva as] lord of spirits"), *pāśupatya* ("of Paśupati," or perhaps "of the Pāśupatas"), *gāṇa* ("of [Śiva's] *gaṇa*s"), and *gāṇeśvara* ("of [Śiva's] *gaṇa*-lords). What remain are the "lord of ghee [i.e. Agni] observance" (*ghṛteśavrata*) and the *asidhāravrata*, the context suggesting by association that

[41] Sanderson (1985a: 565) remarks that "The Kashmirian Takṣakavarta quotes Saiddhāntika scripture to the effect that this *asidhārāvrata* is the characteristic practice of the *kuṭikāḥ*, the 'brahmacārins' of the Śikhāgocara," citing the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati* (Bodleian Library, MS Stein Or. d. 47, f. 119r–119v).

[42] *Svacchandatantra* 10.391–92b: *bhauteśaṃ pāśupatyaṃ ca gāṇaṃ gāṇeśvaraṃ tathā | unmattakāsidhāraṃ ca ghṛteśaṃ saptamaṃ viduḥ* ||391|| *saptaitāni tu dṛṣṭāni vratāni brahmacāriṇām* |. Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 10.426c–428. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha quotes a similar passage ad *Mṛgendratantra, kriyāpāda* 8.161, attributing it to the *Pārameśvaratantra*.

these too were practices of Śaiva brahmin ascetics. That similar Atimārga ascetic observances (*vratacaryā*) found their way into the Mantramārga or Tantric Śaivism has been demonstrated in the case of the *rudravrata* taught in *Mataṅga, caryāpāda* 9 (Sanderson 2006a, 202–208).

Further indication of Atimārga engagement in the *asidhārāvrata* is found in a passage of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* (8.300b–302) and the commentary of Jayaratha. These cite the lost *Śivatanuśāstra* of Bṛhaspati, a Saiddhāntika exegete who wrote between approximately 650 and 750 c.e.[43] Abhinavagupta attributes to the *Śivatanu* the view that practitioners of modes of ascetic discipline which include the skullbearer's observance (*kapālavrata*) and razor's edge observance (*khaḍgadhārāvrata*) ascend thereby to a hierarchy of heavenly realms at the level of the *māyātattva*, over which Ananta presides.[44] In elaborating, the commentator Jayaratha adduces a passage in *āryā* meter from the *Śivatanu* describing *vrata*s of Śaiva brahmin ascetics devoted to Vāmadeva and an unusual series of *rudra*s. Of the fifth group is said the following: "They make themselves attractive with garlands, [fine] clothing, and ornaments, and are devoted to performing the razor's edge observance; meditating, they attain to the state of [the *rudra*] Pūrva."[45] Headed as the list is by votaries of the Atimārga

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[43] On Bṛhaspati and citations of the *Śivatanu* preserved in the *Tantrāloka* and its commentary, see Sanderson (2006b); see also Acri (2011).

[44] *Tantrāloka* 8.300b–302: "The series Vāmadeva, etc., taught in the *Śrīmālinīvijayottara* as being at [the levels of] *puruṣa*, etc., are in fact said in the *Śivatanu* to be at the *māyātattva*, up to Ananta. [Those who] practice the skullbearer's observance, make oblations of their own limbs, practice severe *tapas*, are entirely without fear, [or who] follow the sword's edge observance: knowing their respective cosmological spheres, they attain, in due sequence, to that cosmological sphere [within Māyā] where it is said Ananta is lord" (*vāmādyāḥ puruṣādau ye proktāḥ śrīpūrvaśāsane* ||300|| *te māyātattva evoktās tanau śaivyām anantataḥ* | *kapālavratinaḥ svāṅgahotāraḥ kaṣṭatāpasāḥ* ||301|| *sarvābhayāḥ khaḍgadhārāvratās tattattvavedinaḥ* | *kramāt tat tattvam āyānti yatreśo 'nanta ucyate* ||302||).

[45] The passage from the *Śivatanu* quoted in *Tantrālokaviveka* ad *Tantrāloka* 8.301c–2b is as follows:

> ***tattattvavedinaḥ*** *iti vāmādisāyujyabhājaḥ ityarthaḥ* | *tad uktam:*
>
> *jñātajñeyā viprāḥ kāpālavratabhṛto vigatasaṅgāḥ* |
> *bhasmopalepaniṣṭhā vrajanti vāmasya sāyujyam* ||
> *upalabdhavedanīyā atibhīmapadepsavo nijaśirobhiḥ* |
> *svayamullūnair iṣṭvā bhaimaṃ gacchanti tad dhāma* ||
> *vihitograyogavidhayo ye dhīrā duṣkare tapasy ugre* |
> *dhyāyanty ugram ajasraṃ te 'pi labhante guṇān augrān* ||
> *vijñāya bhavaṃ devaṃ bhītānām abhayadānasaṃsiddhāḥ* |
> *bhavapadam ārohante* [em.; *ārohanto* Ed.] *dhyānāhitacetaso viprāḥ* ||

kapālavrata, and linked as the practitioners are to attainment of a 'lesser' liberation at the cosmological level of *māyātattva*, the passage seems intended to describe Atimārga practices.[46] While inconclusive, this provides further indication that the *asidhārāvrata* was practiced by Śaivas brahmin ascetics of the Atimārga. From this mid-first millennium context, the observance may have been adapted within the Mantramārga at the level of the early *Siddhāntatantras*, represented by the *Niśvāsa* and *Mataṅga*, and thence into the *Bhairavatantras*, thereafter becoming increasingly obsolete with the rise of sexual practices more magical, ecstatic, or gnostic in orientation.

> *sragvastrālaṅkārair abhirāmaṃ rūpam ātmanaḥ kṛtvā |*
> *asidhārāvrataniṣṭhāḥ pūrvapadaṃ dhyāyino yānti || iti ||*
>
> "*Tattattvavedinaḥ* means, 'those fit to attain proximity to Vāmadeva, etc.' This is stated [in the *Śivatanuśāstra*]:
>
> 'Brahmins who know what is to be known, carrying out the skullbearer's observance, devoid of attachment, devoted to smearing themselves with ash, attain proximity to Vāmadeva. Those who have realized what is to be experienced, desiring the state of the very terrible one, offer sacrifice of their own heads, which they cut off themselves, and attain to that abode of Bhīma. [Others,] who have performed the procedures for union with Ugra, steadfast in difficult, severe *tapas*, perpetually meditating upon Ugra, also obtain the qualities of Ugra. Those brahmins who have understood the god Bhava, perfected in granting protection to the fearful, with their minds immersed in meditation, ascend to the state of Bhava. [Others] make themselves attractive with garlands, [fine] clothing, and ornaments, and are devoted to performing the razor's edge observance; meditating, they attain to the state of [the *rudra*] Pūrva'."

Pūrva appears synonymous with Śarva, for the latter name appears in the corresponding position of another verse adduced by Jayaratha, presumably from the *Śivatanu*, ad *Tantrāloka* 8.300.

[46] Cf. representations in texts of the Mantramārga of Atimārga liberation, and the worlds and deities of the *māyātattva*, as analysed by Sanderson (2006a: 169–78).

Chapter 4

The Origins of the Skull and Skull-staff: Kāpālika Accoutrements and the Great Vow in Myth and History

एतत्पुरा महादेवि देवैश्चीर्णम्महाव्रतम् ।
ततो मृत्युजरान्त्यक्त्वा मन्त्रसिद्धिपराङ्गताः ॥

"Of old did the gods carry out the Great Vow, O Mahādevī. After this they became free of death and old age, and attained the utmost mastery of mantras."

Brahmayāmala 83.179

4.1 Introduction

In the beginning, Bhairava appeared before Brahmā and Viṣṇu adorned with their remains. He bore Brahmā's skull and wore ornaments made from the bones of Viṣṇu, while wielding a trident-topped skull-staff fashioned from the corpse of an *asura*. These objects and their tales form the subject of chapter eighty-three of the *BraYā*,[1] entitled "The Origins of the Skull and Skull-

[1] The problem of this chapter's numbering is discussed in §1.5.

staff" (*kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpatti*). Thematically, this has two intertwined concerns: the iconography and ritual meanings of the skull-bowl (*kapāla*) and skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*), and the mythic origins of their divine prototypes, borne by Bhairava as Mahākāla, the archetypal mortuary ascetic (*kapālin*) and votary of the Great Vow (*mahāvrata*). The chapter begins with a heavily lacunose exposition of skull-rites (*kapālasādhana*). This is followed by three narrative sequences, interspersed with teachings on the ritual and iconography of mortuary paraphernalia.

This chapter and the subsequent two study *BraYā* 83 from various perspectives. In the present chapter, I examine the *BraYā*'s narratives in the context of related tales in the *purāṇa*s and Śivadharma corpus, and within the *BraYā*'s own cultic framework. Chapter 5 is an excursus on the *Devīpurāṇa*'s adaptation of the tale of Khaṭvāsura from *BraYā* 83. Chapter 6, for its part, will examine the *BraYā*'s representation of the skull-staff in light of both the textual and material records.

4.1.1 An overview of *Brahmayāmala* 83

As discussed in §1.5, *BraYā* 83 is incomplete, with its initial portion lost. In the old manuscript, the chapter's narratives commence on folio 300 *verso* with the Goddess's question, "Whence did the skull and skull-staff originate, O Maheśvara?"[2] This folio is heavily damaged, while the preceding two are missing altogether; moreover, none of the missing text is transmitted in other manuscripts. Before the narrative starts, folio 300 contains fragmentary instructions on the preparation of magical substances and the empowerment of a skull-vessel.[3] This might have belonged to chapter 82, which commenced on a missing folio, though the contents of folio 300 may belong entirely to chapter 83.[4] From folio 301 onwards, chapter 83 is intact. This is fortuitous, for it contains unique material. Its detailed description of the *khaṭvāṅga*, alongside chapter 4's descriptions of skull-vessels and other paraphernalia, make the *BraYā* invaluable

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[2] *kasmiṃ kapālam utpannam khaṭvāṅgañ ca maheśvara* (*BraYā* 83.30ab, as reconstructed; see the edition).

[3] The practice is called *kapālasādhana*, "rite of mastery of the skull," in 83.24cd (*kapālasādhanenāyaṃ dvitīya iva bhairavaḥ*). Though the damaged text on folio 300 (*recto* and *verso*) is difficult to reconstruct, it has close parallels in *BraYā* 66, the "section on mastery of magical pills" (*guḍikāsādhanādhikāra*).

[4] That is to say, chapter 82's colophon may or may not have been lost due to damage on line 3 of *f.* 300*v*; see the discussion in §1.5.

for studying tantric mortuary (*kāpālika*) ritual and material culture. The narratives are no less valuable, for these allow study of intertextuality between an early *tantra*, the Śivadharma corpus, and several *purāṇas*. Far more so than prescriptive text, these narratives provide windows into the ways in which the tradition articulated a distinctive religious vision.

Chapter 83 of the *BraYā* is devoted essentially to the *mahāvrata*, the "Great Vow" of the skullbearer. This antinomian ascetic observance was distinctive to the Atimārga Śaivism of the Lākula (or Kālamukha) and Kāpālika (or Somasiddhānta) ascetic orders, whose own texts appear almost entirely lost.[5] These are the traditions which SANDERSON, in his recent work,[6] refers to as "Atimārga II" and "Atimārga III," respectively (with the Pāśupatas representing Atimārga I). The *BraYā* provides extensive and comparatively early evidence for the Mantramārga or "tantric" adaptation of the *mahāvrata*, whose practice is described in chapter twenty-one and elsewhere.[7] These prescriptive accounts of the *mahāvrata* are complemented by *BraYā* 83's narrative and iconographical material, which together make the *BraYā* an important source for study of the *mahāvrata*.

The *BraYā* weaves together multiple mythic themes in narrating the origins of Bhairava's skull and skull-staff, reshaping tales attested in numerous *purāṇas*. One of these concerns the "Origin of the Lingam" (*liṅgodbhava*), a variant upon a well-known theme in which Śiva manifests himself before Brahmā and Viṣṇu as an immeasurable column of light, thus demonstrating his status as supreme deity. While in classical sources such as the *Śivadharmaśāstra* this serves as the founding myth for veneration of the lingam (*liṅgārcana*), in the *BraYā* it serves as the prelude to Bhairava's fashioning of the primordial *khaṭvāṅga* from the body of Khaṭvāsura. A third story concerns the severing of Brahmā's fifth head: the origin of the skull which Śiva (as Rudra or Bhairava) bears as his alms-vessel. The chapter may be summarized as follows:[8]

> The narrative begins with a lacunose passage on cosmology (30–

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[5]On the Atimārga and Lākulas, see SANDERSON (2006; 2014b). See also BAKKER (2014: 137–53) for a wide-ranging discussion of the history and sectarian diversity of the Atimārga.

[6]This terminology appears in SANDERSON (2014b), as well as several lecture handouts the author has made available on academia.edu (https://oxford.academia.edu/AlexisSanderson).

[7]See the discussion of TÖRZSÖK (2011). For an edition and analysis of *BraYā* 21, see KISS (2015).

[8]Omitting the damaged *kapālasādhana* section at the beginning (which might potentially belong to the previous chapter).

36). At the end of a *parārdha*, a span of time in the order of 100,000 trillion years, Bhairava incinerates the universe, then decorates himself with the skulls of embodied beings. Seeing the devastation, and his horrific form, the world-lords declare him to be Kāleśvara, Lord of Time; Kapālīśa, Lord of the Skull; and Bhairava, the Fearsome, etc. (37–49). He reposes in the state of yogic sleep (*yoganidrā*). At the end of another *parārdha*, the time comes for a new creation, and he creates a golden [egg] in the palm of his hand, an abode for living beings. Therein he casts Brahmā, made from *sattva* guṇa, and Viṣṇu, of *rajas*. Impelled by *tamas*, they enter into an argument over who is greater, coming to blows (50–69b).

Seeing the destruction caused by their battle, the lord manifests between them as an immeasurable column of light, of which they can find neither bottom nor top (69c–78). The two gods offer homage. Pleased, Bhairava appears before them, blazing, fanged, adorned with bones, with a snake as his sacred thread, bearing a human skull and skull-staff. Transfixed in fear, the gods ask about his *vrata*: "What is this strange form of yours? What is this radiant trident that shines in the firmanent? Whose head is in the palm of your hand?" (79–88).

Bhairava explains: "O Nārāyaṇa, these are your bones, and those of the gods who rule the worlds (*bhuvaneśvaras*)." He tells of how, at the time of universal destruction, he slew the wicked demon Khaṭvāsura. From Khaṭvāsura's body, his *aṅga*, Bhairava fashioned a great adamantine (*vajramaya*) weapon, which is hence called the *khaṭvāṅga*. He gives boons to Brahmā and Viṣṇu (89–98). In its different parts, the *khaṭvāṅga* contains the entire hierarchy of ontic levels (*tattva*) from earth to *paramaśiva*; it contains all deities as well, from Ananta at the base to the Three Śaktis in the prongs of the trident. In the fashioning of the *khaṭvāṅga*, Khaṭvāsura attains salvation. "One who truly knows the tale of the skull-staff's origin attains to the world of Brahmā" at death (119). An initiated person who bears the *khaṭvāṅga* attains *siddhi* (99–121). The measurements of the *khaṭvāṅga* are described. It may be constructed from a variety of woods or metals. One who carries the

> *khaṭvāṅga* is not stained by sins (122–37b).
>
> Brahmā presides over the skull, and the *śakti*s are present there on account of its origin. Once, the radiance of Brahmā's fifth head came to envelop the world. The gods appealed to the deity, who manifested as the fearsome, blazing Mahākāla on the banks of the Gandhavatī river. He severed Brahmā's effulgent head with a nail of his left hand, took it up, and danced away to where Viṣṇu sat in yoga (137c–49). Bhairava asked for alms; Viṣṇu held out his arm, which Bhairava pierced with his trident. A fountain of blood gushed forth into the skull, shaking the earth. He covered the skull with his left hand and shook the blood for a thousand divine years—hence his name Manthānabhairava ("Bhairava the Churner") (150–59). When he gazed inside, within his shadow were born myriad *yoginī*s and *vīra*s, Caṇḍā Kāpālinī, Raktā, etc. Bhairava, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā paid reverence to the deities. Since the *śakti*s were born from Brahmā's skull, Viṣṇu's blood, and Bhairava's gaze, the skull always brings about the goddesses' presence. Worshipping the skull, one worships the goddesses; violating it, one breaks the initiatory pledges. The Gāyatrī, etc., are present in the skull, which purifies any food placed within (160–70).
>
> The deities Īśvara and so forth preside over the ornaments of bone worn on the throat, ears, arms, waist, etc.[9] The *śakti*s are presiding deities of the matted locks. Anyone who understands this is like Śiva, and attains the highest state. Of old, the gods performed this Great Vow (*mahāvrata*) and attained immortality. Indra defeated the *daitya*s, Viṣṇu gained his discus, and Brahmā learned the Vedas. The *mātṛ*s, *yoginī*s, etc. also performed the *mahāvrata*, as should anyone desiring *siddhi* (171–86).

Distinguishing this chapter is the manner in which it weaves together two well-known stories: that of Śiva's manifestation as a radiant, immeasurable lingam, humbling Brahmā and Viṣṇu (*liṅgodbhava*); and Brahmā's decapitation (*brahmaśiraścheda*), i.e. the Skull of Brahmā (*brahmakapāla*) myth. As popular as the two tales were, it was not typical to weave them together. On the other hand, a number of key concerns in purāṇic tales on these

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[9] I.e. the Five Insignia (*pañcamudrāḥ*).

themes are absent from the *BraYā*, and a little-known tale is inserted between them: that of the obscure Khaṭvāsura. In what follows I analyse the *BraYā*'s narratives thematically and historically, reading them alongside a number of purāṇic and other texts: the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Mukhāgama* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (hereafter *Niśvāsamukha*), the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, the original *Skandapurāṇa*, the *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Vāmanapurāṇa*, *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā*, *Devīpurāṇa*, *Liṅgapurāṇa*, and the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa*. I build upon Phyllis Granoff's studies of Brahmā's beheading (2004, 2009), the second of which in fact takes into consideration the *BraYā*; and Nirajan Kafle's (2013) recent study of the "Origin of the Lingam" theme in erstwhile little-known Śaiva sources, including the *BraYā*.[10] I begin with a discussion of the relationship between chapter 83 of the *BraYā* and chapter three of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which it may draw from. After delineating their convergences, I analyse the *BraYā*'s narrative in relation to a wider range of purāṇic narratives. Chapter 5 resumes this analysis, examining the incorporation of material from *BraYā* 83 into the *Devīpurāṇa*'s tale-cycle of Khaṭvāsura.

4.2 The *Brahmayāmala*'s adaptation of the Origin of the Lingam (*liṅgodbhava*) myth

4.2.1 The *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the Origin of the Lingam

Chapter (*adhyāya*) three of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* preserves a comparatively early version of the 'Origin of the Lingam' (*liṅgodbhava*) tale. I would suggest that the redactors of the *BraYā* have in part modelled their narrative upon this, directly or indirectly. While it was not their only source of inspiration, the influence appears substantial. This debt is not unique, for numerous other tellings on this theme seem likewise indebted to the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

The *Śivadharmaśāstra* is likely the earliest text of what has come to be called the "Śivadharma corpus," a collection of early-medieval treatises on the lay (i.e. non-initiatory) form of the Śaiva religion.[11] It has been attributed to the fifth

[10] It should be mentioned that the chapter and verse numbers I now use for the *BraYā*'s *kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpattipaṭala* differ from those given by Granoff (2009) and Kafle (2013), who read from a provisional, flawed transcription I had provided them some years before I edited the chapter.

[11] On this collocation and the texts so designated, which are transmitted together in several

to seventh centuries or even earlier,[12] and may predate the *BraYā* and much other early tantric Śaiva literature. While an edition has been printed in Nepal, this is based on comparatively recent manuscripts in a redaction which differs substantially from the text transmitted in early palm-leaf manuscripts. Kafle (2013), who makes this observation, has recently published a new edition of *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.1–18 utilizing the early manuscripts. Possible signs of archaism in this chapter include its unembellished narrative and thematic cohesion: the tale solely concerns the lingam, without extraneous material, allusions to other tales, or loose ends. It follows upon a chapter concerned with lingam veneration. The narrative (3.1–12) is brief: when all was but a singular ocean, a dispute arose between Brahmā and Viṣṇu, each considering himself supreme. To quell their pride and awaken them, the Lord manifested as an immeasurable, radiant lingam. Astonished, they went upwards and downwards to seek its end, failing to find which they payed homage. They perceive an ineffable, subtle lingam within the vast one. Pleased, Śiva grants them the boon of being creators. Thus originates the Śivaliṅgam, first worshipped by Brahmā and Viṣṇu, then gods, *asuras*, and sages. At the end of a cosmic cycle all deities merge into the lingam, whence they come forth again at creation (13–18). The subsequent section (3.22–41) describes the myriad lingams various beings worshipped to become deities, while the chapter's remaining verses expound the fruits of linga-worship.

A number of points of intersection suggest, when taken as a whole, that chapter 83 of the *BraYā* draws upon *Śivadharmaśāstra*, chapter 3, perhaps via an unidentified intermediary source. These chapters of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *BraYā* share similar themes and titles: the "Origin of the Lingam" (*liṅgotpattir nāma tṛtīyo 'dhyāyaḥ*) and "Origins of the Skull and Skull-staff" (*kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpattiḥ paṭalaḥ*), respectively.[13] Most verses of *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.1–23, and

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Nepalese codices, see Bisschop (2006: 27–28; 2010: 485–86); Sanderson (2014b: 2–4); and Bakker (2014: 9–10). For a brief study and summary of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, see Hazra (1952–53).

[12] Hazra (1952–53), one of the first scholars to study the text, suggested 200–500 c.e. Bakker (2014: 9–10) has recently opined that the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is more or less contemporaneous to the *Skandapurāṇa*, and hence may date to the sixth century. Cf. Bisschop (2010: 483 [n. 34]), who suggests the sixth to seventh centuries.

[13] While this is a trivial point of convergence, it is potentially noteworthy that the collocation *liṅgotpatti* ("origin of the lingam") seems uncommon beyond the Śivadharma corpus: *purāṇas* typically use the expression *liṅgodbhava*. Exceptions include the *liṅgotpattikathanam* ("tale of the origin of the lingam") of *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* I, 27.

a number of subsequent verses, have echoes in scattered passages of *BraYā* 83. The similarities are greatest between *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.2–10 and *BraYā* 83.73–78 (as well as other stray verse-quarters), as compiled in table 4.1.[14] Even here, the parallels are more on the level of content than exact wording, and suggest indirect inspiration rather than direct copying. A number of the verses with similarities also have parallels in various *purāṇa*s.

Clearer indications of influence emerge through analysis of the chapters' structures and themes. The texts' aetiological narratives share in a cosmological vision of their cult objects, and the *BraYā*'s representation of the *khaṭvāṅga* may have been inspired by the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s depiction of the lingam. According to the latter, at the end of an eon (*kalpa*) all deities, indeed all beings merge into the lingam, hence its name (*ālayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ līyanāl liṅgam ucyate*, 17cd). This common etymology is echoed in *BraYā* 83.43. The base of the lingam is earth, the lingam itself the firmament (*ākāśa*). Into its right side (or perhaps face?) is absorbed Brahmā, into the left Viṣṇu; into the 'heart,' the Gāyatrī, on top, the Vedas and ancillaries, and into its body (*jaṭhara*), the entire cosmos (*jagatsthāvarajaṅgama*)—whence it re-emerges, beginning with Brahmā.[15]

In the *BraYā*, the Origin of the Lingam tale serves primarily as a prelude to the origins of the skull-staff. In adapting the tale to its purposes, the *BraYā* transfers the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s trope of the lingam's cosmogonic power to the body of Bhairava (83.40–43), whose awesome form displaces the lingam from the narrative from verse 82. The image of the lingam as embodiment of the cosmos and all divine beings, however, shifts primarily to the *BraYā*'s skull-staff (83.99–117). Its representation differs substantially from the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s lingam, for the skull-staff embodies a tantric, Mantramārga vision of cos-

[14] The text of *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.1–18 follows the edition of Kafle (2013); I cite other verses from Cambridge manuscript ADD 1645/26, with minor corrections enclosed in angle brackets. The numbering of verses is adjusted to Kafle's edition (whose edition includes two verses, 3.12–13, absent from this manuscript).

[15] *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.16–19: *kalpānte tasya liṅgasya līyante sarvadevatāḥ | dakṣiṇe līyate brahmā vāme viṣṇuḥ sanātanaḥ ||16|| hṛdaye caiva gāyatrī sarvavedottamottamā | mūrdhni tiṣṭhanti vai vedāḥ saṣaḍaṅgapadakramāḥ ||17|| jaṭhare līyate sarvaṃ jagat sthāvarajaṅgamam | punar utpadyate tasmād brahmādyaṃ sacarācaram ||18|| ākāśaṃ liṅgam ity āhuḥ pṛthivī tasya pīṭhikā | ālayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ līyanāl liṅgam ucyate ||19||*. On this theme of all deities inhering in the lingam, cf. *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Guhyasūtra* 19.1–2: *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi lakṣaṇaṃ tu śivālaye | sthāpanaṃ caiva liṅgasya yasmin sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam ||1|| brahmādyā devatāḥ sarvā liṅgam āśritya saṃsthitāḥ | tasmād vai sthāpayel liṅgaṃ śāstradṛṣṭena karmaṇā ||2||* (text as quoted by Goodall [*forthcoming*]).

Table 4.1: Similarities in the 'Origin of the Lingam' narratives of *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3 and *Brahmayāmala* 83

Śivadharmaśāstra 3.2–10	Similar passages in *Brahmayāmala* 83
pūrvam **ekārṇṇave ghore**	**ekārṇṇave mahāghore** (73a)
naṣṭe sthāvarajaṅgame |	
vivādaḥ sumahān āsīd	dadṛśuś cāgrato viṣṇum (62c)
brahmaviṣṇvoḥ parasparam ||2||	atikāntavapuṣmatam (62d)
ahaṃ kartā tv ahaṃ kartā	kas tvam bho iti saṃjñāya (63a)
na madanyo jagatpatiḥ |	tamasā yojito mayā (63b)
evam āha hariṃ brahmā	**ahaṅ karttā iti so 'pi** (63c)
brahmāṇañ ca haris tathā ||3||	**ūcur viśvātmanam prati** (63d)
tayor darppāpahārāya	
prabodhārthañ ca **devayoḥ** |	**liṅgarūpātitejasam** (73b)
madhye samutthitaṃ liṅgam	**kṛtvā tābhyāntarasthan tu** (73c)
aiśvaryaṃ tejasaḥ param ||4||	vinivārya parasparam (73d)
jvālāmālāvṛtaṃ divyam	
apremeyaguṇoditam |	
yojanāyutavistīrṇṇaṃ	kṣaṇād ameyarūpo 'ham (74c)
sthitaṃ tad vimale 'mbhasi ||5||	adhorddhan tu vyavasthitaḥ (74d)
jvālābhir mohitau tasya	mahākālāgnirocībhi (75a)
liṅgasya surasattamau |	trāsayitvā ubhau priye (75b)
tadā vismayam āpannau	mūrcchākulīkṛtau tau tu (75c)
paśyantāv amarādhipam ||6||	yathā syur dīnatāṅ gatau (75d)
	(*cf.* 86ab: dṛṣṭvā tu bhayam āpannau
	sthitau sanmīlitekṣaṇau)
gatāv ūrdhvam adhas tasya	**tau sametya gatau dvau tu** (78a)
saṃpradhārya parasparam |	**adhorddhaṃ puruṣottamau** (78b)
adho 'valambayad viṣṇur	
agād ūrdhvaṃ pitāmahaḥ ||7||	
adṛṣṭvā tad adhaś cordhvaṃ	**adṛṣṭvāntaṅ gatau bhītau** (78c)
tau sametya parasparam |	**stotum ārabdham īśvaraṃ** (78d)
kṛtāñjalipuṭau bhūtvā	
liṅgan tuṣṭavatus tadā ||8||	
liṅgamadhye 'paraṃ liṅgaṃ	
sthitaṃ prādeśamātrakam |	
samādhistotrasaṃpannau	vismitau ca varārohe (76a)
dṛṣṭavantau śivātmakam ||9||	**liṅgan dṛṣṭvā sujvālanam** (76b)
naiva tat kāñcanaṃ raupyaṃ	**naivāśmakāñcanan tāraṃ** (76c)
tāmraṃ sphāṭikamauktikam |	**nārakūṭān na lohajaṃ** (76d)
lakṣyamātraṃ sthitaṃ śāntaṃ	**traputāmraśīsajātiṃ vā** (77a)
kevalan tac chivātmakam ||10||	**naiva kānsaṃ na cānyajaṃ** (77b)

mos: a hierarchy of ontic levels (*tattva*) and their presiding deities (*adhidevas*), from the divine serpent Ananta supporting the world-egg (*brahmāṇḍa*), who presides over the spike at the skull-staff's base, to the formless, supreme Śiva who presides from the highest point of the trident affixed to the skull-staff. Similarly, the skull of Brahmā is described as the locus of sacred sound: therein abide Gāyatrī, Sāvatrī, OṂ, and all scripture (*śāstra*), including the four Vedas (83.167). While these *BraYā* passages do not depend directly on *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.16–19, they appear indebted conceptually.

Much as the cosmological vision of the *khaṭvāṅga* echoes the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s lingam, reverence of the skull and skull-staff is celebrated in terms similar to the lingam's veneration (*liṅgārcana*). In table 4.2, compare *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.20 with *BraYā* 83.135c–36b, where the wording is particularly close. The chapters share a common manner of extoling their ritual of choice: lingam worship (*liṅgārcana*) and performance of the Great Vow (*mahāvrata*), respectively. Just as the lingam contains the universe and all deities, and through lingam veneration all receive worship, the skull and skull-staff contain the cosmos and all divine beings, who are honoured when one bears them in the Great Vow. Moreover, just as, according to *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.22–41, the gods' veneration of the lingam explains their ascent to divinity, the *BraYā* attributes their divine powers to practice of the *mahāvrata*. For instance, much as Indra, according to the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, obtained his stature as king of the gods by worship of a gemstone lingam, the *BraYā* attributes his powers to the Great Vow, by which he attained power over the *asuras*. Examples from both texts are provided in table 4.2. While the *BraYā* devotes only five verses to this theme (83.179–83) and the *Śivadharmaśāstra* twenty (3.22–41), the similarity of the tropes and narrative function seem more than coincidental.

Few parallels in the two texts evince identical phrasing,[16] and many invoke

[16] An interesting exception concerns two verse-quarters which in *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.69 read *pāpahā sarvamartyānāṃ darśanasparśanād api* ("He removes the sins of all mortals, merely through the sight of him, or his touch"). This describes the devotee who has become a *rudra* through linga-worship. The same trope appears in reference to the *khaṭvāṅga* in *BraYā* 83.169ab: *pāpahā sarvamartyānān darśanād eva pārvati* ("it removes the sins of all mortals merely by seeing it, O Pārvatī"). No other source I am aware of contains this precise trope. The change between the two versions is telling: the *sādhaka*'s skull-staff may perhaps be seen by others, but surely not touched—hence the modification, with insertion of a verse-filling vocative. (According to *BraYā* 4.799, however, one should not allow the skull-staff to be seen or touched by others: *khaṭvāṅgaṃ ḍamarukaṃ caiva ghaṇṭhā caiva mahāmati | na dṛṣṭyopahataṃ kāryaṃ na cānyaiḥ saṃspṛ[ś]āpayet ||*.)

Table 4.2: Passages on linga-veneration and accoutrements of the Great Vow in the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Brahmayāmala* 83 compared

<table>
<tr><th>Śivadharmaśāstra 3.20, 42ab, 22–23, 42cd</th><th>Similarities in BraYā 83</th></tr>
<tr><td>tasmāl liṅgaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya</td><td>khaṭvāṅgaṃ pūjitaṃ yena</td></tr>
<tr><td>sarvadevabhavodbhavaṃ |</td><td>trailokyaṃ tena pūjitaṃ ||135||</td></tr>
<tr><td>sthāpitan tena sarvaṃ syāt</td><td>khaṭvāṅgaṃ dhāritaṃ yena</td></tr>
<tr><td>pūjitañ ca na saṃśayaḥ ||20||</td><td>dhṛtan tena carācaraṃ |</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(cf. 83.164 on the skull)</td></tr>
<tr><td>… sarvo liṅgamayo lokaḥ</td><td>… sarvadevamayaṃ hy evaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>sarvaṃ liṅgapratiṣṭhitam |42ab</td><td>khaṭvāṅgaṃ varavarṇini ||117cd||</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>… [kapālaṃ] sarvadevamayañ caiva</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>sarvatattvamayaṃ hi tat ||171cd||</td></tr>
<tr><td>… brahmā pūjayate nityaṃ</td><td>… śakreṇāpi purā cīrṇaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>liṅgaṃ śailamayaṃ śubhaṃ |</td><td>mahendreṇa mahāvratam |</td></tr>
<tr><td>tasya saṃpūjanāt tena</td><td>tato diter apatyānāṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>prāptaṃ brahmatvam uttamam ||22||</td><td>marditā tu varūthinī ||180||</td></tr>
<tr><td>śakro 'pi devarājendro</td><td>viṣṇunāpi purā cīrṇaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>liṅgaṃ maṇimayaṃ śubham |</td><td>cakrasyārthe mahāvrataṃ |</td></tr>
<tr><td>bhaktyā pūjayate nityaṃ</td><td>tam avāpyājito loke</td></tr>
<tr><td>tenendratvam avāpa saḥ ||23||</td><td>jāto devārisūdanaḥ ||181||</td></tr>
<tr><td>… tasmāt sadārccayel liṅgaṃ</td><td>… tasmād yaḥ siddhim anvicchat</td></tr>
<tr><td>yad icchet siddhim ātmanaḥ ||42cd||</td><td>parāparaguṇātmikām |</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>tatra bhairavam āśṛtya</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>tena kāryaṃ mahāvratam ||185||</td></tr>
</table>

tropes found elsewhere; but taken culmulatively, and in light of shared narrative themes and structures, they strongly suggest influence. This is fully explicable, for the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s lingam narrative was influential enough that several other Śaiva sources bear its imprint. KAFLE (2013: 249–52) argues that it predates the tales of the *Niśvāsamukha* and *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, which are quite close to each other and which read as expanded versions of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. KAFLE futher demonstrates that the *Niśvāsamukha* is the source of this *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* chapter (as well as several others).[17] Expansion of the narrative is also evident within the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s own transmission, for later manuscripts add divergent hymns of praise (KAFLE 2013: 249). Inspiration from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* seems likely also in the case of a *liṅgodbhava* episode found in a South Indian manuscript of the twelve-thousand-verse recension of the *Kālottara*.[18] Written in more sophisticated, metrically varied Sanskrit,[19] this version lapses into prosaic *anuṣṭubh* verse at key moments—places where the wording closely approximates that of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, and betrays derivation therefrom.[20] I find this *Kālottara* narrative fascinating, for it may illustrate the kind of lost source the *BraYā* modelled itself on. This *liṅgodbhava* narrative presents a cosmological vision of the lingam which in its level of detail approximates the *BraYā*'s exposition on the *khaṭvāṅga*.[21] Furthermore, unlike

[17]The *Niśvāsamukha* is the source of almost half of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, according to KAFLE (2015). For a summary of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, see KAFLE (2013: 243 [n. 5]).

[18]Chapter forty-three of IFP Transcription no. 59. I have relied on the e-text made available by the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute.

[19]The narrative begins in 43.5, in the *upajāti* meter: *āsīt samantāt tamasābhibhūte praṇaṣṭatārāgaṇacandrasūrye* [em.; °*sūryake* cod.] | *ekārṇave cordhvajale śaye 'smin viśīrṇabhūmyādivanapradeśe* ||5|| *tatrādidevaḥ kila padmayoniḥ cakrāyudhaḥ śaṅkhagadāyudhaś ca* | *dvāv eva tāv eva varau purāṇau viceratus toyanidhānamadhye* ||6||.

[20]One passage in *anuṣṭubh*, following a hymn of praise, includes the following: *liṅgamadhye 'paraṃ liṅgaṃ sakalaṃ parameśvaram* | *tryakṣa[ṃ] caturbhujaṃ devaṃ candrārdhakṛtaśekharam* ||25||. This seems to rewrite *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.9ab: *liṅgamadhye 'paraṃ liṅgaṃ sthitaṃ prādeśamātrakam*. Evidently, the *Kālottara* would have Śiva manifest simultaneously as both lingam and in his three-eyed, four-armed anthropomorphic form, an oddity which suggests that this source is secondary. Another *anuṣṭubh* passage parallel to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is 39–43b, which begins: *kalpānte tasya liṅgasya līyante sarvadevatāḥ* | *dakṣiṇe līyate brahmā vāmataś ca janārdanaḥ*||39||. This is almost identical to *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.16: *kalpānte tasya liṅgasya līyante sarvadevatāḥ* | *dakṣiṇe līyate brahmā vāme viṣṇuḥ sanātanaḥ* ||16||. They also share a half-verse: *jaṭhare līyate sarvaṃ jagatsthāvarajaṅgamaṃ* (*Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.18ab; 42cd in the *Kālottara* chapter). The *Kālottara* passage adds a reference to the goddess Bhadrakālī (41c), probably indicative of a second-millennium South Indian milieu.

[21]*Kālottara* (*Dvādaśasahasrasaṃhitā*) 43.29–36b and 39–42.

the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the iconography of the lingam (*liṅgalakṣaṇa*) is a key topic in the *Kālottara*,[22] as are the *khaṭvāṅga*'s characteristics in *BraYā*, chapter 83. It is possible that the *BraYā* has modelled itself upon an unknown Śaiva text indebted to the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, structured partly along the lines of the *Kālottara* chapter but incorporating a prelude on cosmogony (akin to *BraYā* 83.32–55).

Such assimilation of content likely derived from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is reminiscent of the *BraYā*'s debt, in chapter 39, to the chapter on "the descent of scripture" (*tantrāvatāra*) in the *Niśvāsakārikā* (*Dīkṣottara*). In both cases, the redactors adapted and extended well-established conceptual frameworks—whether scriptural canons or myths and icons—in articulating a novel religious vision. In *BraYā* 83, the revered Origin of the Lingam myth told in a foundational lay Śaiva text serves merely as a prelude to the genesis of Bhairava's skull-staff, thus extending the divine pedigree and sacrality of the lingam to the bone paraphernalia of the Great Vow. What is omitted also has significance: much as chapter 39 of the *BraYā* leaves aside a long account of the *Siddhāntatantras*' subdivisions,[23] *BraYā* 83 glosses over the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s descriptions of various lingams, their divine votaries, and the fruits of linga-veneration (3.20ff.), shifting focus to the themes and icons of its own cult.

4.2.2 The luminous lingam and divine altercations

The Origin of the Lingam (*liṅgodbhava*) episode of the *BraYā* forms only one layer of the chapter's narrative. Taken as a whole, the chapter stands apart from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and major *purāṇas*, for tales of the Origin of the Lingam and the Skull of Brahmā, treated in *BraYā* 83.144c–63, are not elsewhere brought together so explicitly. Nonetheless, themes from these myths do blend together in some of their purāṇic tellings, as I will show, and it is possible that the *BraYā* knew sources which did combine them. In this section I examine *liṅgodbhava* narratives from a wider range of literature, elucidating the development of the narrative, its intersections with the other myths, and its adaptation in the *BraYā*.

As told in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, *Niśvāsamukha*, and *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, the *liṅgodbhava* myth has an uncomplicated narrative glorifying veneration of

[22]Chapters 46–47; these follow a chapter (45) detailing the various lingams worshipped by the gods, apparently expanding on *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.22–41.

[23]*Niśvāsakārikā, Dīkṣottara* 4.40–76 (see appendix C).

the Śivaliṅgam. Variations on this theme in the *purāṇa*s evince more variety. A glimpse of this is evident even in comparing the episode across these three Śivadharma texts, which appear to represent an historical progression. In the *Niśvāsamukha* a theme appears which is absent from the *Śivadharmaśāstra*: Brahmā chooses as his boon from Śiva that the latter should become his son. Śiva grants this wish, along with a curse: on account of his inappropriate desire, Brahmā shall have no worshippers.[24] Though absent from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *BraYā*, this 'paternity' conflict between Śiva and Brahmā, which has old roots,[25] features in versions of both the Origin of the Lingam and Skull of Brahmā myths. The *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* adds an additional element: it is Viṣṇu who recommends the inappropriate request to Brahmā, with the same outcome. Brahmā in turn curses Viṣṇu that his followers will go to hell, a curse Śiva softens by limiting its scope to Viṣṇu's advent as the Buddha.[26] Invoking the ancient feud of Rudra and Prajāpati and the deeds of Viṣṇu's heretical *avatāra*, these additions to the *liṅgodbhava* episode allude to themes elaborated in several *purāṇa*s.

Among purāṇic tellings of the *liṅgodbhava* myth, chapter fifty-five of the *Vāyupurāṇa* is comparatively archaic, the text being widely recognized as one of the earliest of the genre.[27] (The chapter is nearly identical to *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* I, 26, the two *purāṇa*s being recensions of a single text.[28]) This relatively simple tale narrated by Viṣṇu approximates the *Śivadharmaśāstra* in structure but incorporates a long hymn of praise (vv. 30–50), after which the chapter is named.[29] In the beginning, when all was covered in darkness, Hari lay in the primeval waters in his cosmic form. He beheld the radiant Brahmā approaching. When both laid claim to being the supreme deity, a blaze appeared to the north, illuminating the waters and growing into a vast orb of light (*jvālamaṇḍala*, 20b) that reached into the heavens. Within this they perceived a luminous, unmanifest lingam the size of a mere span (*prādeśa*) made neither

[24] *Niśvāsamukha* 1.74–75b: *brahmā vadati putras tu tvam eva bhava suvrata | evam astv abravīd devaḥ kiṃ tv apūjyo bhaviṣyasi* ||174|| *anānurūpaṃ yasmād dhi varan te kāṅkṣitaṃ dvija* |.

[25] On the background of this theme, see Granoff (2004).

[26] *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* 5.148c–49: *kin tu kṣīṇayuge ghore sugatas tvaṃ bhaviṣyasi* ||148|| *tasmin tvāṃ ye 'rcayiṣyanti mūḍhāḥ paṇḍitamāninaḥ | te yānti nirayaṃ ghoraṃ anye yāntu parāṃ gatim* ||149|| (text as per Kafle 2015).

[27] Rocher (1986: 245).

[28] See Vielle (2005).

[29] The printed colophon reads *iti śrīmahāpurāṇe vāyuprokte liṅgodbhavastavo nāma pañcapañcāśo 'dhyāyaḥ*.

of gold, stone, nor silver; this grew into a vast lingam of which the two gods could find neither bottom nor top (23–27). Brahmā recites a hymn of praise, after which Śiva manifests before them in anthropomorphic form (51–55). As a boon, they ask only for devotion to Śiva. He blesses them to create, and the chapter concludes.

It is unclear whether the *Vāyupurāṇa* knew the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, or the reverse, but their similarities cannot be coincidental: they share not only thematic continuity but similar wording in a key passage on the lingam's manifestation.[30] Intriguingly, in one respect the *Vāyupurāṇa* is closer to the *Niśvāsamukha* and *Śivadharmaśāstra*: a vast, fiery radiance first appears before the feuding deities, within which they perceive a subtle lingam. This then grows into an immeasurable column of light.[31] The *Śivadharmaśāstra* may reflect an earlier stage in the development of the story, for it has the lingam manifest not in phases, but at once as a column of light measuring ten-thousand *yojanas*.[32] On the matter of the deities' boon, the *Vāyupurāṇa* is closest to the *Niśvāsamukha*, in which Viṣṇu wishes for *bhakti* alone.[33] The 'paternity' dispute is absent from the *Vāyupurāṇa*, though the theme figures in earlier chapters (24–25). In one

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[30] *Vāyupurāṇa* 55.20c–22b: *tasya jvālasya madhye tu paśyāvo vipulaprabham* ||20|| *prādeśamātram avyaktaṃ liṅgaṃ paramadīpitam* | *na ca tat kāñcanaṃ madhye na śailaṃ na ca rājatam* ||21|| *anirdeśyam acintyaṃ ca lakṣyālakṣyaṃ punaḥ punaḥ* |. This has notable similarities with *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.9–10: *liṅgamadhye paraṃ liṅgaṃ sthitaṃ prādeśamātrakam* | *samādhistotrasaṃpannau dṛṣṭavantau śivātmakam* ||9|| *naiva tat kāñcanaṃ raupyaṃ tāmraṃ sphāṭikamauktikam* | *lakṣyamātrasthitaṃ śāntaṃ kevalan tacchivātmakam* ||10||.

[31] *Vāyupurāṇa* 55.17–20b describes the fiery radiance (*jvālā*) which manifests prior to the lingam, illuminating the waters: *evaṃ saṃbhāṣamāṇābhyāṃ parasparajayaiṣiṇām* [?] | *uttarāṃ diśam āsthāya jvālā dṛṣṭā 'ṣyadhiṣṭhitā* [?] ||17|| *jvālāṃ tatas tām ālokya vismitau ca tadānaghāḥ* | *tejasā caiva tenātha sarvaṃ jyotiṣkṛtaṃ jalam* ||18|| *vardhamāne tadā vahnāv atyantaparamādbhute* | *atidudrāva tāṃ jvālāṃ brahmā cāhaṃ sa satvarau* ||19|| *divaṃ bhūmiṃ ca viṣṭabhya tiṣṭhantaṃ jvālamaṇḍalam* |. (Probably follow the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* in reading *jvālām adrākṣva viṣṭhitām* in 17d.) The passage continues with the emergence and growth of the lingam in 55.20c–23, quoted partly in the previous note. Cf. *Niśvāsamukha* 1.169–70: *ahaṃ kāraṇakartteti jale tejas samutthitam* | *tejomadhye sthitaṃ liṅgam parvvāṅguṣṭhapramāṇataḥ* ||169|| *ubhau tau vismitau tatra kim etac cādbhutam bhavet* | *ubhau tau draṣṭum ārabdhau tato liṅgaṃ vivarddhitam* ||170||; also, cf. *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* 5.136c–38b: *ity evaṃ vadator agre prādur āsīj jale vibhuḥ* ||136|| *tejomadhye sthitaṃ liṅgaṃ parvāṅguṣṭhapramāṇakam* | *ubhau tau vismitau tatra kiñ cedam iti cāhatuḥ* ||137|| *ubhau tau draṣṭum ārabdhau varddhamānas tato vibhuḥ* |.

[32] *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.4–5: *tayor darppāpahārāya prabodhārthañ ca devayoḥ* | *madhye samutthitaṃ liṅgam aiśvaryaṃ tejasaḥ param* ||4|| *jvālāmālāvṛtan divyam apremeyaguṇoditaṃ* | *yojanāyutavistīrṇṇaṃ sthitaṃ tad vimale 'mbhasi* ||5||.

[33] *Vāyupurāṇa* 55.60; *Niśvāsamukha* 1.177ab.

respect the *Vāyupurāṇa* accords better with the *BraYā* than texts of the Śivadharma corpus: after the gods pay homage to the lingam, the deity manifests before them as a skull-bearing yogin, whose appearance is described in some detail (*Vāyu°* 55.51–55). As KAFLE (2013: 250–51) observes, the *Niśvāsamukha* and *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* both intimate Śiva's anthropomorphic manifestation without describing his form, while the *Śivadharmaśāstra* makes no suggestion that the deity manifests bodily—another possible indication of its comparative archaism.

The *Vāyupurāṇa* and texts of the Śivadharma corpus provide a window, no doubt incomplete, into early versions of the *liṅgodbhava* narrative which the *BraYā* likely knew and drew upon. To these may be added the *liṅgodbhava* myth of *Kūrmapurāṇa* I, 25 (vv. 52–113), which could also be relatively early.[34] This is structured along the lines of the *Vāyu°*, with which it shares passages,[35] but it also has parallels with the *Śivadharmaśāstra* not evident in the *Vāyupurāṇa*. As with the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the immeasurable, radiant lingam manifests directly rather than in stages. After the two gods propitiate the luminous lingam, Śiva manifests before them in a cosmic form having innumerable faces, etc. (vv. 88–90). Like the *Niśvāsamukha*, the episode alludes to the 'paternity' theme: Śiva predicts that he will take birth as Brahmā's fierce, anger-born son (I, 25.100), which is taken up in the Skull of Brahmā episode of *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31. In addition, another section of the *Kūrmapurāṇa* presents an altogether different and seemingly independent tale of the lingam's origin (II, 37): the well-known episode of the Pine Forest (*devadāruvana*), in which the original lingam is the severed phallus of the deity.[36] Given the comparative antiquity of the *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Kūrmapurāṇa*'s Pine Forest origin myth appears to be secondary to the 'pillar of light' myth. At least one later source combines the severed phallus and immeasurable pillar: according to *Vāmanapurāṇa* 6.65–77, when Śiva's virile member falls into the lowest hell-world (*rasātala*), sundered from his body in the Pine Forest by the sages' curse, it grows upwards,

[34]The *Kūrmapurāṇa* has been described as a Pāñcarātra text which underwent further revision in Pāśupata circles, perhaps in the eighth century (ROCHER 1986: 184–86, citing HAZRA 1940: 71).

[35]Note especially that *Kūrmapurāṇa* I, 25.67–73 is almost identical to *Vāyupurāṇa* 55.11–17b. Both texts also share in the revelation that Hari and Brahmā emerge from Śiva's body (*Vāyu°* 55.57c–58d; *Kūrma°* I, 25.92)—a theme picked up by the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* (35.47–48b) and rendered visually in South Indian statuary of Śiva as the '*liṅgodbhavamūrti*' type (FILLIOZAT 1961).

[36]For a study and translation of this episode, see DAVIS (1995).

penetrating and shaking the worlds above. Brahmā and Viṣṇu can find neither top nor bottom of the erect lingam.

The *liṅgodbhava* episode of *Kūrmapurāṇa* I, 25 seems influential, for it is probably a source for episodes in the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* and the *Liṅgapurāṇa* (I, 17–19). The latter seems also to draw directly from the *Vāyavīya*°.[37] Perhaps composed in *circa* 800–1000 C.E. South India and incorporated into the *Śivapurāṇa*,[38] the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* contains in chapters 34–35 a *liṅgodbhava* episode in the tradition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, though the debt may be indirect.[39] A number of novel elements appear in this expansive version of the tale.[40] One particular theme of the *Vāyavīya*° absent from earlier *purāṇa*s, but shared by the *BraYā* and *Liṅgapurāṇa*, is that of Brahmā and Viṣṇu coming to blows, deluded by Śiva's *māyā*.[41] Such convergences may hint at the ex-

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[37]Note in particular the similarity in phrasing between *Kūrmapurāṇa* I, 25.74–75 and *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 34.32c–34b; and between *Kūrma*° I, 25.77c–78 and *Vāyavīya*° 34.42. The emergence of the Oṃkāra from the lingam, a key theme of the *Vāyavīya*'s narrative, may take inspiration from the fact that at the identical point in the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (I, 25.78–79), Brahmā and Viṣṇu utter the Oṃkāra as they commence a hymn of praise.

Liṅgapurāṇa I, 17.13–48 closely parallels *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 34.18c–43. The former evidently recasts the latter with Brahmā as speaker, inserting additional nonessential passages such as 26c–31b (which expands upon Viṣṇu's self-praise) and 41–42 (a description of Varāha's form). Chapter 19 of the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, however, seems to draw upon the *Kūrmapurāṇa* directly: *Liṅga*° 19.1–15b is basically parallel to *Kūrma*° I, 25.91–102, with the former appearing to insert three verses (7–10) after *Kūrma*° I, 25.95d.

[38]HAZRA (1953: 273) opines, based on its citations, that the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* printed as part of the *Śivapurāṇa* should date to before 1000 C.E., but not earlier than 800.

[39]Particularly close parallels are present in *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 34.33–34 and *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.4–6. In keeping with the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the narrative of the *Vāyavīya*° closes by proclaiming that "from then onwards, every one of the gods and *asura*s, beginning with Indra, as well as sages and male and female serpent beings, establishes the lingam and worships Him therein" (35.85: *tataḥ prabhṛti śakrādyāḥ sarva eva surāsurāḥ | ṛṣayaś ca narā nāgā nāryaś cāpi vidhānataḥ | liṃgapratiṣṭhā[m] kurvanti liṃge taṃ pūjayanti ca ||85||*). This echoes *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.14 (*tadā prabhṛti brahmādyāḥ pratiṣṭhāpya surāsurāḥ | talliṅgānukṛtaṃ liṅgam ījire munayas tathā ||*) and e.g. *Kūrmapurāṇa* I, 25.102ab (*tataḥ prabhṛti lokeṣu liṅgārcā supratiṣṭhitā*).

[40]After the manifestation of the lingam, Brahmā and Viṣṇu take up the forms of the swan and boar, respectively, to search for its top and bottom. Failing to find this, they offer homage. From the lingam manifests the primordial sound of OṂ, which, dividing into its four component sounds, merges into the lingam and gives rise to the Vedas, who give an exposition on Śaivasiddhānta cosmology. Śiva afterwards bestows unto the gods the five-syllable King of Mantras (NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA), upon which the lingam disappears; thence onwards did the gods worship the lingam.

[41]*Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 34.31–32b, *Liṅgapurāṇa* I, 17.31c–32; cf. *BraYā* 83.65–72. This theme

istence of influential early versions of the tale now lost to us. That there was already much variety among early-medieval *liṅgodbhava* narratives is illustrated by the *Matysapurāṇa*'s brief, idiosyncratic episode (60.1–12), which presses the tale into service as an origin myth for an "octad of auspicious things" (*saubhāgyāṣṭaka*).

No specific, extant version of the *liṅgodbhava* myth appears to have been the immediate source for the *BraYā*'s narrative, and indeed the absence of one of its key themes from *liṅgodbhava* myths of the Śivadharma corpus and the earlier *purāṇa*s is striking. This is the tale's cosmogonic setting and the role of the three *guṇa*s of Prakṛti in provoking the primordial argument. According to the *BraYā* (83.56–61), after Bhairava created the world-egg, he therein cast Brahmā, who arose from *sattvaguṇa*. Desiring to stimulate creation, he next produced a being made of *rajas*—Viṣṇu—by conjoining *sattva* with *tamas*. This being of *rajas* agitated Brahmā, who thus shed his sattvic nature. Beholding Viṣṇu, their argument ensues—thence the manifestation of the lingam and, ultimately, the creation of living beings. In this respect the *BraYā*'s narrative has more affinity with *liṅgodbhava* episodes of the 9th–10th century *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* and the (likely later) *Liṅgapurāṇa*, in which the cosmogonic context and *guṇa* theme are more explicitly developed.[42]

For older purāṇic parallels, one has to look beyond the extant *liṅgodbhava* narratives. The balance of the *guṇa*s and their embodiment by the 'trinity' is an important theme in some creation tales, such as *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, chapter 2; and such narratives may have inspired the *BraYā* or its own model.[43] More immediately pertinent are narratives of Brahmā's decapitation in the *Padmapurāṇa* and *Vāmanapurāṇa*, where an imbalance of the *guṇa*s sets the stage for a divine altercation, culminating in Brahmā losing a head. While the *Padmapurāṇa*'s tale lacks a cosmogonic setting, it alludes to the balance of the *guṇa*s: "brimming with *rajas*," Brahmā considered himself the primordial creator,[44] and he blinded

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is elaborated upon by the *Devīpurāṇa*, which I argue below is dependent upon the *BraYā*.

[42] On the view that the *Liṅgapurāṇa* was "more or less contemporaneous" to Lakṣmīdhara (12th century), see Bakker & Isaacson (2004: 40–41). There are allusions to the *guṇa* theme in the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā*: 34.23ab refers to Brahmā being *rajasā baddhavairaḥ*, while both Brahmā and Viṣṇu are referred to in the same terms in 32b (*rajasā baddhavairayoḥ*). These expressions are carried over into *Liṅgapurāṇa* I, 17.19a and 32d, respectively.

[43] Cf. Roy (1967: 124–25), who draws connections between this chapter of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *liṅgodbhava* myth.

[44] *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14.91: *tato brahmābhavan mūḍho rajasā copabṛṃhitaḥ | tato 'yaṃ tejasā sṛṣṭim amanyata mayā kṛtām* || (≈ *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 2.35). Cf. 14.106, which speaks of Brahmā's

the world with his intensely radiant fifth face. For its part, the *Vāmanapurāṇa*'s Skull of Brahmā episode (chapter 2) shares the *BraYā*'s cosmogonic context to some extent, but inverts the *guṇa* theme: the primordial altercation takes place between Śiva, who embodies *tamas*, and Brahmā, who, embodying *rajas* for the purpose of creation, becomes overpowered by ego (*ahaṃkāra*).[45] These tales intimate convergences between the *liṅgodbhava* episode and narratives of Brahmā's decapitation that merit further examination.

4.3 The *Brahmayāmala*'s adaptation of the Skull of Brahmā myth

4.3.1 Brahmā's decapitation

Though integrated, or rather juxtaposed in the *BraYā*, the Origin of the Lingam (*liṅgodbhava*) theme and the Skull of Brahmā (*brahmakapāla*) myth are not brought together so explicitly in other early sources known to me.[46] Despite notable points of convergence in some versions, these tales appear to have developed independently. The *brahmakapāla* episode is absent from early sources such as the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Vāyupurāṇa*, and no one extant version of the story has clear historical priority over the others. A comparatively unembellished version of the myth is found in chapter 183 of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, discussed by LORENZEN (1991: 77–78). In a fit of rage, Śiva severs Brahmā's radiant fifth head after the latter professes to know Śiva's parentage (183.84–86). Cursed to become a skullbearer, Śiva approaches Viṣṇu, who, after giving him blood as alms, sends him to Avimukta (i.e. Vārāṇasī) for lifting the curse; arriving there, the skull explodes, creating the holy ford (*tīrtha*) of Kapālamocana

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mind being clouded by arrogance caused by *rajas*: *tataḥ prasannavadano devaiś cāpi namaskṛtaḥ | jagāma yatra brahmāsau rajo'haṃkāramūḍhadhīḥ ||* (106cd ≈ *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* 2.57ab).

[45] *Vāmanapurāṇa* 2.22–25: *rātryante sṛjate lokān rājasaṃ rūpam āsthitaḥ* [corr.; *rūpāsthitaḥ* e-text] ||22|| *rājasaḥ pañcavadano vedavedāṅgapāragaḥ | sraṣṭā carācarasyāsya jagato 'dbhutadarśanaḥ* ||23|| *tamomayas tathaivānyaḥ samudbhūtas trilocanaḥ | śūlapāṇiḥ kapardī ca akṣamālāṃ ca darśayan* ||24|| *tato mahātmā hy asṛjad ahaṅkāraṃ sudāruṇam | yenākrāntāv ubhau devau tāv eva brahmaśaṅkarau* ||25||.

[46] Apparently these stories are integrated in the second-millennium *Devībhāgavata*; for a summary, see MANI (1975: 148). DONIGER (1973: 124) makes a similar claim concerning the *Śivapurāṇa*, but in this (III, 8.37–38) Śiva manifests as a radiant orb (*jyotirmaṇḍala*), as in the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, rather than the lingam of light. The late and eclectic *Brahmapurāṇa* integrates facets of both stories (I, 135; see GRANOFF 2009: 6).

("Release of the Skull"). The subsequent two chapters continue with the glorification (*māhātmya*) of Avimukta, for which the *brahmakapāla* episode hence serves as introduction. This simple tale is fundamentally one of origins—for Rudra's skull-bowl, the vow of the skullbearer (*kapālavrata*, i.e. *mahāvrata*), and the holy city. Containing few points of intersection with the *liṅgodbhava* episode, this may reflect an early form of the myth, one which echoes a tale of the *Mahābhārata*.[47] An allusion to the Skull of Brahmā episode appears in the early seventh-century *Mattavilāsaprahasana* of Mahendravarman, but with minimal narrative detail: Śiva is merely said to have freed himself from the sin of severing Brahmā's head through practice of the Great Vow.[48]

Prominent among the early sources for the Skull of Brahmā myth is the original *Skandapurāṇa* (c. 6th–7th centuries C.E.). The episode of Brahmā's decapitation spans chapters four to seven of the critical edition, and has been the subject of insightful studies by Granoff (2004; 2009).[49] Central to this is a theme absent from the *BraYā*, but alluded to in the Origin of the Lingam narratives of the *Niśvāsamukha* and *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*: Brahmā's inappropriate desire to have Śiva as a son. This bears fruit in chapter four (vv. 12–17) with the birth of the *rudra* Nīlalohita from Brahmā's sweat and Śiva's energy (*tejas*). In chapter five, Brahmā, abiding in Brahmāloka, full of pride in himself as the supreme deity, enters into an argument with Sacrifice (*yajña*), who likewise considers himself supreme. The Veda appears to proclaim both of them wrong: Śiva is ultimate. Brahmā scolds Sacrifice and the Veda, but a radiant golden orb fills the heavens and Brahmā falls to earth. Infuriated, he sprouts a fifth, upward-facing head which swells up to devour the golden orb; but the lord, the radiant orb, severs Brahmā's head with the nail of his left thumb.[50]

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[47] *Mahābhārata* IX (*Śalyaparvan*), 38.8–20, discussed below (§4.3.3).

[48] *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, verse 17: *āsthāya prayato mahāvratam idaṃ bālenducūḍāmaṇiḥ svāmī no mumuce pitāmahaśiraśchedodbhavād enasaḥ | nātho 'pi tridivaukasāṃ triśirasaṃ tvaṣṭus tanūjaṃ purā hatvā yajñaśatena śāntadurito bheje punaḥ puṇyatām* ||. For a discussion and translation of this play, see Lorenzen (2000).

[49] See also the summary, with references to parallels in other *purāṇas*, by the editors (Adriaensen et al. 1998: 66–73).

[50] *Skandapurāṇa* 5.37, 40–43: *evamukte tadā tena mahāñ chabdo babhūva ha | ādityamaṇḍalākāram adṛśyata ca maṇḍalam ||37|| ... sa mukhaṃ pañcamaṃ dīptam asṛjan mūrdhni saṃsthitam | tenāpaśyad viyatsthaṃ taṃ sūryāyutasamaprabham | ādityamaṇḍalākāraṃ śabdavad ghoradarśanam ||40|| taṃ dṛṣṭvā pañcamaṃ tasya śiro vai krodhajaṃ mahat | saṃvartakāgnisadṛśaṃ grasiṣyat tam avardhata ||41|| vardhamānaṃ tadā tat tu vaḍavāmukhasaṃnibham | dīptimac chabdavac caiva devo 'sau dīptamaṇḍalaḥ ||42|| hastāṅguṣṭhanakhenāśu vāmenāvajñayaiva hi | cakarta tan mahadghoraṃ brahmaṇaḥ pañcamaṃ śiraḥ ||43||*.

Brahmā comes to his senses. This was his punishment for desiring Śiva as son. Brahmā asks as a boon that Śiva would bear his skull, but the Lord assigns the task to Nīlalohita.

In chapter six, Nīlalohita bears the skull as his begging-bowl and approaches Viṣṇu for alms. Viṣṇu sends forth a stream of blood from his forehead, which gushes into the skull for many years without filling it (6.1–9). From the skull of Brahmā, filled with Viṣṇu's blood, stimulated by Nīlalohita's gaze, is born Nara, companion of Nārāyaṇa and invincible warrior (6.10–12). Nīlalohita proceeds to Brahmā's heaven in chapter seven. Brahmā perceives the skull-bearing beggar as the Lord through the power of his yoga, and offers homage. As a boon, Brahmā asks that a token of the Lord's presence remain in his world. Śaṅkara utters OṂ; from this originate the goddess Sarasvatī and the Brahmasaras pool, which flows down into the world (7.1–12). He returns to earth and sets down the skull, to the delight of the clamourous *gaṇa*s who assemble there. This arouses the buffalo demon Hālāhala, who attacks with his army; the *gaṇa*-lords slay him with spears (*śūla*) (7.13–20). Goblins (*piśāca*/*piśācinī*) arrive from all directions. The Lord offers them Hālāhala's corpse and appoints the female beings to dwell there. They came to be called *kapālamātaraḥ* ("Skull Mothers") because they ate the buffalo [at the site of the *kapāla*] measure by measure (*mitvā mitvā*[51]) (7.21–23). Where the skull of Brahmā came to rest became the holy pool of Mahākapāla ("The Great Skull"). The sacred land is described in detail (7.24–38).

In structure and many details, these tales of the *Skandapurāṇa* have parallels in *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31, which, for instance, adds Kālabhairava to the mix as a violent proxy to Śiva's own proxy, Nīlalohita.[52] *Brahmakapāla* episodes from the *Padmapurāṇa* and *Vāmanapurāṇa* (chapters 2–3) also share many

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[51] From the root √*mā*, like *mātṛ*.

[52] *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31 begins with a dispute between Brahmā and Yajña (born of a portion of Nārāyaṇa); the four Vedas each proclaim Śiva's superiority, at which Brahmā scoffs. An orb of light manifests, from which Nīlalohita emerges. Insulted by Brahmā, he emits Kālabhairava, who dispatches Brahmā's fifth head. Brahmā has a vision of Śiva and the Mahādevī within the orb of light, and he offers homage. Śiva scolds Nīlakaṇṭha for brahminicide (*brahmahatyā*), and Nīlakaṇṭha in turns orders Kālabhairava to carry out the skullbearer's vow. Brahmahatyā personified clings to him. He approaches Viṣṇu's abode, fells Viṣṇu's gatekeeper Viṣvaksena, and forces entry. Viṣṇu offers blood-alms from his forehead. Brahmahatyā will not depart when Viṣṇu requests; he thus advises Kālabhairava to go to Vārāṇasī, and she departs the moment he enters. He establishes the skull there.

narrative elements in common with the *Skandapurāṇa* and *Kūrmapurāṇa*.[53] The *Kūrmapurāṇa* and *Padmapurāṇa* episodes, for their part, appear to provide core material for the Skull of Brahmā narratives in the second-millennium *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* and *Āvantyakhaṇḍa*, respectively, both attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa*.[54] (Chapter 7 of a recension of the old *Skandapurāṇa*, however, appears to have served directly as source material for a section of *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 9, as demonstrates YOKOCHI [2004].) The *Kūrmapurāṇa* may also be the source for

[53] *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14 begins with Brahmā, angry over his decapitation, emiting a fierce warrior, Kuṇḍalin, from his sweaty forehead. Śiva, head in hand, flees to Viṣṇu, who offers alms-blood. From the bloody brew in the skull emerges Karīṭin, the fierce warrior who will become Nara, companion of Nārāyaṇa. The sweat-born and blood-born warriors engage in battle; they will be reborn as Karṇa and Arjuna. The tale shifts back to Brahmā's decapitation (vv. 85ff.). Once Brahmā, brimming with *rajas*, had a radiant fifth head and foolishly considered himself the supreme creator. His upward face overwhelmed the gods with its powerful radiance, and they approached Śiva for succor. He approached Brahmā and severed his fifth head, which remained in his hand as he danced. The gods praise him as Mahākāla (vv. 115ff.). Śiva approaches Brahmā, asking to be purified of the sin he committed on behalf of the gods. Brahmā prescribes that he perform the *kapālavrata*; he will thus become the promulgator of the Somasiddhānta (*somasiddhāṃtakārakaḥ*, 131b) by which countless brahmins will be saved. Śiva approaches Viṣṇu for aid in releasing him from the stain of brahminicide. At Viṣṇu's urging, he goes on pilgrimage as a *kapālin* but cannot be freed of the skull. He arrives at the Puṣkara forest and propitiates Brahmā, who then sends him to Vārāṇasī to be liberated from the skull. The city's holiness is described in much detail.

[54] *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* I, 31 seems basically to rewrite and expand upon *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31, recasting this to emphasize Śiva-*bhakti*. For a summary of the episode, see GRANOFF (2004: 104–5). *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* 31.12–20b is almost identical to *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31.3–11b; parallels continue thereafter as well, though the wording tends to differ more and both have passages absent from the other. For instance, *Kūrma*° II, 31.32–64 is absent from the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, which also omits the duel of Bhairava and Viṣvaksena and the alms-blood episode; the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, for its part, has excursuses on Śiva's nature in 31.41–47, 70–79, etc. not found in the *Kūrma*°. A key difference is that the flavour of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* is entirely devotional: for instance, Brahmahatyā cannot bear to leave Bhairava's side when Viṣṇu, devotee of the Lord, so requests, for how else could she have his darśan and purify herself (*ātmānaṃ pāvayiṣyāmi kva punar bhavadarśanam*, 104cd)? True to its name, the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* episode also expands the eulogy of the holy city.

As for the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa*, its cycle on Brahmā's skull (chapters 2–6) appears to expand upon the *Padmapurāṇa*'s *brahmakapāla* narrative, which it recasts into a Māhātmya of Ujjayinī and its presiding deity, Mahākāla. In particular, *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 2–3 has extensive parallels in *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14; for instance, *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 2.35–75, the decapitation episode, is parallel to *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14.91–119, while *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 3.11ff. is parallel to *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14.12ff. In several places the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* inserts or augments *stotras*, e.g. after 2.34b and after 2.44d. Chapters I, 4–6 also build up on threads in the *Padmapurāṇa*.

a parallel tale in the *Śatarudrasaṃhitā*, book three of the *Śivapurāṇa*.[55] These sources form an interrelated group, reflecting ongoing manipulation of a common narrative stock—and each other, in some cases—many elements of which were recorded in the eighth-century *Dhuttakkhāṇa* of the Jaina author Haribhadra, as GRANOFF (2009) demonstrates.

Key elements of the Skull of Brahmā myth's core narrative are shared by versions of the Origin of the Lingam. One point of convergence lies in variations on the 'paternity' theme. Both myths usually pose either of two (related) problems: that of Brahmā knowing the answer to the mystery of Śiva's parentage (note e.g. the *Matsyapurāṇa*'s *brahmakapāla* episode), or the problem of Brahmā desiring to have Śiva take birth as his own son (as in the *liṅgodbhava* episodes of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, etc.). Both myths also revolve in most tellings around an altercation between deities convinced of their own supremacy, a matter resolved by the manifestation of the true supreme being. In the *Skandapurāṇa*, the deity manifests not as an immeasurable, luminous lingam, but rather as an immense orb of light from which Nīlalohita appears (cf. *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31.23–27b). This bears unambiguous resemblance to the *liṅgodbhava* episode of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, for recall that in this text (as also the *Niśvāsamukha* and *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*), following the divine altercation, Śiva manifests first as a vast, radiant orb. Within this Brahmā and Viṣṇu perceive a tiny lingam that grows immense. Many accounts of the Origin of the Lingam have an anthropomorphic form of the deity emerge from the luminous lingam, much as Nīlalohita does from a luminous orb in the *Skandapurāṇa*'s Skull of Brahmā narrative. Also, the theme of the Vedas lecturing feuding deities on Śiva's grandeur comes to be shared: the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* and *Liṅgapurāṇa* include this in their *liṅgodbhava* narratives, while in earlier sources such as the *Kūrmapurāṇa* and *Skandapurāṇa* this forms part of the Skull of Brahmā episode. These and other similarities intimate how the stories blended over time, which helps render their juxtaposition in the *BraYā* intelligible.

In her study of Mahākāla, GRANOFF (2004: 113–14) suggests that the *Skandapurāṇa*'s theme of Nīlalohita manifesting in a radiant orb was later supplanted by the pillar-of-light *liṅgodbhava* myth. The reverse now appears more likely. Multiple comparatively early sources narrate the Origin of the Lingam in relatively unembellished forms, uninfluenced by the Skull of Brahmā tale.

[55] For a brief summary of *Śivapurāṇa* III (*Śatarudrasaṃhitā*), 8–9, see DONIGER (1973: 124). This shares much in common with *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31, including specific passages (e.g. *Śatarudrasaṃhitā* 8.11 = *Kūrma*° II, 31.4).

It is telling that the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Vāyupurāṇa*, probably our earliest sources for the Origin of the Lingam myth, seem altogether unaware of the Skull of Brahmā episode; conversely, the *Skandapurāṇa*, an early source for the Skull of Brahmā myth, does allude to the luminous lingam.[56] As told in sources such as the *Skandapurāṇa*, the tale of Brahmā's decapitation is likely composite, in all likelihood reconfiguring older material, as Granoff (2009) herself argues. It is possible that the *Skandapurāṇa* or its own immediate source used as raw material a relatively simple Skull of Brahmā myth along the lines of the *Matsyapurāṇa*'s.[57] In doing so, the *Skandapurāṇa*'s redactors probably also drew upon a *liṅgodbhava* myth similar to the *Vāyupurāṇa*'s, recasting Brahmā's altercation with Viṣṇu into one between Brahmā and Yajña, and the luminous lingam into an orb of light. In support of this scenario, there are a number of indications that the *Vāyupurāṇa* (or an early version thereof) was known to the *Skandapurāṇa*.[58] Containing no *brahmakapāla* episode of its own, the *Vāyupurāṇa* nonetheless narrates the birth of Nīlalohita and other tales that could have served as raw material for the Skull of Brahmā cycle of *Skandapurāṇa* 4–7.[59] Jaina sources indirectly support this chronology: Granoff (2009: 2–6) notes that the *Dhuttakkhāṇa* in the *Nisīhavisesacuṇṇi* of 677 C.E. records the *liṅgodbhava* myth but not the *brahmakapāla* narrative, which Haribhadra's eighth-century *Dhuttakkhāṇa* recounts in detail. This could reflect shifting emphases in Śaiva mythology during the sixth to eighth centuries, a shift already evident in the *Skandapurāṇa*'s preference for the Skull of Brahmā rather than

[56] This has been pointed out to me by Yuko Yokochi (personal communication, June 2014), who has discovered in the *Skandapurāṇa* a passage (155.70) alluding to Brahmā and Viṣṇu's encounter with the immeasurable lingam. As constituted by Yokochi, the verse, from a hymn of praise, reads thus: *liṅgasya te hara hariḥ prayayāv adhastād ūrdhvaṃ tathāham amitasya purā purāṇa | āvān na vāpatur ananta tavādimadhye ko 'nyaḥ pramāṇam iha vakṣyati te 'lpabuddhiḥ ||*.

[57] This is not to suggest that the *Matsya*° as such predates the *Skandapurāṇa*. For some observations on the relation between parallels in the *Skandapurāṇa* and the *Matsyapurāṇa*, see Adriaensen et al. (1998: 22–23), who consider the *Matsya*° more likely to be the borrower. Bakker & Isaacson (2004: 40) further argue that the Skull of Brahmā episode of the *Matsyapurāṇa* was revised after the time of Lakṣmīdhara.

[58] On the probability that the *Skandapurāṇa* knows the *Vāyu*° (or an earlier version thereof), see Adriaensen et al. (1998: 20–22) and Bisschop (2007).

[59] Note especially *Vāyupurāṇa* I, 24–27, whose themes include an altercation between Viṣṇu and Brahmā resolved by revelation of the radiant Śiva's supremacy, as well as the paternity problem and birth of Nīlalohita as Brahmā's son. Points of intersection between chapter 24 and the *Skandapurāṇa* are noted by Granoff (2009: 13–14), who however proposes that the *Vāyu*° borrows from the Skull of Brahmā episode.

the radiant lingam. The *BraYā* appears to know and rework well-developed versions of both tales, though its sources for the *brahmakapāla* myth do not appear to include the *purāṇa*s thus far reviewed.

4.3.2 Cranial cosmology: Śiva's gaze, Viṣṇu's blood, and the skull-egg of Brahmā

Much as the *BraYā* reworks the *liṅgodbhava* tale into a prelude to the *khaṭvāṅga*'s creation, its Skull of Brahmā episode frames another origin myth: that of the *BraYā*'s cult goddesses (83.149–163). After the decapitation, Bhairava (as Mahākāla) comes into the presence of Viṣṇu, skull in hand, and begs for alms. Knowingly, Viṣṇu extends his arm for Bhairava to pierce. Blood showers thunderously into the skull-bowl. After covering and churning the brew with his left hand, Bhairava gazes into the blood and sees his own shadow. Therein arise the goddesses: the *BraYā*'s pantheon of mantra-deities, including Caṇḍā Kāpālinī herself. He thus becomes "Bhairava the Churner" (Manthānabhairava). Two other chapters—*BraYā* 30 and 53—also allude to this episode. The former speaks of the supreme Śakti's emergence from Bhairava's blood-filled skull-vessel at the time of creation,[60] and the latter (53.184–88) mentions the emergence of her entourage as well, while emphasizing the Śakti's identity as Raktā, the Red, or perhaps "she who arises from blood (*rakta*)"—a name shared by the first of the Four Devīs of the *BraYā*'s pantheon.[61]

The creative synergy of Brahmā's skull, the blood of Viṣṇu, and Rudra or Bhairava's gaze is not unique to the *BraYā*: several *purāṇa*s attest this theme. The *Devīpurāṇa*, which draws directly from the *BraYā*, as I argue in the next chapter, has the Great Goddess herself manifest from the bloody skull, pleased by Viṣṇu's hymn of praise (119.75). This is atypical of *purāṇa*s, however. In their narratives of Brahmā's decapitation, the *Matsyapurāṇa* (183.87–92) and *Kūrmapurāṇa* (II, 31) speak of Viṣṇu giving alms-blood without any creation ensuing. In contrast, the *Padmapurāṇa* (I, 14) has the powers of Brahmā's skull,

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[60] *BraYā* 30.8–9b: *yā sā śakti purākhyātā* [em.; °*khyāto* A] *raktapūrṇṇakapālake* | *sṛṣṭikāle abhivyaktā bhairavasya tadā tava* ||8|| *tasyā yāgavibhāgan tu jñānaughaṃ nirggataṃ priye* | ("That *śakti* taught earlier who manifested from Bhairava and yourself at the time of creation in a skull filled with blood—at that time, the mass of scriptural wisdom emerged forth as the divisions of her worship, my dear"). The passage's syntax is awkward, and I am grateful to TÖRZSÖK for her suggestions (personal communication). One might consider emending *yāgavibhāgan tu* to *yāgavibhāgena*.

[61] The passage is quoted as testimonia ad *BraYā* 83.155–60.

Viṣṇu's blood, and Śiva's gaze combine to give rise to a divine warrior named Karīṭin or Nara, who gives battle to Kuṇḍalin, a warrior emitted from the brow of an infuriated Brahmā.[62] (The pair are predicted to return as the epic heroes Arjuna and Karṇa, respectively.) The *Vāmanapurāṇa* (2.46–48) extends this theme in having three streams of blood emerge, befitting a trident wound: one lands in the skull, giving rise to a warrior, Śiśu; another falls to the earth, engendering the sages Atri and Durvāsas; and a third stream remains among the stars. The *Skandapurāṇa*'s more reliably early version of the blood-alms episode (chapter 6) is akin to the *Padmapurāṇa*'s. Śiva's proxy, Nīlalohita—who is also Brahmā's son—approaches Viṣṇu for alms in disguise. Discerning his identity, Viṣṇu lets forth a stream of blood from his forehead into the skull. When Nīlalohita gazes inside at his shadow, therein manifests Nara, Nārāyaṇa's companion. Afterwards, Nīlakaṇṭha sojourns to Brahmā's heaven, thence back to earth, where he establishes the skull.

As mentioned, GRANOFF (2009) notes that myths of Brahmā's decapitation were sufficiently well-known in the eighth century to be parodied in the *Dhuttakkhāṇa* by a Jaina author, Haribhadra. She argues that this may in fact be the most useful source for reconstructing early, mainstream versions of the tale—fundamentally a tale of conflict between Śiva and Brahmā, and of the two warriors emerging from Brahmā's sweat and blood (who become Karṇa and Arjuna, respectively). She also observes that, in contrast to the *Skandapurāṇa*'s heterogeneous tale, the *BraYā*'s version of the decapitation myth is coherent in and of itself and, moreover, displays no awareness of the "mainstream" tale, which it cannot be assumed to postdate. GRANOFF argues (p. 10–11) that the *Skandapurāṇa* in fact sought to integrate the popular tale with a Kāpālika version along the lines of the *BraYā*'s, which posits goddesses (*yoginī*s or *mātṛ*s) arising from Brahmā's skull. This would explain the presence of the Skull-mothers (*kapālamātaraḥ*), as well as their appellation, in *Skandapurāṇa* 7.21–23. At Śiva's invitation, flesh-eating female spirits flock to consume the corpse of Hālāhala at the holy site of Brahmā's skull, named Mahākapāla, where they are enjoined to abide and renamed as "Skull-mothers."[63] While the *Skandapurāṇa* provides

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[62] *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14.30c–32b (≈ *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 3.30c–32b): *tejo 'dhikam idaṃ divyaṃ brahmaṇaḥ paṃcamaṃ śiraḥ* ||30|| *tejaso brahmaṇo dīptād bhujasya tava śoṇitāt* | *mama dṛṣṭinipātāc ca trīṇi tejāṃsi yāṇi tu* ||31|| *tatsaṃyogasamutpannaḥ śatruṃ yuddhe vijeṣyati* |.

[63] *Skandapurāṇa* 7.21–24: *hate tasmiṃs tadā devo diśaḥ sarvā avaikṣata* | *tābhyaḥ piśācā vṛttāsyāḥ piśācyaś ca mahābalāḥ* | *abhyagacchanta deveśaṃ tābhyas taṃ vinivedayat* ||21|| *sa tābhir upayuktaś ca viniyuktaś ca sarvaśaḥ* | *tam eva cāpy athāvāsaṃ devādiṣṭaṃ prapedire* ||22||

a different explanation for their name,[64] Granoff observes that the natural explanation, indirectly supported by the *BraYā*, is that the Skull-mothers are so designated because they arise from Brahmā's skull.[65] It is conceivable that the *Skandapurāṇa* and *BraYā* both rework a version of the story in which the *kapālamātaraḥ* emerge from the blood-filled skull—rather than, as the *BraYā* has it, its own pantheon of goddesses.

In the *BraYā*'s narrative, the goddesses' manifestation in Brahmā's skull marks a second genesis, the first being the creation of the cosmic orb or 'egg' (*aṇḍa*). These are framed in similar terms. Much as the deity churns atoms of earth and sweat in the palm of his hand to form the cosmos, heating and hardening these into a golden sphere with his gaze (83.52–54), the goddesses' creation is accomplished by his churning (*manthanaṃ*) and gazing into the blood-filled cranium. The analogy runs even deeper, for the bowl of blood and the universe are both skulls. According to a passage in *BraYā* 32, the cosmic orb is not merely egg-like (*aṇḍa*), but in fact shaped like a skull (*kapālākṛti-saṃsthāna*).[66] This conceptual link is facilitated by the fact that *kapāla*, usually "skull," can also mean "egg" or "shell of an egg."[67] Both, moreover, belong to Brahmā, the skull being that of his erstwhile fifth head and the universe being Brahmā's Orb (*brahmāṇḍa*). Though these connections are not drawn explicitly in *BraYā* 83, the redactors undoubtedly had them in mind, for the notion of the cosmos as skull (*kapāla*) is integral to their understanding of the deity's principal name, Kapālīśa, "Lord of the Skull" (*BraYā* 53.175c–77):

> *kaṃ viśvaṃ pālako rudraḥ kapālaṃ bhuvanān tathā* ||175||

bhakṣayanti sma mahiṣaṃ mitvā mitvā yatas tu tāḥ | *kapālamātaraḥ proktās tasmād devena dhīmatā* ||23|| *kapālaṃ sthāpitaṃ yasmāt tasmin deśe pinākinā* | *mahākapālaṃ tat tasmāt triṣu lokeṣu gadyate* ||24||. Mention of male *piśāca*s in 21c is puzzling, for only female spirits are mentioned in 22–24 as consuming Hālāhala and abiding at Mahākapāla. This passage belongs to a section (7.13–38) which Yokochi (2004) argues was later incorporated into the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* (I, 9.2–26).

[64]See the previous note.

[65]It is of course also possible that the appelation *kapālamātṛ* merely intimates that the goddesses bear skulls. These deities are female counterparts to the *kapālarudra*s, alongside whom they are mentioned e.g. in *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Guhyasūtra* 5.1–21.

[66]*BraYā* 32.112c–13: *iyat tu parisaṃkhyātaṃ brahmāṇḍaṃ devy adhorddhakam* ||112|| *kapālākṛtisaṃsthānaṃ adhorddham bhuvanair vṛtam* | *aṇḍagolakasaṃsthānaṃ svarūpeṇa varānane* ||113|| ("The Egg of Brahmā extends this far upwards and downwards, O goddess. It is shaped in the form of a skull, covered upwards and downwards by worlds. Its shape is spherical by nature, [like] an egg, O fair woman").

[67]This meaning is given both the Apte (1898) and Monier-Williams (1899) dictionaries.

bhuvanīśā kapālasthā dhārakas tu śivo 'vyayaḥ |
yenedaṃ dhāryate sarvvaṃ śivādyāvīcigocaraṃ ||176||
samutpādayate 'ty eṣa pālayec ca carācaraṃ |
tena so hi kapālīśo bhairavo mantravigrahaḥ ||177||

175c viśvaṃ] *em.*; visva **A** 175d kapālaṃ] *em.*; kapālāṃ **A**

"***kaṃ*** means 'universe';[68] 'guardian' (***pālaka***) means '*rudra*'.[69] Likewise, *kapāla* means 'worlds' (*bhuvana*).[70] The world-lords [i.e. *rudras*] are located in the *kapāla*, but the imperishable Śiva is its bearer. Since he bears all of this [universe], from the *śivatattva* to earth, since he brings into being and guards the animate and inanimate world, thus it is that Bhairava, whose body is mantra, is known as 'Lord of the Skull' (Kapālīśa)."

In the convergence of Brahmā's cranium and the cosmos as Brahmāṇḍa, we encounter a mytho-ritual complex investing extraordinary meaning in skulls, emblem of the divine and quintessential accoutrement of the Great Vow. The vow's votary "bears the universe,"[71] for his skull-bowl is a homologue of the very cosmos Śiva upholds. Ritually, the skull is uniquely capable of invoking the presence of the goddesses, being as it is their primordial source.[72] As chapter 6 will show, the skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*), so central to the narratives of *BraYā* 83, is equally imbued with cosmological meaning.

The *BraYā* recapitulates this cranial cosmology in its "Rite of the Great Churning" (*mahāmanthānavidhāna*), the subject of chapter 46.[73] In this macabre *sādhana*, the adept churns a vessel brimming with human fluids

[68] Cf. the etymology of *kaṅkālabhairava* in *BraYā* 63.35c–36b: *kaṃ vi[ś]vaṃ bhuvanā[ḥ] kañ ca kañ ca bhūbhṛtiprakṛyāḥ* || *paryāptan tu tato devi tena kaṅkālabhairavaṃ* | ("*kaṃ* means 'universe'; *kaṃ* also means 'worlds', and the hierarchy of world-lords. [All of this] is complete [in him], O goddess; that is why he is **Kaṃ**kālabhairava.").

[69] Along similar lines, Kṣemarāja, ad *Svacchandatantra* 10.175, interprets *kapāla* in the sense of *rudra*, citing the following etymology: *kān prajāpatīn pālayatīti kapālo rudras* ("He rules over [***pālayati***] the ***ka***s, i.e. *prajāpatis*; therefore *kapāla* means *rudra*").

[70] As transmitted, 175d is difficult to construe; I have emended *kapālāṃ* to the nominative singular and understood *bhuvanān* as nominative plural in sense.

[71] *BraYā* 83.164cd: *kapālaṃ dhāritaṃ yena dhṛtan tena carācaram.*

[72] *BraYā* 83.162c–63.

[73] Preliminaries to the *sādhana* are described in 46.1–61; the *sādhana* proper is taught in the remainder of the chapter (46.62–130). A summary of the rite is provided by Törzsök (2011: 360); see also Törzsök (2013), where she quotes and discusses several passages from this and related chapters of the *BraYā*.

(*mahāpicu*)[74] set upon a corpse with a churning stick of bone, pulled by a cord of gut and hair.[75] Echoing both the cosmogonic acts of Bhairava the Churner (*manthāna*) and tales of the gods' and *asuras*' churning of the primordial ocean (*sāgaramanthana*), the heroic *sādhaka* brings forth all manner of terror and wonder. These include the Kālakūṭa poison (v. 85), by the power of which Viṣṇu became dark (*śyāma*) and fell to earth (as Kṛṣṇa).[76] After neutralizing the poison, the *sādhaka*'s churning yields the *kaustubha* jewel and goddess Lakṣmī, among other wonders. Ultimately Aghorī, the supreme goddess herself, comes forth mounted upon a skull, rainbow-hued and radiant like a crore of suns.[77] She embraces the *sādhaka* as her son, suckling him. Through this divine nectar

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[74]See the discussion of the term *picu* in §2.2.

[75]*BraYā* 46.44–46b:

> *yāgasya dakṣiṇe dvāre tasmiṃ sādhanam ārabhet |*
> *mahāpicususaṃpūrṇṇaṃ kuryāt sthāliṃ śavopari ||44||*
> *āyatasya tu nalakaṃ mahā-m-asthi śavopari |*
> *eṣa manthānako devi asmin tantre praśasyate ||45||*
> *keseṣu netrakaṃ kuryād aṃtraiḥ kartṛvimiśritaiḥ |*
>
> "One should commence *sādhana* there at the southern entrance to the maṇḍala. A vessel (*sthāli*) brimming with *picu* is to be placed [there] on a corpse. A great thigh bone of *āyata* (?), [placed] on the corpse, is the churning stick praised in this *tantra*, O goddess. One should make the churning cord out of hair, mixed with guts and *kartṛ* (?).

The meaning of *āyata* in this context is unclear; its blood is mentioned in 18cd (*āyatasya tu raktena madireṇa tu miśritam*). The meaning of *kartṛ* or *katṛ* (as in 43a) is also uncertain, though presumably a product of the body, perhaps 'sinew' or the like. Here paired with entrails (*antra*), it is mentioned alongside bone in 43ab, perhaps as a means of binding them (*asthibhir katṛbhis caiva maṇḍapan tatra kārayet*).

[76]*BraYā* 46.85–86:

> *tatottiṣṭhati deveśi kālakūṭo mahāviṣaḥ |*
> *yo dahed devatāṃ sarvvāṃ brahmādyāṃ sasurāsurām ||85||*
> *jvālāmālāsahasraiś ca dīptānalasuvarcasaḥ |*
> *yena viṣṇu kṛtaḥ syāmo dharaṇyāṃ vinipātitaḥ ||86||*
>
> 85a tatottiṣṭhati] *em.*; tato tiṣṭhati A 85d brahmādyāṃ] *em.*; brahmādyaṃ A 86b °suvarcasaḥ] *em.*; °suvaccasaḥ A 86d dharaṇyāṃ] *em.*; dharaṇyā A
>
> "Afterwards arises the great poison known as Kālakūṭa, O queen of the gods, which could incinerate all the deities, beginning with Brahmā, together with the gods and *asuras*—powerful like an inferno blazing with countless flames, on account of which Viṣṇu became dark and fell to earth [as the dark Kṛṣṇa].

[77]*BraYā* 46.107–8:

(*amṛta*) he attains the powers and qualities of Śiva himself.[78] Rich in mythical

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kṣaṇamātraṃ mathed yāva namaskṛtvā tu caṇḍikām |
tatrottiṣṭhati vai devi aghorī siddhidāyikā ||107||
śakracāpanibhākārā sūryakoṭisamaprabhā |
sarvvābharaṇasaṃyuktā kapālāsanasaṃsthitā ||108||

"After paying homage to Caṇḍikā, one should [again] churn for a moment until, O goddess, Aghorī then arises, bestower of *siddhi*. She has the hue and form of a rainbow, her radiance equal to crores of suns, adorned with all ornaments and situated on a skull-seat."

[78] *BraYā* 46.114b–116, 120c–23:

sādhakovāca ||
yadi tuṣṭāsi mān devi stanaṃ me dada ambike ||114||
srutvā vākyaṃ tato devyā sādhakasya suśobhanam |
ehi ehi mahāsattva stanaṃ me piba putraka ||115||
tvaṃ muktvā tu mahāsatva ko 'nyo putratvam arhati |
pariṣvajya tato vīraṃ stanan dadāmi sādhaka ||116||
...
evaṃ kṛtvāpi vai devi -m- amṛtaṃ sādhakottamaḥ |
savyāsavyan tato pītvā sarvvajño bhavate kṣaṇāt ||120||
bhairavo 'tha svayaṃ sākṣā guhyakānāṃ prabhur bhavet |
saptakoṭyas tu mantrāṇāṃ viśante tasya vai hṛdi ||121||
sakalo niṣkalas caiva tathā sakalaniṣkalaḥ |
sūkṣmo bhinnakalas caiva śivo bhavati pañcadhā ||122 ||
ye guṇā parameśasya tattvātītasya śobhane |
sādhakasya tu tāny eva bhavante nātra saṃśayaḥ ||123||

114c tuṣṭāsi] *em.*; tuṣṭāmi **A**   115a devyā] *em.*; devyāṃ **A**   115d stanaṃ] *em.*; stana **A**   115d putraka] *em.*; putrakaḥ **A**   116a mahāsatva] *em.*; mahāsatvaḥ **A**   116d sādhaka] *em.*; sādhakaḥ **A**   120d kṣaṇāt] *em.*; kṣaṇām **A**   121b prabhur] *em.*; prabhu **A** (*unmetrical*)   121d viśante] *em.*; viṃśati **A** (*unmetrical*)

"The Sādhaka spoke: 'If you are pleased with me, O mother, give me your breast'. Hearing the *sādhaka*'s resplendent words, the Goddess [says,] 'Come, come, you of great spirit; drink at my breast. Who other than you is worthy to be my child, O you of great spirit?' Then she embraces the hero, [saying,] 'I offer my breast, O *sādhaka*'.

... Having done thus, for his part, the best of *sādhaka*s should drink the nectar, O goddess, from both the left and the right [breasts]. After this he instantly becomes omniscient. He would become Bhairava in very person, lord of the *guhyaka*s. Seven crore mantras enter into his heart. He becomes the fivefold Śiva—with parts, without parts, with-cum-without parts, subtle, and with parts separated. Whatever qualities are possessed by the supreme Śiva, beyond the

allusions, this rite belongs to a cluster of three chapters (46–48) which Törzsök speculates, cogently, might derive from Kāpālika (i.e. "Atimārga III") sources. These share stylistic features and subject matters—gruesome cremation-ground practices for the attainment of *siddhi*—and assign prominent roles to deity-possession and the Great Vow (*mahāvrata*), practice of which is envisioned as the necessary preliminary.[79] To this hypothetical group of chapters should also be added chapter 83 (and potentially 63, 66, and 15 as well). However, any debt these chapters have to Atimārga sources may be indirect, for chapter 46 claims to redact its "Rite of the Great Churning," in abbreviated form, from the *Ucchuṣmottaratantra*, one of the *BraYā*'s putative sources. This seems more likely to be an early Mantramārga *Bhairavatantra* than an Atimārga III source.[80]

4.3.3 Sacred place and Brahmā's skull

An enduring theme in Brahmā's decapitation myth is the origin of a sacred place where his skull finally comes to rest. Such celebration of place, and indeed the deity's release of the skull (*kapālamocana*), is absent from the *BraYā*. However,

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> hierarchy of ontic levels, these undoubtedly become the *sādhaka*'s, O beautiful woman."

Cf. *Jayadrathayāmala* III (*yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa*), 31.44–45b: *śmaśāne vicaren maunī triṣaṣṭi-divasāni tu | vratānte tu varārohe śarīre mātaro dhruvam || viśante devadeveśi dadante siddhim uttamān |*.

[79] Törzsök 2013: 193 (note 43). She observes that chapter 49 may belong to this group as well. See also Sanderson (2009: 13–34) on Kāpālika traces in the *BraYā*. On the *mahāvrata* as a preliminary to practice of the Rite of the Great Churning, note 46.127ab: *avratasya na dātavyaṃ pañcamudrāvivarjite* ("This [teaching] must not be given to one without the [Great] Vow, devoid of the Five Insignia").

[80] *BraYā* 46.124–25:

> *pūrvvam eva mayākhyātam ucchuṣmottarabhairave |*
> *mahāmanthānavidhānaṃ vistareṇa yaśasvini ||124||*
> *saṃkṣiptaṃ tantrasadbhāvaṃ sarahasyasamuccayam |*
> *dadhno ghṛtam ivoddhṛtya sārātsārataraṃ śubham ||125||*
>
> 125c dadhno] *em.* (Kiss); dadhnā **A** 125c ghṛtam ivoddhṛtya] *em.*; ghṛta-vivodhṛtya **A** 125b sarahasya°] *em.*; sarahasyaṃ **A**
>
> "Previously, I had taught the Rite of the Great Churning at length in the *Ucchuṣmottarabhairava*, O woman of renown. [Here] the essence of the *tantra*, along with its collected secrets, [is] abbreviated. [This] auspicious essence of essences has been extracted like ghee from yoghurt."

On the subject of the *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra* and/or *Ucchuṣmottara*, see §2.6.

the narrative does localize Brahmā's decapitation in Ujjayinī (i.e. Ujjain), and the presence of Mahākāla, the presiding Śiva of Ujjayinī,[81] looms large.[82] This contrasts with other comparatively old versions of the tale, attesting to early, competing claims concerning the place of Brahmā's skull.

As noted earlier, the *Matsyapurāṇa*'s episode of Brahmā's decapitation has celebration of Avimukta, i.e. Vārāṇasī, as its principal agenda. This association with Vārāṇasī is also evident in sources such as *Padmapurāṇa*, I (*sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*) 14.182c–213; and *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31.95–111. In the *Vāmanapurāṇa* as well (chapter 3), Viṣṇu dispatches Bhairava to Vārāṇasī to lift his curse. Though his sin, personified as the female spirit Brahminicide (*brahmahatyā*), departs on his arrival there, the skull does not leave his hand until he bathes in a *tīrtha* named Kapālamocana in another location: Kurujāṅgala, i.e. Kurukṣetra.[83] This dual association is revealing, for the *Vāmanapurāṇa* seeks to reconcile a tradition linking Brahmā's skull to Vārāṇasī with another, potentially older one emphasizing Kurukṣetra.

Chapter seven of the *Skandapurāṇa* employs the episode of Nīlalohita setting down the skull as an origin myth for an ambiguously-situated holy site. Called both a "field of the perfected" (*siddhakṣetra*) and "cremation ground" (*śmaśāna*), this encompasses the temple of Śiva as Śūleśvara and the lake of the skull, Mahākapāla. Bakker (2014: 165–71) argues, compellingly, that this in fact describes the hallowed land of Kurukṣetra, which in the sixth to seventh centuries had become a center for Pāśupata Śaivism and of which the *Skandapurāṇa*'s Skull of Brahmā cycle may be read as a glorification narrative (*māhātmya*). This sheds light on the early development of the Skull of Brahmā myth, for Kurukṣetra is also the site of the *Mahābhārata*'s Kapālamocana *tīrtha*.

In the epic, the "release of the skull" (*kapālamocana*) episode involves neither Brahmā nor Śiva.[84] Rather, the story goes that Rāma once severed the head of a *rākṣasa*, which landed upon and adhered to the leg of sage Mahodara. Seeking to be free of the putrid head, he bathed in all the world's *tīrtha*s to no avail; immersing himself at Auśanasa, a *tīrtha* of the river Sarasvatī at Kurukṣetra,[85] he finally rid himself of the skull. The site thus became known as

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[81] See e.g. *Skandapurāṇa* 167.176: *mahākāleśvaram devam ujjayanyāṃ mahāvrataḥ | abhigamyāpnuyād vidvān gaṇatvaṃ tripuradviṣaḥ ||*.

[82] *BraYā* 83.148a–d: *gandhavatyā taṭe ramye svarūpan darśitam mayā | mahākālaṃ mahāraudraṃ prajvalan svamarīcibhiḥ ||*.

[83] *Vāmanapurāṇa* 3.40–51.

[84] *Mahābhārata* IX (*Śalyaparvan*), 38.8–20.

[85] Bakker (2014: 168) points out that *Mahābhārata* III (*Āraṇyakaparvan*), 81.8 confirms

Kapālamocana. This episode, observes LORENZEN (1991: 79), must have been a model for the purāṇic Skull of Brahmā myth, wherein Śiva or his proxy seeks to rid himself of an unwanted cranium by bathing at various *tīrtha*s. Linking the stories even more closely is the fact that the *Skandapurāṇa* and epic both locate Kapālamocana in Kurukṣetra. While the *Skandapurāṇa* could draw directly on the *Mahābhārata*, there may already have existed a Śaiva prototype for the myth—one modelled on the epic and perhaps structured like the *Matsyapurāṇa*'s episode, but localizing the skull's release in Kurukṣetra rather than Vārāṇasī, and having Rudra/Nīlalohita, rather than Bhairava, as the protagonist.

A third tradition links the skull to Ujjayinī. In the *BraYā*, the deity manifests himself as Mahākāla on the banks of the Gandhavatī, a river of the Ujjayinī *kṣetra* (DEY 1927: 61), where he severs Brahmā's blazing fifth head. As in purāṇic tellings, he then departs to Viṣṇu's abode and begs for alms. With Viṣṇu's blood offering and the birth of the *śakti*s in Brahmā's skull, the story as such ends: there is no release of the skull nor creation of a holy site. Indeed, it would defy expectations for Kapālīśabhairava, the Terrifying Lord of the Skull, to set down his defining emblem. The *BraYā*'s localization of the narrative may, however, suggest that it drew upon a story which did glorify Ujjayinī and its presiding Śiva, Mahākāla, as the place of Brahmā's skull. Precisely this emphasis is present in a much later composition: the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa*, which BAKKER, et al. (1998: 24) have suggested may have been composed, in part, in the 12th century, and which YOKOCHI (2004) demonstrates drew from a recension of the old *Skandapurāṇa*. Chapters 2–6 offer an extended cycle of stories surrounding Brahmā's decapitation and the creation of the holy Mahākāla Forest of Ujjayinī. In many respects this reads as an expanded version of *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14.[86] The *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* did not innovate in making Brahmā's decapitation serve as the origin of Ujjayinī: the site's association with the beheading in the *BraYā* attests this long before the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa*'s compilation. The *Skandapurāṇa* may itself allude to this association by linking Mahākāla with Ujjayinī and votaries of the Great Vow.[87]

Although purāṇic versions of the tale often shift the skull's release to Vārāṇasī, the *BraYā* may inherit a different and potentially early branch of the story, aspects of which were also known in some form to redactors of the

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the identification of Kapālamocana with the Auśanasa *tīrtha* of Kurukṣetra.

[86] See note 53 above.

[87] *Skandapurāṇa* 167.176, quoted above (note 81).

Skandapurāṇa. This may have attributed the beheading to Mahākāla (with or without emphasizing the skull's release), placed key events in Ujjayinī, posited the emergence of Skull-mothers from the blood-filled vessel, and perhaps embellished the myth with tales concerning the deity's other bone ornaments, including the *khaṭvāṅga*. I would further speculate that this stream of story circulated within Lākula and/or Kāpālika circles (Atimārga II–III, in SANDERSON's analysis), thence taken up within the Mantramārga cult of Bhairava. I cannot substantiate this hypothesis. However, it seems meaningful that the association between Lākulas, the Skull of Brahmā myth, and Ujjayinī remains intact in the *circa*-12th century *Āvantyakhaṇḍa*. Its sixth chapter, in which Śiva sets down the skull, describes the Mahākāla Forest of Ujjayinī as the abode of brahmin ascetics, designated Mahāpāśupatas, who observe the *kapālavrata*, *lokātītavrata*, or *mahāpāśupatavrata*.[88] This terminology reveals affiliation with the Lākula or Kālamukha ascetic order of the Śaiva Atimārga.[89] Moreover, though also indebted to the *Padmapurāṇa*, the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa*'s Skull of Brahmā cycle (I, 2–6) may preserve elements distinctive to the hypothetical Atimārga story-branch. For, in a theme shared only by the *BraYā* and *Devīpurāṇa*, the narrative opens with a creation myth in which the deity, Mahākāla, churns the cosmic orb into being in the palm of his hand, thereafter producing Brahmā and urging him to create.[90] I would suggest that this cosmogonic myth celebrating Mahākāla's

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[88]Note especially *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 6.90–94b and 100–103: *kapālavratacaryā ca mayā hy eṣā prakīrtitā | kapālapātre bhuṃjānaḥ kapālakṛtabhūṣaṇaḥ* [em; *kapālavrata°* ed.] ||89|| *kapālapāṇiḥ saṃtuṣṭo bhikṣāvratasamanvitaḥ | śmaśānanilayo raudro vratonmattavimūḍhadhīḥ* ||90|| *nanditaḥ sarvvabhūteṣu priyāpriyasamaḥ sadā | bhasmabhūṣitasarvvāṅgo jñānī caiva viśeṣataḥ* ||91|| *jiteṃdriyo 'sarvvasaṃgo mṛdbhasmodakasaṃgrahī | nityayuktaḥ sadā vyāpī jāpī jitavarāsanaḥ* ||92|| *puṇyatīrthāśramopetaḥ svare deve samāhitaḥ | lokātītaṃ paraṃ jñānaṃ mahāpāśupataṃ vratam* ||93|| *kapālavratam āsthāya purā cīrṇaṃ mayā svayam* || *...kapāle bhojanaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ mārgo'yaṃ brahmasaṃbhavaḥ | vadanti loke vedeṣu pūjitaṃ devadānavaiḥ* ||100|| *dhārayiṣyanti ye viprāḥ kapālaṃ bhūtamohanam | mama tulyās tu te brahman vicaranti mahītale* ||101|| *japaikaniratā dhīrāḥ kapālakṛtabhūṣaṇāḥ | mahāpāśupatā loke rudrāḥ saṃsāratārakāḥ* ||102|| *dharmmādharmmavimuktāś ca kṛtyākṛtyavivarjjitāḥ | dīkṣayā jñānayogena prāṇinas tārayanti te* ||103||.

[89]The synonymity of the expressions *kapālavrata*, *lokātītavrata*, and *mahāpāśupatavrata*, and the association of this observance with the Lākulas or Kālamukhas (i.e. Atimārga II), was first noted by SANDERSON (1998: 666). Evidence for this is provided in SANDERSON (2006: 182–84). On the expressions Atimārga I, II, and III, see SANDERSON (2014b).

[90]*Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 2.1ab & 4–8b: *purā tv ekārṇave prāpte naṣṭe sthāvarajaṅgame | ... tadaiko hi mahākālo lokānugrahakāraṇāt | tasthau sthānāny aśeṣāṇi kāṣṭhāsv ālokayan prabhuḥ* ||4|| *sṛṣṭyarthaṃ sa mahākālaḥ kare kāmaṃ pratiṣṭhitam | dakṣiṇasya tu tarjjanyāṃ sa mamanthāviśoṣitam* ||5|| *kalalaṃ budbudaṃ bhūtvā tīvravegavivarddhitam | jajñe tad aṇḍaṃ sudṛḍhaṃ suṣṭhu*

generation of the world from Brahmā's cranium was integral to the hypothetical story-branch inherited independently by the *BraYā* and *Āvantyakhaṇḍa*.

As a final note on Brahmā's cranium, it may be mentioned that tales of Śiva's bone emblems must have been more varied than surviving narrative sources suggest. In an essay on skulls in early Śaiva art, Bisschop (2008) argues, examining fifth-century statuary from Mansar and related visual and literary sources, for the existence of a version of Brahmā's decapitation in which the deity does not set down Brahmā's skull, but rather wears it on his head as an ornament.[91] Another variant tale is implied by an entertaining episode in *Padmapurāṇa* VI (*uttarakhaṇḍa*), 11, in which Śiva wears Brahmā's skull on a garland. These elusive tale fragments help place in perspective the mythology of Bhairava's bones in the *BraYā*, which seems otherwise so anomalous.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to contextualize the *BraYā*'s narrative material on the skull and skull-staff within a wide range of textual sources. Transforming the *liṅgodbhava* myth of early purāṇas and the Śivadharma corpus into a prelude to the *khaṭvāṅga*'s creation, the *BraYā* integrates this into a Bhairava-centric Mantramārga cosmogony, further extended by incorporation of Brahmā's decapitation myth and an excursus on Bhairava's bone ornaments. Drawing on earlier Śaiva narratives, the chapter thus embeds its unique exposition on the Great Vow's accoutrements within a rich mythic and cosmological tapestry.

In the course of this study, I have made a number of observations concerning the relative chronology of sources telling the *liṅgodbhava* and *brahmakapāla* tales, suggesting, for instance, that the *Śivadharmaśāstra* possesses indications of archaism, perhaps relative even to the *Vāyupurāṇa*. Building upon Kafle's (2013) insights, I have shown some of the ways in which the *liṅgodbhava* myth of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* had a formative influence upon later tellings on this theme, including that of the *BraYā*. I have also suggested that early tellings of the *liṅgodbhava* myth likely have historical priority over those of Brahmā's

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vṛttaṃ hiraṇmayam ||6|| kareṇa tāḍitaṃ tad dhi babhūva dvidalaṃ mahat | adhaḥkhaṇḍaṃ smṛtā bhūmir ūrdhvaṃ dyaus tārakānvitam ||7|| madhye 'bhavat tadā brahmā pañcavaktraś caturbhujaḥ |.

[91] The main image Bisschop's argument revolves around (Mansar sculpture 32) implies an even more complex story in which Śiva or Nīlalohita is also slayer of a buffalo or ram demon (perhaps Hālāhala), whose head he wears alongside Brahmā's skull.

skull. Even as recorded in the old *Skandapurāṇa*, the *brahmakapāla* myth has a complex character and appears indebted to the *liṅgodbhava* tale, perhaps as told by the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Vāyupurāṇa*. Regardless of their relative priority, the two tales nonetheless did come to converge, as they do in the *BraYā*, though the latter's manner of weaving them together is unique. Most distinctive of all to the *BraYā*'s narrative is its tale of Khaṭvāsura, whose impaled corpse is transfigured into the skull-staff of Bhairava. The subsequent chapter will take up this thread in the course of examining the *Devīpurāṇa*'s adaptation of material from *BraYā* 83.

A question running throughout this chapter has been the extent to which the *BraYā* might draw upon or at least bear traces of source material stemming from the Atimārga tradition of the Lākulas (Atimārga II), or, perhaps more likely, the elusive Atimārga Kāpālikas (i.e. the Somasiddhānta or Atimārga III). Indeed, it seems significant that one of the earlier references to the *brahmakapāla* episode is placed in the mouth of a drunken Kāpālika in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* (early seventh-century South India).[92] In this chapter, I have tried to identify some of these potential traces in the *BraYā* as well as in the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* and old *Skandapurāṇa*. This hypothetical Atimārga source (or sources) may have narrated Mahākāla's creation of the universe and myriad *śakti*s from Brahmā's skull, his manifestation as a skull-bearing yogin from a luminous lingam, Brahmā's decapitation, and the creation of Ujjayinī *tīrtha*; it may also, like the *BraYā*, have included tracts on the iconography and ritual treatment of the skull, skull-staff, and other paraphernalia of the Great Vow. Chapter 83 of the *BraYā* could itself be a redaction of such a source, only modestly revised; this case may also not be unique. Törzsök (2011), as discussed earlier, suggests that chapters 46–48 of the *BraYā* may be of Atimārga (III), Kāpālika provenance, while Sanderson (2014: 11–12) hypothesizes that the *Yoginīsañcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* was redacted from an Atimārga III source with relatively little modification.

Although it is highly plausible that *BraYā* 83 incorporates Atimārga source material, its cosmology is nonetheless that of the Mantramārga,[93] and its narratives have been crafted so as to incorporate its own deity pantheon. Moreover, chapter 46—a strong candidate for being of Kāpālika provenance—explicitly

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[92] Verse 17, cited above in note 48.

[93] On Atimārga cosmology, particularly that of the Lākulas (Atimārga II), in relation to Mantramārga cosmology, see Sanderson (2006). For some notes on the cosmology of *BraYā* 83, see §1.10, as well as chapter 6, in the context of the *khaṭvāṅga*'s symbolism.

names its source as the *Ucchuṣmottara*, likely a Mantramārga *Bhairavatantra*.[94] Any debt to Atimārga sources may hence be indirect, possibly multiple steps removed. Nevertheless, the *BraYā* and related tantric literature probably bring us as close as possible to the Atimārga Kāpālikas, barring the recovery of their own literature, of which not even titles appear to survive. Textual evidence of this nature was not readily accessible when David LORENZEN (1972) published his pioneering study of the Kālamukhas (i.e. Lākulas) and Kāpālikas, whom he was compelled to study based almost entirely on outsider representations and to declare as "lost Śaivite sects." In this light, the window the *BraYā* provides into Kāpālika myth, cosmology, ritual, and material culture is invaluable.

[94] On the *Ucchuṣmottara*, see the discussion in §2.6.

Chapter 5

The Slaying of Khaṭvāsura: On the *Devīpurāṇa*'s Adaptation of the *Brahmayāmala*

किमेतदद्भुतं रूपं किमेतद्भूषणं विभो ।
किमेतद् भ्राजते व्योम्नि त्रिशिखं शूलमुज्वलम् ॥
उत्तमाङ्गं शुभं कस्य यत्ते करतलस्थितम् ।

"What is this strange form of yours, O lord? What is this adornment? What is this radiant trident that shines in the firmament? Whose auspicious head is this in the palm of your hand?"

Brahmayāmala 83.87–88b; *Devīpurāṇa* 119.64–65b; **Brahmayāmalasāra* 68.57–58b

5.1 Introduction

While origin myths for the lingam and the skull of Brahmā are copious, the tale of the *khaṭvāṅga*'s origin from the body of an *asura* is virtually unique to the *BraYā*. By way of origin, *khaṭvāṅga* means "bedpost:" the limb (*aṅga*) of a cot (*khaṭvā*).[1] However, the term is better known as designating the skull-topped staff born by some fierce deities and votaries of the Great Vow (*mahāvrata*)

[1] See the discussion in §5.4 below.

or Skullbearer's Observance (*kapālavrata*). The *BraYā* provides a mythic and etymological origin to the object in positing its fashioning from the body—another meaning of *aṅga*—of a certain Khaṭvāsura. The anti-god (*asura*) who provides his corpse is otherwise little-known. While an unrelated Khaṭvāṅga figures in purāṇic literature as a king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty,[2] only two other texts known to me attest Khaṭvāsura. These are the *BraYāSāra*, in chapter 68, and the *Devīpurāṇa*, which devotes an entire story cycle to him (chapters 111–16 and 119). Moreover, as I argue below, the *Devīpurāṇa* draws heavily from the *BraYā*—either directly, or via the *BraYāSāra*—in its 119th chapter, entitled "The Slaying of Khaṭvāsura" (*khaṭvāvadha*).[3]

In *BraYā* 83, Khaṭvāsura's tale (83.91–94) is brief and incoherent, possibly due to corruption in verse 92, or, more likely, from loss of text between 91d and 92a. The speaker is Bhairava, addressing Brahmā and Viṣṇu after manifesting before the erstwhile feuding deities, adorned with bones. This passage reads as follows (see the edition and translation for the critical apparatus and detailed notes):

yāni nārāṇy aśeṣāṇi grīvābāhukaṭisthitām |
nārāyaṇa tvadīyāni bhuvanīśāñ ca saṃkṣaye ||91||
⟨…⟩ *māyayā māṃsam āvṛtya tallakṣyāt kṣobhyam udyataḥ* |
mayāpi so tv anāyāsā hūṃkāreṇa niyāmitaḥ ||92||
khaṭvāsureti vikhyāto asuro devakaṇṭakaḥ |
tadante līlayā devi śaktyāviṣṭena cetasā |
ghātito hi kṣaṇād duṣṭo vidhvaṃsya baladarpitaḥ ||93||
tasyāṅgaṃ śīghram ādāya divyavajramayam mahāṃ |
dhṛtaṃ mahāyudhaṃ yasmāt khaṭvāṅgan tu tatas tv idam ||94||

It is uncertain whether and how verses 91 and 92 connect; text appears to have been lost after 91d, perhaps due to eyeskip. This loss is suggested by incoherence, by the fact that the referent of the pronoun *so* ("he," i.e. Khaṭvāsura) in 92c remains unstated until 93a, and also by the fact that a parallel passage in the *Devīpurāṇa* (119.68–70; ≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.61–63) contains essential narrative details here absent. I cannot derive sense from the expression *tallakṣāt* in 92b, and have adopted the conjecture *tallakṣyāt* ("for that purpose"), suggested by

[2] See e.g. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* IX, 9.41.

[3] I am grateful to James PIERCE for help in accessing TARKARATNA's edition of the *Devīpurāṇa*, and for stimulating correspondence concerning the *Devīpurāṇa* (the subject of his doctoral thesis).

Judit Törzsök (personal communication; see the annotation to the translation concerning other possibilities). As such, 92ab ambiguously states, "covering flesh by means of Māyā, ready to agitate/be agitated for that purpose." The subject is probably the *asura*, and the setting may be the time of universal destruction (*saṃkṣaye*, 91d), the cosmos resembling a cremation ground strewn with the gods' bones. It is unclear who covers flesh with what by means of *māyā*, a magical, creative power either the *asura* or Bhairava could be said to possess.[4] Perhaps Khaṭvāsura began to rise from the dead at the time of universal destruction, covering the bones of the gods with flesh by the power of his *māyā*?[5] What is clear is that before he could wreak havoc, Bhairava restrained and slew the proud demon, then fashioned from his body a divine weapon: the *khaṭvāṅga*.

Khaṭvāsura's tale may echo a well-known tale of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Āraṇyakaparvan* in which the gods, tormented by their enemies, approach the holy ascetic Dadhīca and ask for his bones. These the sage cheerfully surrenders. From the bones of Dadhīca, Tvaṣṭṛ fashions a mighty weapon, the very thunderbolt (*vajra*) by which Indra destroys the *asura* Vṛtra.[6] Though Khaṭvāsura is not a willing donor, his story echoes this theme of a corpse's transubstantiation into a divine, adamantine weapon (*divyavajramayam … mahāyudham*, 94bc). Like Brahmā, who lost a head, Khaṭvāsura meets with violent justice; yet all ends well, for in the fashioning of the *khaṭvāṅga* he attains salvation (verse 118). His fate thus mirrors those of famous enemies of the gods such as Tāraka, Andhaka, and Jālandhara, who meet with salvific deaths at Śiva's hands.[7] In addition to such mythic parallels, there are also echoes of ritual: compare with *BraYā* 63's *sādhana* of Kaṅkālabhairava ("Bhairava the corpse"), in which one fashions a *khaṭvāṅga*-like object by impaling a corpse upon a spear

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[4]The *Devīpurāṇa* emphasizes Khaṭvāsura's *māyā*, describing him for instance as "possessing many magical abilities" (*bahumāyāguṇātmakaḥ* [B; °*māyo guṇā*° D], 111.4b).

[5]In support of the involvement of the gods' bones in the tale, note reference in *BraYā* 83.101cd to the creation of colourful banners (*dhvaja*) from the limbs of the gods and the blood-stained fabric of Khaṭvāsura's clothing.

[6]*Mahābhārata*, *Āraṇyakaparvan* (III), 98. See also *Ādiparvan* (I), 127.12cd; *Śalyaparvan* (IX), 50, a version in which Indra fashions a variety of weapons from Dadhīca's bones (50.30); and *Śāntiparvan* (XII), 329.24–27.

[7]Versions of the tales of Andhaka and Tāraka are found in the old *Skandapurāṇa*, for instance; see the summary of the *purāṇa*'s 'table of contents' (*anukramaṇikā*) in Bakker et al. (1998: 62–64). Jālandhara's tale (discussed below) occurs in *Padmapurāṇa* VI (*uttarakhaṇḍa*), chs. 3–19.

of cremation-ground wood, to which a trident and base-spike are attached.[8]

Bhairava refers to Khaṭvāsura as a "tormentor of the gods" (*devakaṇṭaka*, 93b), an epithet for which the *Devīpurāṇa* alone provides explanatory tales. These are valuable for envisioning the broader mythic context of the *BraYā*'s terse narrative. Crucially, moreover, chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa* appears calqued directly or indirectly upon *BraYā* 83.30–99, providing useful testimonia and a unique window into the *BraYā*'s reception. That these chapters of the *Devīpurāṇa* and *BraYā* have more than incidental affinity is beyond doubt: table 5.1 illustrates this, tabulating a passage on Bhairava's form in which the wording of the *Devīpurāṇa* (119.61–67) is particularly close to that of the *BraYā* (83.82c–91).

When I first discovered the *Devīpurāṇa*'s parallels in the *BraYā*, I had concluded that the former borrows directly from the latter, while often making extensive changes to the passages adopted. The discovery of parallel material in chapter 68 of the *BraYāSāra* caused me to consider alternative redactional processes, however, for the *BraYāSāra* closely mirrors the *Devīpurāṇa* in some parts, and the *BraYā* in others. In summary, chapter 68 of the *BraYāSāra*, for which only MS. S_1 is available, is parallel to chapter 83 of the *BraYā*, with the following qualifications. First, the *BraYāSāra* has omitted the long opening section of *BraYā* 83 concerned with the ritual empowerment of skull-vessels (*kapālasādhana*), although this is summarized in the *BraYāSāra*'s opening three verses. After this, the sections on cosmology (*BraYā* 83.33–55), the duel of Brahmā and Viṣṇu (*BraYā* 83.56–72), and the deity's manifestation before Brahmā and Viṣṇu as a radiant lingam (*BraYā* 83.7381) and then as Bhairava (*BraYā* 83.82–85), are parallel in content, but often diverge in phrasing and other details. The corresponding sections of the *BraYāSāra* are, on the other hand, almost identical to those of *Devīpurāṇa* 119. From *BraYāSāra* 68.65d onwards, in the midst of the tale of Khaṭvāsura, the *BraYāSāra* suddenly begins to hew closely to the text of *BraYā* 83. Only a handful of pādas found in one are missing from the other,[9] and the texts display mostly very minor variations: minor changes in word-order or phrasing, substitution of synonyms, etc., and such differences as can be accounted for by corruption. As for chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa*, its framing verses (1–13b, 71–75) are its own, shared with neither

[8] See chapter 6, note 20. Cf. also the "skeleton-club" *khaṭvāṅga* type illustrated by figure 6.9.

[9] For instance, *BraYā* 83.98a–d (MS. A) is absent from *BraYāSāra* 68 (MS. S_1), while *BraYāSāra* 68.175cd is absent from the *BraYā*.

Table 5.1: Passages on Bhairava's form (*svarūpa*) in *Devīpurāṇa* 119 and *Brahmayāmala* 83 compared

<table>
<tr><th>Devīpurāṇa 119.61c–67</th><th>Brahmayāmala 83.82c–91</th></tr>
<tr><td>tatas tuṣṭas tu vīreśi</td><td>āvirbhūtas tu vai tābhyāṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>svarūpaṃ darśitaṃ mayā ||61||</td><td>svarūpeṇa gaṇāmbike ||82||</td></tr>
<tr><td>(61d = BraYā 83.148b)</td><td>kṛtvā tu bhairavaṃ rūpaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>kālan dvādaśalocanam |</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(83ab = Devīpurāṇa 21cd)</td></tr>
<tr><td>kapālamālinaṃ bhīmaṃ</td><td>kapālamālinaṃ bhīmaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>khaṭvāṅgakarabhāsvaram |</td><td>visphuracchūlapāṇinam ||83||</td></tr>
<tr><td>sarpair lalantalambantaiḥ</td><td>mahoragopavītan tu</td></tr>
<tr><td>koṭivaktraṃ karālinam ||62||</td><td>visphuliṅgaṃ havirmukham |</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>khaṭvāṅgadhāriṇan tryakṣaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>kapālakarabhāsuraṃ ||84||</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>ghoṇaśabdakṛtottrāsaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>devāsuramahoragāṃ |</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>draṃṣṭrākarālavadanaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>vidyulolāvilokitam ||85||</td></tr>
<tr><td>paśyanti trastamanaso</td><td>dṛṣṭvā tu bhayam āpannau</td></tr>
<tr><td>daṃṣṭrāṃśucchuritaṃ mukham |</td><td>sthitau sanmīlitekṣaṇau |</td></tr>
<tr><td>mā bhaiṣṭaivaṃ mayā coktaṃ</td><td>praśvāsitau mahādevau</td></tr>
<tr><td>pṛcchanti vratam uttamam ||63||</td><td>pṛcchatau vratam uttamaṃ ||86||</td></tr>
<tr><td>kim etad adbhutaṃ rūpaṃ</td><td>kim etad adbhutaṃ rūpaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>kim etad bhūṣaṇaṃ vibho |</td><td>kim etad bhūṣaṇaṃ vibho |</td></tr>
<tr><td>kim etad bhrājate vyomni</td><td>kim etad bhrājate vyomni</td></tr>
<tr><td>triśikhaṃ śūlam ujjvalam ||64||</td><td>triśikhaṃ śūlam ujjvalam ||87||</td></tr>
<tr><td>uttamāṅgaṃ śubhaṃ kasya</td><td>uttamāṅgaṃ śubhaṃ kasya</td></tr>
<tr><td>yat te karatale sthitam |</td><td>yat te karatalasthitam |</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>mahāsthibhūṣaṇañ caitat</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>kaṃtanūtthaṃ virājate ||88||</td></tr>
<tr><td>tato 'haṃ pratyuvācedaṃ</td><td>tato 'haṃ pratyuvācedaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>tayor darpaharaṃ vacaḥ ||65||</td><td>tayoḥ saṃbodhakaṃ vacaḥ |</td></tr>
<tr><td>anekamuṇḍakoṭībhir</td><td>anekamuṇḍakoṭībhir</td></tr>
<tr><td>yeyaṃ mālā vibhāti me |</td><td>yeyam mālā vibhāti me ||89||</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>asaṅkhyabhuvanīśānām</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>pralaye tanujais tathā |</td></tr>
<tr><td>tvadīyais tanubhir brahma</td><td>vinibaddhā tu he brahma</td></tr>
<tr><td>vinaṣṭasya punaḥ punaḥ ||66||</td><td>vinaṣṭānāṃ punaḥ punaḥ ||90||</td></tr>
<tr><td>yāni nārāṇy anekāni</td><td>yāni nārāṇy aśeṣāṇi</td></tr>
<tr><td>grīvāhastakaṭisthitāḥ |</td><td>grīvābāhukaṭisthitām |</td></tr>
<tr><td>nārāyaṇasya tanavo</td><td>nārāyaṇa tvadīyāni</td></tr>
<tr><td>vinaṣṭasya punaḥ punaḥ ||67||</td><td>bhuvanīśāñ ca saṃkṣaye ||91||</td></tr>
</table>

the *BraYā* nor *BraYāSāra*. The main body of the chapter (vv. 13c–70), however, is virtually identical to *BraYāSāra* 68.6c–63—and thus also roughly parallel to *BraYā* 83.33–94. To put this another way, roughly two-thirds of *BraYāSāra* 68 is almost identical to *BraYā* 83, while the other third is almost identical to *Devīpurāṇa* 119.

As outlined in §1.6, the *BraYāSāra* knew and drew upon the larger recension of the *BraYā*, of which it claims to be the "essence" (*sāra*). Concerning the issue at hand, two scenarios seem most plausible: first, that the *BraYāSāra* drew upon the *BraYā*, and that the *Devīpurāṇa* subsequently drew upon the *BraYāSāra*, with no direct recourse to the *BraYā*. A second possibility is that the *Devīpurāṇa* drew directly from the *BraYā*, while the *BraYāSāra* drew upon *both* the *BraYā* and the *Devīpurāṇa*. In this second scenario, the redactors of the *BraYāSāra* would have calqued chapter 68 upon chapter 83 of the *BraYā*, chosing, however to substitute some of their source-text with parallel material from the *Devīpurāṇa* 119—possibly because this was well-known and appealing. I see no compelling reason to entertain additional, more complex scenarios. There can in any case be little doubt that the *Devīpurāṇa* has extracted the tale of Khaṭvāsura from one of the two recensions of the *BraYā* and inserted this, somewhat awkwardly, into its tale-cycle concerning the anti-god. After demonstrating this, I will return to the question of which of the two redactional scenarios is more likely.

Study of the *Devīpurāṇa* is hampered by the poor condition of the text, a problem conspicuous in chapter 119. Though twice published (TARKARATNA 1896; SHARMA 1976), the printed editions have major limitations and the text is frequently doubtful.[10] No old palm-leaf manuscript appears to survive, and R. C. HAZRA (1963: 67–71) argues, plausibly, that the text transmitted in

[10] The *editio princeps* is that of Panchanan TARKARATNA, published in the late nineteenth century in Bengali script, subsequently re-issued with his Bangla translation and reprinted as recently as 1991. While the editor sometimes provides variant readings, these are not attributed to specific manuscripts. One can only assume that he utilized manuscripts locally available to him, presumably written in Bangla characters. HAZRA describes the edition as having "manifold defects" (1963: 35, note 105). The translation is free, and glosses over copious difficulties. The 1976 edition of Pushpendra Lal SHARMA, printed in Devanāgarī, is an independent and useful contribution. It does not improve upon the *editio princeps* as much as it should have, however: SHARMA reports the readings of only three Devanāgarī manuscripts, ignoring those in Bengali script. Much to the edition's detriment, he makes no constructive use of TARKARATNA's edition in the chapters I have studied, nor does he attempt to emend even the most obviously corrupt readings. The 2013 edition of S. N. KHANDELWAL reproduces SHARMA's text, with occasional minor corrections, to which it adds a Hindi translation of limited scholarly value.

the extant manuscripts lacks much that was present in the *Devīpurāṇa*'s early-medieval redaction. Fortunately, the two printed editions rely on different manuscripts and their comparison allows for some difficulties to be resolved. For the purpose of study alongside *BraYā* 83, I have prepared in appendix E a provisional new edition of *Devīpurāṇa*, chapter 119. This is based upon the printed editions, parallels in the *BraYāSāra*, as well as some of the extant Nepalese manuscripts, which are numerous but were not, with one possible exception, utilized for either published edition.[11] In addition, I have utilized an important Bengali-script codex from the British Library which has some affinity with the Nepalese MSS. collated—even more so than with TARKARATNA's Bangla manuscripts. While close to the Nepalese MSS., this transmits a number of preferable readings not shared by other sources so far collated. Its corruptions also frequently depart from the other sources. Against the printed editions, I have tended to prefer its readings when they find support in the Nepalese MSS. or have parallels in the *BraYāSāra*.[12] In appendix E, and in referring to passages from the *Devīpurāṇa*, I have followed the verse numbering of SHARMA's comparatively recent and widely-available edition.

5.2 Evidence for the *Devīpurāṇa*'s debt to the *Brahmayāmala*

The dependence of chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa* upon the *BraYā*, whether directly or via the *BraYāSāra*, is evident in a number of ways. In what follows, I

[11] For a useful overview of the manuscripts known to him and notices thereof, see HAZRA (1963: 35–46, note 105). SHARMA (1976: 9) lists five manuscripts that he consulted, evidently all written in Devanāgarī (four are specified as such). He assigns sigla (Ka and Ga) to only two of these, but in the edition also reports the readings of a third witness using the siglum Kha, which he fails to identify. Third in his list of manuscripts is one of Nepalese provenance for which he does not provide a siglum, but which may be his ms. Kha: "Nepāl—Devanāgarī, Devīpurāṇa, (165; 442) Rāṣṭrīya Abhilekhālaya-Kāṭhmāṇḍu—Nepāl." Twenty-six Nepalese paper manuscripts bearing the title *Devīpurāṇa* appear in the provisional title list of the Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/, accessed 7 Feb 2014), though there appear to be duplicates. Many seem to be complete and nineteen contain more than 100 folios. Among these, none of the dated manuscripts predate the second half of the seventeenth century. See appendix E concerning those I have utilized for a provisional edition of chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa*.

[12] The manuscript (British Library MS. 380) is catalogued in EGGELING (1899) by Henry Thomas COLEBROOKE.

examine indications of this dependence in distinct areas: clues emerging from the closing verses of the *Devīpurāṇa* chapter, vocative epithets of the Goddess, and finally, narrative content and structure.

5.2.1 The closing verses

Some indications of the *Devīpurāṇa* chapter's dependence on the *BraYā* emerge in its final section (119.73c–75). The *Devīpurāṇa* provides no exposition of the characteristics of the *khaṭvāṅga*, nor the tale of Brahmā's decapitation—topics taken up in *BraYā* 83.100 for the remainder of the chapter. However, in its closing verses, the *Devīpurāṇa* refers to both topics, as though the redactors had the *BraYā* or *BraYāSāra* chapter in front of them and wished to account for material omitted from their redaction:[13]

> *agastya uvāca* |
> *sṛṣṭipāde purā vatsa mayā khaṭvāṅgalakṣaṇam* ||73||
> *adhidaivatavinyāsaṃ kathitan tu nṛpottama* |
> *śiraś chitvā tu brahmasya gandhavatyās taṭe nṛpa* ||74||
> *nārāyaṇasya dhārāyāṃ raktadhārā ca yā kṛtā* |
> *devī tatra samutpannā stavarājapratoṣitā* ||75||
>
> "Agastya spoke: 'child, earlier, in the Book of Creation, I taught the characteristics of the *khaṭvāṅga* and the placement of [its] presiding deities, O best of kings. After [Śiva] severed the head of Brahmā on the banks of the Gandhavatī river, O king, in the stream of blood of Nārāyaṇa made ... [from his arm?][14] there arose the Goddess, pleased by a regal hymn of praise."

According to this passage, the topics of the *khaṭvāṅga*'s characteristics (cf. *BraYā* 83.122–34) and its presiding deities (cf. *BraYā* 83.99c–117) should be found in

[13] The editor TARKARATNA reports that these verses are lacking in many manuscripts of the *Devīpurāṇa*, though they are present in all sources I have consulted so far.

[14] In 75a, *dhārāyāṃ*, which both editors print, is likely corrupt. The sense one expects is *bāho[ḥ]* ("from [Viṣṇu's] arm"). *Devīpurāṇa* ms. N_1 in fact reads *bāho*, but this is unmetrical. I considered the conjecture *bāhubhyāṃ*, "from both Viṣṇu's arms;" however, in the various versions of the Skull of Brahmā myth known to me, it is his left arm, his side, or forehead which is pierced. A possibility suggested by TÖRZSÖK (personal communication) would be to take *dhārāyāṃ* in the sense of "blade," locative for instrumental, 75ab thus meaning "the stream of Nārāyaṇa's blood made by a blade." Phyllis GRANOFF (personal communication) raised the possibility of understanding *dhārāyāṃ* as a place name (in the locative), while Csaba KISS has suggested *bhālāyāṃ*, "on/from the forehead," although *bhāla* is normally masculine.

an earlier section of the *Devīpurāṇa*. Unfortunately no such material survives in the text as published.[15] Nonetheless, displaying as it does awareness of the remaining contents of *BraYā* 83 (or *BraYāSāra* 68), this closing passage of *Devīpurāṇa* 119 thus provides some indication that the *BraYā* may have formed its basis.

5.2.2 Cosmology

Important clues concerning the direction of redaction appear in passages on cosmology. Table 5.2 tabulates most of *Devīpurāṇa* 119.15–27, concerning the emanation and reabsorption of the cosmos, alongside some of the text this echoes in *BraYā* 83 (not necessarily in sequence). In this case the wording of the two texts departs considerably. In the *Devīpurāṇa* passage, there occur technical terms distinctive to the cosmology of the Mantramārga, i.e. Tantric Śaivism, despite indications of an effort to provide the text a more generic "purāṇic" cosmological framework.[16] To begin, the *Devīpurāṇa* refers to the cosmos as *māyādyavaniparyantaṃ*, "extending from Māyā to earth" (119.27c). This echoes the synonymous *māyādyavanigocaram* in *BraYā* 83.51b. In Mantramārga cosmology, this is a manner of designating the impure universe (*aśuddhādhvan*) which extends from its material cause, the ontic principle (*tattva*) Māyā, to the earth element (*avani*).[17] The expression does not apparently occur in other *purāṇa*s, in which context it would be anomalous, implying as it does a universe expanded beyond the twenty-five *tattva*s of Sāṅkhya cosmology. Furthermore, the *Devīpurāṇa* also refers to the cosmos by the term *adhvan*, "the Course [of *tattvas*]," in 119.17cd: *kapālaṃ tasya cādāya krīḍāmi vipule 'dhvani* ("And taking up his skull, I sport in the entire *adhvan*"). These two verse-quarters echo *BraYā* 83.41–42b.[18] This manner of referring to the cosmos is

[15] HAZRA (1963: 67–70) suggests that the *Devīpurāṇa* as we have it, unlike some other *purāṇa*s, went through a process of abridgement rather than accumulation of new material; he notes that several *nibandha*s appear to have known a more extensive version of the text, and he provides a detailed account of the untraceable verses (pp. 189–94).

[16] To be more precise, I refer to a theistic cosmology and cosmography of the variety presented in chapter 46 of the *Devīpurāṇa*.

[17] Both expressions, *māyādyavanigocara* and *māyādyavaniparyanta*, are attested in the *Svacchandatantra*, for instance: the former in 10.354d and 11.104b, the latter in 11.114c.

[18] Cf. also *BraYā* 91.125d (*preritā vipule 'dhvani*), 101.15d (*krīḍate tv akhile 'dhvani*), and, for instance, *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, *vidyāpāda* 9.42cd (*śivecchānumatāḥ sarve ceṣṭante vipule 'dhvani*).

characteristic of Mantramārga Śaivism, in which context *adhvan* may designate the cosmos as a whole, or, when further qualified, elements thereof.[19] It should further be noted that the *Devīpurāṇa* chapter twice refers to the cosmos as consisting of *bhāva*s ('dispositions'), *bhūta*s ('created things'), *tattva*s ('ontic levels/principles'), and *bhuvana*s ('worlds') (119.24ab and 27ab). This terminology does not seem to occur in other *purāṇa*s and seems distinctive to the Mantramārga's Sāṅkhya-derived cosmology, including that of the *BraYā*.[20]

Despite vestiges of Mantramārga terminology, the *Devīpurāṇa* appears otherwise to transpose its source into a purāṇic, theistic cosmology. This is especially evident in a *Devīpurāṇa* passage in which the deity is said to "recline upon a bed of *śakti*s" (*śayāmi śaktiparyaṅke*, 119.25c) in the state of yogic sleep (*yoganidrā*). This echoes *BraYā* 83.47–49, which speaks of Bhairava at the time of cosmic dissolution seated upon a throne of *śakti*s (*svaśaktivihitāsanaḥ*, 47d) situated at the station of Sadāśiva (*sadāśivatattva*)—the divine as transcendent-cum-immanent (*parāpara*). "Desiring the play of yoga" (*yogakrīḍāsulālasaḥ*), Bhairava enters into meditative absorption in the supreme reality (*pare tattve*, i.e. *paramaśivatattva*). This completes the involution of the cosmos. Eventually he re-awakens "by the will of [the supreme] Śiva" (*śivecchā bodhite punaḥ*, 50d) and creates afresh. In the *Devīpurāṇa*'s adaptation, distinctions in the stations of divinity collapse, and reference to *sadāśivatattva* is replaced by *īśvaratattva*—the level of immanent God for the Mantramārga, but the highest station according to the Atimārga cosmology of the Pāśupatas, as reflected in the Pāśupata-inspired teachings of the *Skandapurāṇa*.[21] This is likely secondary, for the idea of a deity possessing a seat of *śakti*s is most fully coherent in reference to Sadāśiva, whose retinue *cum* throne comprises a standard series of nine *śakti*s, from Vāmā to Manonmanī.[22] In these ways, the cosmological passages of *Devīpurāṇa* 119 suggest persuasively that the chapter draws from a tantric source, in all probability the *BraYā*.

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[19]Note the expressions *śuddhādhvan* ("the pure universe"), *bhuvanādhvan* ("the course of worlds"), and so forth.

[20]See e.g. *BraYā* 83.51, and the annotation to the translation thereof.

[21]See especially the chapters of the *Skandapurāṇa* on Pāśupata yoga (175–83), where Īśvara is envisioned as the twenty-sixth and highest *tattva* (e.g. 175.36).

[22]These are female counterparts of the *vidyeśa*s, deities whose names are abstracted from the archaic mantra of Vāmadeva; see GOODALL et al. (2004: 181).

Table 5.2: Cosmological passages in *Devīpurāṇa* 119 and *Brahmayāmala* 83 compared

<table>
<tr><th>Devīpurāṇa (in sequence)</th><th>Similar passages in Brahmayāmala 83</th></tr>
<tr><td>tasya devātidevasya</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>kāraṇasyāmitadyuteḥ |</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>icchādhikāraṇaś cāhaṃ</td><td>[BraYā 83.34:] tadicchānukaraś cāham</td></tr>
<tr><td>icchā tvaṃ tasya bhāvini ||15||</td><td>… sā ceccha tvaṃ virājase |</td></tr>
<tr><td>māyā te jagataḥ sraṣṭā</td><td>māyā śṛṣṭi tathā kānti</td></tr>
<tr><td>tvaṃ ca sṛṣṭir varānane |</td><td>dhṛtir buddhir varānane || ||35||</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>[83.40–41:] sṛṣṭaṃ sṛṣṭam punas tasmai |</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>mahāpralayatāṃ yadā |</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>gatam māyodare devi</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>tamobhūtaṃ jagat tadā ||40||</td></tr>
<tr><td>… sthitvā vināśam āyāti</td><td>evaṃ dehabhṛtāṃ sarvāṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>punas tatraiva līyate |</td><td>kapālāni jagrāha tān |</td></tr>
<tr><td>kapālaṃ tasya cādāya</td><td>kapālamālinaṃ rūpaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>krīḍāmi vipule 'dhvani ||18||</td><td>kṛtvā krīḍāmi cecchayā ||41||</td></tr>
<tr><td>evaṃ kapālakoṭībhir</td><td>[83.89c–90b:] anekamuṇḍakoṭībhir</td></tr>
<tr><td>mālā yeyaṃ vibhāti me |</td><td>yeyam mālā vibhāti me ||89||</td></tr>
<tr><td>tasya gātrair asaṃkhyeyair</td><td>asaṅkhyabhuvanīśānām</td></tr>
<tr><td>dhṛtā tu varavarṇini ||19||</td><td>pralaye tanujais tathā |</td></tr>
<tr><td>yadā māyodaraṃ sarvaṃ</td><td>[83.47–51:] tamomaye tatas tasmim</td></tr>
<tr><td>kālena pralayaṃ gatam |</td><td>pralīne sakalādhvani |</td></tr>
<tr><td>tadāham īśvare tattve</td><td>kṛtādhāro nirādhāraḥ</td></tr>
<tr><td>bhavāmi ramitaḥ sukhī ||20||</td><td>svaśaktivihitāsanaḥ ||47||</td></tr>
<tr><td>… bhāvabhūtamayaṃ viśvaṃ</td><td>tatve sadeśvare devi</td></tr>
<tr><td>satattvaṃ bhuvanātmakam |</td><td>yogakrīḍāsulālasaḥ |</td></tr>
<tr><td>kṛtvodaragataṃ sarvam</td><td>samādhau tu pare tattve</td></tr>
<tr><td>aṇugrāmamanantakam ||24||</td><td>sati jñāne samarppite ||48||</td></tr>
<tr><td>viniyamya tamāliṅgya</td><td>tamasā vyāpitan tūrṇṇaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>yoganidrāśritaḥ sukhī</td><td>śarīraṃ yaj jagāśrayam</td></tr>
<tr><td>śayāmi śaktiparyaṅke</td><td>yoganidreva sā bhāti</td></tr>
<tr><td>vīramāte tato hy aham ||25||</td><td>vṛttis tu mama suvrate ||49||</td></tr>
<tr><td>punar netrodayadine</td><td>gate parārddhakāle 'ntye</td></tr>
<tr><td>vinaṣṭe tamasaṃcaye</td><td>śivecchā bodhite punaḥ |</td></tr>
<tr><td>svaśaktisaṃprabuddhasya</td><td>maccharīre viniryātaṃ</td></tr>
<tr><td>kṛtiś citrā prajāyate ||26||</td><td>yat tatvaṃ yatra saṃhṛtaṃ ||50||</td></tr>
<tr><td>bhāvais tattvais tathā bhūtair</td><td>bhāvabhūtamayaṃ viśvam</td></tr>
<tr><td>māleyaṃ bhuvanātmakī |</td><td>māyādyavanigocaram |</td></tr>
<tr><td>māyādyavaniparyantā</td><td>visṛṣṭaṅ kāraṇecchāto</td></tr>
<tr><td>yugapad yogajā mahat ||27||</td><td>vicitran tu yathā tathā ||51||</td></tr>
</table>

5.2.3 Vocative epithets

The feminine vocative epithets occurring in Śiva's speech to the Goddess in *Devīpurāṇa* 119.14–73b are typical of the *BraYā*. These function rhetorically, reminding readers of the narrative frame and serving as verse-fillers. In addition to the generic *devī*/*mahādevī*, the epithets by which Śiva addresses the Goddess are as follows (here listed in the nominative): *varavarṇinī* ("of fine complexion;" 14b, 19d, 59d), *bhāvinī* ("passionate;" 15d), *varānanā* ("of lovely visage;" 16b), *priyā* ("beloved;" 17d, 36d), *maheśvarī* (23b), *pārvatī* (51d, 55d), *sundarī* ("beautiful;" 72d), and *bhavānī* (49b). Only the latter is not used in the *BraYā* at all, and it occurs in a section of *Devīpurāṇa* 119 which departs more than usual from the text of *BraYā* 83. It is possible that *īśvarī* ("mistress/goddess"), *vīramātṛ* ("mother of heroes"), and *akhileśvarī* or perhaps *kaleśvarī* also occur, but in these cases the text is suspect.[23] Most of these epithets are somewhat generic, but *varavarṇinī* and *varānanā*, in particular, seem untypical of the *Devīpurāṇa* but characteristic of the *BraYā*. The epithet *bhavānī*, on the other hand, occurring in a passage where the *Devīpurāṇa* departs from the *BraYā*, seems typical of the *Devīpurāṇa*. For its part, chapter 83 of the *BraYā* has no incongruent vocative epithets that might point towards redaction from another source. While relatively weak evidence, the vocative epithets of the Goddess thus suggest that the *Devīpurāṇa* is rather more likely to draw upon the *BraYā* than the reverse.

In addition to epithets of the goddess, one other vocative address in *Devīpurāṇa* 119 seems potentially revealing. In both 31b and 57b there may occur the masculine vocative *mahāmune* ("O great sage"). If original, this would mark a redactional slip of some kind, for in this section sage Agastya reports to king Nṛpavāhana words that Śiva addressed to Pārvatī. Here out of place, the vocative *mahāmune* would be appropriate to *Devīpurāṇa*, chapter 116, a dialogue between the sages Vasiṣṭha (who poses questions) and Manu. The

[23] The vocative *īśvari* may occur in *Devīpurāṇa* 119.28d, in a doubtful verse. If not a corruption, *vīramāte* in 25d should be an irregular vocative formed on the stem *vīramātā* (for *vīramātṛ*). The *BraYāSāra* (MS. S_1) seems to confirm *vīramāte*. This epithet does not occur in the *BraYā*, but cf. *vīravandite*, which is used extensively. Cf. also *vīramātare* (formed on the stem *vīramātarā*) in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 7.2b, 8.4b, 14.33d, and 17.18b. Another vocative may be present in *Devīpurāṇa* 119.28b, where the MSS. have the following readings: *[']khileśvari*, *[']khileśvarī*, *kaleśvari*, and *kalaśvari*. While *kaleśvari* is plausible, one might also consider *kuleśvari*, which does not occur in the *BraYā* but is common in later *śākta-śaiva* sources, such as the *Kubjikāmata*.

readings are not secure, however: the manuscripts diverge, and the irregular feminine vocative *mahātmane* might instead be original—an epithet typical of the *BraYā*. Parallel passages of the *BraYāSāra* read thus (68.24b and 50d), and there is enough other evidence to suspect that the *Devīpurāṇa* originally read *mahātmane* as well.[24] It may be that *mahātmane*, an irregular vocative common in the second *ṣaṭka* of the *BraYā*, was originally carried over into the *Devīpurāṇa*, then emended by one or more scribes with little regard to context.

5.2.4 Narratological clues

The structure of *BraYā* 83, summarized earlier in §4.1.1, is relatively transparent. After an exposition of the skull-rite (*kapālasādhana*), the text consists of a dialogue between Bhairava and Bhairavī alternating between narrative and didactic modes. It begins with the creation of the universe, proceeding to tell the origins and ritual meanings of Bhairava's bone accoutrements—paraphernalia of the Great Vow (*mahāvrata*). In contrast, chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa* exhibits less clarity of purpose and a more complex structure, linking up with events of other chapters and possessing multiple narrative layers. One particular layer, the innermost, has close parallels in the *BraYā* and *BraYāSāra*. As no trace of the *Devīpurāṇa*'s outer narrative layers or links with other chapters surface in the *BraYā*, the latter is, *prima facie*, unlikely to have been the borrower.

Spanning chapters 111–16 and 119, Khaṭvāsura's story cycle in the *Devīpurāṇa* is convoluted, being presented in a non-linear sequence interwoven with episodes such as the birth of the elephant-headed Vināyaka. The *asura* appears to be slain thrice—twice at Śiva's hands, once at Vināyaka's—and the deaths are presented out of sequence. Chapters 111–15 offer a reasonably coherent narrative: Śiva, roaming Mount Mālavya as an elephant, quarrels with Viṣṇu and an *asura* arises, evidently from Śiva's (or their combined) anger.[25] The

[24] In 31b, Tarkaratna reads *mahāmune*, while the Devanāgarī edition of Sharma reads the implausible *mahātmani* (likewise mss. N_1 and N_2, both Nepalese, and the Bangla-script British Library ms.). No variants are reported. In 57b, Sharma reads *mahāmune* (likewise N_1 and N_2), while Tarkaratna's edition reads *mahātmane*; neither reports variants. The feminine vocative *mahātmane* occurs in *BraYā* 83.34b and 74b, and about forty other times in the *BraYā*—but only in the second *ṣaṭka*, from chapter 51 onwards, with the possible exception of 10.8b.

[25] In 111.3, the mighty *asura* is said to have arisen when Śiva and Viṣṇu commenced battle. However, in chapter 116, which, as discussed below, introduces new elements into the narrative, Viṣṇu poses a question to Śiva in which he refers to the *asura* as born while Brahmā

asura first defeats Viṣṇu, then Indra and the gods. He commences *tapas* to propitiate Śiva. In the meantime, Gaṇeśa/Vināyaka takes birth; he is honoured and given powers by all deities (chapters 112–14). He slays the *asura* and restores heaven to Indra (ch. 115), ostensibly providing closure. Chapters 116 and 119 complicate this picture considerably. In chapter 116 we learn that the Obstacle (*vighna*), identified as Khaṭvāsura (8c), first arose when there was a fault (*chidra*) in Brahmā's *tapas*. A blaze sprang forth from Brahmā's southern face from which emerged a lethal warrior, whom Brahmā fails to quell. Viṣṇu seeks Śiva's aid; Śiva predicts that the being will be long-lived, dying finally at Vināyaka's hands on Mount Mālavya (referring back to events of chapter 115). The presentation then becomes convoluted, leading to a digression concerning the king Hariścandra (116.81ff.), *mātṛ*-worship (ch. 117), and temple renovation (ch. 118).

Chapter 119 resumes the tale of Khaṭvāsura, elaborating upon and providing additional background to events of chapters 111–116. A thematic shift occurs as well, the emphasis turning to Śiva's bone-adorned, skull-bearing form as Bhairava. Previous *Devīpurāṇa* chapters concerned with Khaṭvāsura do nothing to intimate this shift, and the narrative logic is opaque. Three dialogues serves as narrative frames: one between Indra and Brahmā (119.1–10),[26] another between Nṛpavāhana and sage Agastya (11–13, 73c–75), and finally, the innermost narrative frame in which Śiva addresses the Goddess (14–73b). It is the latter that has extensive parallels in *BraYā* 83 and *BraYāSāra* 68, with the "outer" two narrative frames serving awkwardly, I would suggest, to integrate the borrowed material into the *Devīpurāṇa*. In verses 1–10, Brahmā recounts to Indra that Śiva slew Khaṭvāsura and assumed the terrible form of Bhairava, transforming Khaṭvāsura's body into the *khaṭvāṅga*. The text then shifts to another narrative frame, with Nṛpavāhana asking Agastya how Śiva came to take up the *bhairavavrata*, wearing a garland of Viṣṇu's bones and carrying a skull. Agastya (119.12–13) commences the tale, reporting Śiva's words to the Goddess (14–73b). Here begins text parallel to *BraYā* 83.30–99 (from the beginning of its narrative up to the fashioning of the *khaṭvāṅga*). Śiva's words to the Goddess end in 119.73b, and Agastya closes the chapter (73c–75).

While chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa* links up with narrative themes of

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created (*yo 'sāv utpādito deva brahmasya sṛjataḥ prajāḥ*, 39ab). In his reply, Śiva speaks of the *asura* originating from his own anger (*mama krodhāt samutpannaḥ*, 40a).

[26]One might speculate that the dialogue of Indra and Brahmā is a later addition, for the chapter never returns to this.

the preceding chapters, it does so ambiguously and with discrepancies. Some of these seem best explained as attempts to harmonize material adapted from the *BraYā*. This is apparent in the middle section of the chapter, *Devīpurāṇa* 119.35–51, which concerns the conflict between Brahmā and Viṣṇu described in *BraYā* 83.65–71. Here the parallels are comparatively weak, for the *Devīpurāṇa* provides a more elaborate account of the havoc wrought by the dueling deities. There is a significant divergence as well: agitated by the *guṇa* of *rajas* when Śiva creates Viṣṇu (35–39), Brahmā sheds his sattvic nature and releases a fierce blaze with a thousand arms, legs, and heads (119.38).[27] A battle commences, but it is not entirely clear between whom: one expects Brahmā and Viṣṇu to duel, but Brahmā's combatant is not unambigously named. Viṣṇu is not mentioned explicitly again until 67cd, when Śiva refers to him in the third person, as though absent—in contrast to Brahmā, whom he addresses directly.[28] What raises doubt is that Brahmā's emission of a flame-born being echoes chapter 116. There, Khaṭvāsura was said to have arisen as an Obstacle from a fault in Brahmā's *tapas*. At the time of creation Brahmā was overcome with pride in himself as supreme deity. A flame emerged from his right face, from which arose a lethal warrior who assaulted Brahmā.[29] Neither defeats the other. Viṣṇu then approaches Śiva for a solution, who (after a long digression) grants as a boon the *asura*'s future death at the hands of Vināyaka on Mālavya mountain. Chapter 119 has either inserted a reference to this episode of chapter 116, or has gone much further, recasting the duel of Brahmā and Viṣṇu as chapter 116's duel between Brahmā and the fire-born Obstacle, Khaṭvāsura. If the latter, this shift was incompletely executed, for some passages of chapter 119 seem intelligible only if the combatants are Brahmā and Viṣṇu.[30] On the

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[27] The text of the key passage, *Devīpurāṇa* 119.37c–38, is doubtful in several respects, and the interpretation provisional (see the edition in appendix E).

[28] Viṣṇu is named again in 71b, ostensibly in the vocative, *janārdana*. But this verse is difficult to interpret and I have conjectured the locative *janārdane*, since Śiva appears to be addressing Khaṭvāsura. It is wholly incongruous that Śiva would promise liberation to Viṣṇu (*mokṣaṃ gamiṣyasi*). Note also that the expression *tvadīya* ("yours"), used in reference to Viṣṇu in *BraYā* 83.81b, is transferred to Brahmā in *Devīpurāṇa* 119.66c.

[29] *Devīpurāṇa* 116.4c–6b: *tato 'hasat sureśāno* [D; *tato haṃsa*° B] *yāmyavaktreṇa* [B; *yama*° D] *dāruṇam* ||4|| *tasya* [B; *tato* D] *jvālā samutpannā tasmin ghoramahābalaḥ* [B; ghoro D] | *kṛṣṇāñjananibhākāro raktabhrū* [B; *raktābhro* D] *raktalocanaḥ* ||5|| *cakrapāṇis triśūlī ca* [B; *ca krapāṇitau striśūlī ca* D] *tarjjamānaḥ pitāmaham* |.

[30] In 39d, *purāṇapuruṣottamāḥ* ("the primodial preeminent men"), seems appropriate only in reference to Brahmā and Viṣṇu. The syntax of the verse is dubious, and I suspect this to stand for or be corrupt for the dual accusative, °*ottamau* (see appendix E). In 56c, Śiva speaks

other hand, if the two gods are the duelists, Brahmā's fire-born scion disappears inexplicably from the narrative immediately after his emergence.

Factoring together chapters 116 and 119 with 111–15, the *Devīpurāṇa* is thus inconsistent concerning Khaṭvāsura's origin and death. Chapter 111 introduces him as Viṣṇu's "penance obstacle" taking on the body of an *asura*.[31] In chapter 116, he is said to have arisen during Brahmā's austerities, while a passage at the end of chapter 119 (vv. 68–72) narrates his emergence during Śiva's yoga. As for his death, the opening and closing sections of chapter 119 convey distinct accounts. In 119.2–4, the outer narrative frame, Khaṭvāsura is said to attack Śiva on Mount Kailāśa, where Śiva slays him with his lance or trident (*śūla*) and makes a skull-staff of his corpse. In the innermost narrative frame, 119.68–72b, Śiva recounts another version of what is supposedly the origin of the skull-staff:[32] in the distant past, he felled the *asura* who arose as an Obstacle to his yoga with a shout of HUṂ (cf. *BraYā* 83.82cd). This passage contains no mention of the *khaṭvāṅga* and is difficult to reconcile with the death and transfiguration of the *asura* narrated in 119.1–10.[33] Śiva then explains the being's name—he is Khaṭvāsura because of wandering (***aṭan***) the sky (***khaṃ***)—and predicts his future liberation at Vināyaka's hands.[34] This alludes to yet another account of Khaṭvāsura's death: that of chapter 115, where Vināyaka slays him using Śiva's weapon.[35] Additional inconsistency surrounds

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of himself as *bhrātṛtvakāraṇārthī*, "desiring to effect fraternity" between the combatants, who appear to be described as *prajeśānāṃ*, "the progenitors" (plural for dual, 57b). This too is intelligible only in reference to Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

[31] *Devīpurāṇa* 111.7: *viṣṇos tapasyāvighnaṃ sa* [B; *tapasyavidhvaṃsa* D] *nirvāṇaṃ gacchatas tataḥ* | *asurāṅgaṃ* [B; *avarāṃśaṃ* D; *asurāṃsam* D_{ga}] *samāsthāya viṣṇuṃ* [em.; *viṣṇur* BD] *yodhitavāṃs tadā* ||.

[32] The narrative is so introduced: *khaṭvāṅgaṃ nāma viśrutam* | *asyotpattiṃ vidhāsyāmi* … (68bc).

[33] One might speculate that this passage—the outermost frame, a conversation between Indra and Brahmā which is not resumed at the end of the chapter—was clumsily interpolated into the chapter.

[34] Śiva's prediction (v. 71), which links the narrative back to its beginning in *Devīpurāṇa*, chapter 111, is a problematic verse. As mentioned above, Śiva appears to address Khaṭvāsura, hence I emend the vocative *janārdana* to the locative: *uktaś ca tvaṃ mahābāho khaṃvibhāge janārdane* | *vighneśasya mahāvighnaṃ kṛtvā mokṣaṃ gamiṣyasi* ||71||—perhaps, "And I said, 'O mighty one, when Viṣṇu is in a region of the sky, you will create a mighty obstacle for the Lord of Obstacles [i.e. Vināyaka]; afterwards you will attain liberation."

[35] *Devīpurāṇa* 115.9c–10b: *tathā vināyakaḥ kruddho* [D; *krūddho* B] *gṛhītvā śaṅkarāyudham* ||9|| *vighnasya ciccheda kaṇṭhaṃ* [em.; *cicchede* BD] *vighnān pāpān nivārayet* BD] |. One might conjecture *nyavārayat* for the final verb, though it is plausible that the optative is past-tense in

Khaṭvāsura's practice of *tapas*: chapter 111 relates that he sought to propitiate Śiva (111.14–16), while according to 116.68 he desired to propitiate Devī.

These narrative inconsistencies point towards heterogenous sources for Khaṭvāsura's tale in the *Devīpurāṇa* and a complex redactional process, further complicated by the poor condition of the extant text. As mentioned, chapters 111–15 form a reasonably coherent and self-contained tale focused on the birth of Vināyaka and his slaying of Khaṭvāsura. My provisional suggestion is that these chapters were composed as a single narrative unit in which the origin and grandeur of Vinayaka were the principal themes. To these were appended chapters 116 and 119, with more pronounced *śākta-śaiva* sectarian concerns,[36] perhaps stemming from a story tradition in which Śiva slays Khaṭvāsura. Lending support to this possibility is the *Devīpurāṇa*'s incorporation of otherwise unrelated material on veneration of the Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*) prior to chapter 119 (especially in chapter 117, but also 116 and 118). The redactors may have desired to weave together and harmonize all myths of Khaṭvāsura known to them, but left loose ends in this process. Identifying the principal source for chapter 119 makes this process of incorporation and the reasons for disharmony unusually transparent.

5.3 On the relative priority of *Devīpurāṇa* 119 and **Brahmayāmalasāra* 68

Taken as a whole, the evidence for the dependence of chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa* upon the *BraYā* seems compelling. This brings us back to the question of whether the *Devīpurāṇa* drew directly from the old *BraYā*, or indirectly, with chapter 68 of the **Brahmayāmalasāra* as its immediate source. This question proves difficult to settle definitively, but the balance of evidence tilts toward

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sense (cf. Edgerton §32.85–90).

[36] A tentative effort to add a Śākta dimension is evident in chapter 116. When Viṣṇu approaches Śiva concerning the need to slay Khaṭvāsura, Śiva creates a goddess of fierce visage—a skull-bearer (*kapālinī*) and trident-wielder (116.9)—with the express purpose of slaying Khaṭvāsura (*khaṭvāvināśahetvartham*, 116.8c). She never does so, sparing the *asura* yet another death episode. A subsequent passage, 116.45–47, names the goddess as Sarvamaṅgalā and emphasizes her role in the creation of Vināyaka, though she does not feature in the account of Vināyaka's birth in chapter 112, where Viṣṇu's role is primary. In another Śākta inflection of the tale, as mentioned above, Khaṭvāsura is said to have performed *tapas* to please Devī (116.68), contradicting 111.14–16, where he is said to propitiate Śiva.

the *BraYāSāra* being secondary, assembled by combining materials from both *BraYā* 83 and *Devīpurāṇa* 119. The text passages shared by the *Devīpurāṇa* and *BraYāSāra* concern Mahākāla's creation of the universe, the duel of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the Origin of the Lingam, and slaying of Khaṭvāsura, while the *BraYāSāra* 68 follows *BraYā* 83 in its accounts of the *khaṭvāṅga* and the Skull of Brahmā.

In some respects, the case for the *Devīpurāṇa* borrowing from the *BraYāSāra* is appealing, for the entirety of *Devīpurāṇa* 119 could be accounted for as a reworking of *BraYāSāra* 68.6c–63, with the addition of a new narrative frame (*Devīpurāṇa* 119.1–13b, 71–75), and without any direct borrowing from the old *BraYā*. In contrast, *BraYāSāra* 68 certainly bears a direct debt to *BraYā* 83, with which it is virtually identical from verse 65d onwards (following the passage shared with the *Devīpurāṇa*). Of the two chapters—*BraYāSāra* 68 and *Devīpurāṇa* 119—the former forms a more coherent whole, while the latter, as reviewed above, is convoluted, and thus, *prima facie*, more likely to be derivative. In addition, the *BraYāSāra* lacks such redactional "slips" as would unambiguously betray a debt to the *Devīpurāṇa*.

Nevertheless, several factors point toward the *BraYāSāra* borrowing from both the *Devīpurāṇa* and *BraYā*. In general, the *BraYāSāra*'s redactors demonstrate a lack of compositional endeavor. This is evident in the only three verses in *BraYāSāra* 68 not shared with either the *BraYā* or *Devīpurāṇa*: the opening passage, which briefly and rather clumsily summarizes *BraYā* 83.1–29 (a heavily lacunose passage). These verses are typical of the style of the *BraYāSāra*, which on multiple occasions introduces a new topic, skips or much abbreviates its substance, then concludes with hyperbole (*arthavāda*) before moving on to another topic.[37] Chapter 59, for instance, contains merely seven verses, of which just a handful of verse quarters contain substantive teachings. This

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[37] *BraYāSāra* 68.1–3: *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi kapālibhairavaṃ paraṃ | yena sidhyanti kāmāni sādhake nityajāpinaḥ* ||1|| *bhakṣyabhojyānnapānānāṃ phalāni vividhāni ca | divyasiddhīḥ* [em.; °*siddhi* A] *pravarttante aṇimādiguṇāṣṭakaṃ* ||2|| *adhamamadhyottamaiḥ* [em; °*adhamadhyorttamai* A] *pātrais siddhis tu trvidhā bhavet | divyabhaumāntarikṣañ ca sādhakasya bhavanti vai* ||3||("Next, I shall teach the supreme Kapālīśabhairava, by which the desires of a *sādhaka* ever incanting the mantra come to fruition. On account of various kinds of food and drink, and various fruits, divine *siddhi*s arise: the eightfold attributes of diminution, etc. By means of [skull-]vessels of lower, middling, and superior qualities, the threefold [signs of] *siddhi* would arise. A *sādhaka* attains [the ability to move through] heavens, earth, and sky."). Immediately after this passage, forgoing description of the rituals in question, the Goddess asks about the origin of the skull and skull-staff.

indifferent, laconic style is difficult to reconcile with the long passage shared by the *Devīpurāṇa*, which, though no masterpiece, inventively adapts material from the old *BraYā*, departing from its source so extensively that only a handful of verses are identical. Given that the *BraYāSāra*'s redactors slavishly follow the *BraYā* in verses 65–158, which concern the *khaṭvāṅga* and Skull of Brahmā myth—both absent from *Devīpurāṇa* 119—it strains credulity to imagine them composing afresh the episodes on creation, the origin of the lingam, and slaying of Khaṭvāsura. It seems more plausible that they redacted this material from another source.

A number of more specific factors point toward the *BraYāSāra* being the borrower. One of these concerns cosmology: as reviewed above (§5.2.2), the narrative shared with the *Devīpurāṇa* shifts the old *BraYā*'s teachings on Mantramārga cosmology in the direction of a more generic purāṇic theism. Should the redactors of the *BraYāSāra* have composed the passages in question, one would not expect such a shift. Moreover, the narrative shared by the *Devīpurāṇa* and *BraYāSāra* omits the *BraYā*'s *stotra* to Mahākāla/Bhairava (83.79–81), stating instead that Brahmā and Viṣṇu praised the deity with devotion for a thousand divine years with hymns of the *Ṛk-*, *Sāma-*, and *Yajurvedas*.[38] It is difficult to envision the redactors of the *BraYāSāra* substituting verses in praise of Mahākāla with the singing of Vedic hymns, a purāṇic devotional idiom nonetheless natural to the *Devīpurāṇa*.

Another potentially compelling indication of the *Devīpurāṇa*'s priority is a minor narrative detail in the shared passage. When Brahmā and Viṣṇu encounter each other, each convinced that he alone is the ultimate being, Brahmā becomes agitated and emits a fierce flame, which then apparently takes the form of a colossal being of a thousand heads, feet, and arms.[39] As mentioned earlier (§5.2.2), this appears to echo an episode in *Devīpurāṇa* 116, where a great flame arose due to Brahmā's false pride in his own ultimacy. From this fire emerged Khaṭvāsura, who gave Brahmā battle.[40] While terse, the reference shared by *Devīpurāṇa* 119 and *BraYāSāra* 68 to a flame-born being arising due to Brahmā's egotism is fully intelligible only in the context of the Khaṭvāsura tale-cycle of the *Devīpurāṇa*. In this connection, note also that Khaṭvāsura's representation as a mighty *yogavighna* ("obstacle to the performance of yoga"—

[38] *Devīpurāṇa* 119.61 (*BraYāSāra* 53c–54b): *tataḥ stuvanti māṃ bhītā bhaktim āsthāya niścitāḥ || divyaṃ varṣasahasran tu ṛksāmayajuṣaiḥ stavaiḥ |*.

[39] *Devīpurāṇa* 119.38, *BraYāSāra* 68.31.

[40] The passage from *Devīpurāṇa* 116 is cited above in note 29.

BraYāSāra 68.63, *Devīpurāṇa* 119.70) evokes a purāṇic narrative milieu, and may specifically echo his representation as a *tapovighna* elsewhere in the tale-cycle (*Devīpurāṇa* 111.7, 112.1).

While none of this evidence is fully conclusive, the case for the *BraYāSāra* borrowing from the *Devīpurāṇa* seems compelling on the whole, certainly more so than the reverse. This scenario accords with the general character of the *BraYāSāra*, whose adaptation of the *BraYā* generally bears few signs of originality, much less literary quality,[41] and would best account for *BraYāSāra* 68's departures from *BraYā* 83. The question does arise as to why redactors seeking to abbreviate the old *BraYā* would, in this process, elect to draw upon the *Devīpurāṇa*. I can only speculate that the *Devīpurāṇa* was influential in their circles, and that its comparatively lucid accounts of the Origin of the Lingam and Khaṭvāsura's fatal transfiguration held more appeal than the *BraYā*'s terse, sometimes opaque narratives. It is also possible that the *BraYā*'s tale of Khaṭvāsura had already become lacunose, as it is in MS. A's presentation.

5.4 Implications

That the *Devīpurāṇa* adapted a chapter of the *BraYā*, and was in turn drawn upon by the *BraYāSāra*, has significant ramifications. On one level, the *Devīpurāṇa*, like the *BraYāSāra*, provides valuable testimonia for constituting the text of *BraYā* 83. This must of course be treated with caution, and not only because of the problematic state of the *Devīpurāṇa*: the redactors rarely adhered to the precise language of the *BraYā*, freely adapting their source within a purāṇic idiom. Nonetheless, in several cases the *Devīpurāṇa* has proven valuable for resolving difficulties in *BraYā* 83, as noted in the annotation to the edition.[42] On another level, the *Devīpurāṇa*'s use of the *BraYā* intimates how widely the latter may have circulated, surely beyond its inner cultic circle and indeed beyond the circles of tantric practitioners. This is a scenario the *BraYā* itself intimates, predicting its own future renown,[43] advertising the power of its

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[41] This is not to say that the *BraYāSāra* wholly lacks in original material: it does contain several fresh compositions on ritual topics (e.g. paṭala 2, on mantra, and the *kālacakranirṇṇaya-paṭala*, numbered 75 in its colophon).

[42] See especially *BraYā* 83.60cd and 72c.

[43] *BraYā* 1.115–17.

manuscripts for warding off calamity from the home or land where kept,[44] and in the case of chapter 83, implying that its narratives form a "public" text.[45]

Equally, this case of intertextuality suggests directions for research into the history and redactional process of the *Devīpurāṇa*. This heterogenous and influential text may provide a key historical marker in the emergence of purāṇic "Śāktism." As such, its direct borrowing from an early *Bhairavatantra* intimates links between tantric and exoteric goddess worship meriting closer examination. Such connections in fact extend as far back as the evidence for tantric goddess worship takes us.[46] A thorough assessment of the *Devīpurāṇa*'s knowledge of early Śaiva textual traditions is also highly desirable.[47] As Florinda De Simini (2016) demonstrates, the *Devīpurāṇa*'s account of the ritual bestowal of manuscripts (*vidyādāna*, "the gift of knowledge") in chapter 91 depends upon that of *Śivadharmottara* 2, borrowings which extend to other chapters and topics.[48] As its borrowings from the *BraYā* suggests, the *Devīpurāṇa*'s redactors were familiar with *Bhairavatantra*s and their cults. One might even suspect the involvement of tantric preceptors in its composition—much as Pāśupata Śaivas may have been central to the composition of the *Skandapurāṇa* (Bakker 2014). In this connection, it is notable that in idiom, the *Devīpurāṇa*'s Middle-Indic inflected Sanskrit is anomolous among the major *purāṇa*s, being much closer to the language of the *BraYā* and many other *tantra*s of the Bhairava-stream.[49] Needless to say, there are also implications for dating both the *BraYā* and *Devīpurāṇa*, which I have already discussed in §1.9.5.

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[44] *BraYā* 104.30: *likhitaṃ tiṣṭhate yatra gṛhe deśe mahātmane | tatrāpado hy aśeṣ[ā]s tu dūraṃ yānti dhruvaṃ* [conj.; *guhaṃ* A] *priye* || ("In whatever home or land a copy of the text remains, O noble woman, calamaties go far away from there entirely; this is certain, my dear").

[45] According to 83.119, a non-initiate who learns the tale of the orgins of skull-staff ascends to Brahmā's heaven, while a layperson devoid of mantras may nonetheless be purified by practice of the Great Vow (138c–40).

[46] For a discussion of the relationship between early tantric and lay cults of the *mātṛs*, see Hatley 2012; and concerning the interface between *tantra* and *purāṇa* in the cult of *yoginī*s, see Olga Serbaeva (2009) and Hatley (2014). For a useful study of the *Devīpurāṇa*'s cult of *mātṛs*, see Pratapaditya Pal (1988).

[47] See Hazra (1963: 92–93) for some preliminary observations on the *Devīpurāṇa*'s familiarity with the tantric traditions.

[48] See §1.9.5 above.

[49] Cf. Hazra's (1963: 79) observation that the *Devīpurāṇa*, "unlike all other works of the Purāṇic literature, is written in highly incorrect Sanskrit which compares very favourably with Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit." That this proves an eastern Indian origin, as he contends, is however doubtful.

Establishing that the *BraYāSāra* likely drew upon both the *BraYā* and *Devīpurāṇa* in its sixty-eighth chapter also helps to elucidate the nature of this redaction—one of many later texts to take up the title "*Brahmayāmala*." If my assessment is correct, neither did the *BraYāSāra*'s redactors restrict themselves to deriving content from the old *BraYā*, nor did they feel compelled to draw exclusively from tantric scriptural literature. While its provenance remains unknown, the *BraYāSāra* must stem from a time and place where both of its source texts were in circulation, such as early-first millennium Nepal or Bengal. At this point it is unclear whether the text was in any way influential, though its value for the study of the *BraYā* is considerable, given the limited manuscript evidence available.

In this chapter, I have argued that *BraYā* 83 served directly as source material for chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa*. Examination of these sources' intertextuality has lead to insights into both, as well as into the *BraYāSāra*. In particular, the *Devīpurāṇa*'s engagement with the *BraYā* confirms the latter's wide circulation in the late first millennium, from Kashmir (where the text was read and cited) and Nepal (where its manuscripts are found) to eastern India (where the *Devīpurāṇa* may have been composed), and its influence beyond the circles of initiates. Further, this study has laid bare redactional processes involved in the making of the *Devīpurāṇa*, and also, together with the edition in appendix E, shed some light on the condition of the transmitted text. Philological obstacles notwithstanding, this important *purāṇa* merits renewed and sustained study in light of Śaiva tantric literature.

Chapter 6

Khaṭvāṅgalakṣaṇa: On the Fashioning of a Tantric Skull-staff

खट्वाङ्गं पूजितं येन त्रैलोक्यं तेन पूजितम् ॥
खट्वाङ्गं धारितं येन धृतन्तेन चराचरम् ।

"One who worships the skull-staff worships the triple universe; one who holds the skull-staff bears the animate and inanimate creation."

BraYā 83.135c–37b

6.1 History and ritual contexts

Khaṭvāsura's corpse, transfigured into the *khaṭvāṅga* of Bhairava, became the locus of all divine beings and homologue of the very cosmos. Correspondences between the elements of the Śaiva cosmos and parts of the *khaṭvāṅga*, as well as their presiding divinities, form the subject of *BraYā* 83.101–18. Next are described the measurements and materials used for constructing a skull-staff (vv. 122–34), culminating in a proclamation of the Great Vow's efficacy (135–44). Much like the chapter's narratives, this material is unique: no other early Śaiva source known to me describes the making of a *khaṭvāṅga* nor explicates its symbolism in such detail. While the previous chapter sought to contextualize the narratives of chapter 83 in the textual record, the present chapter attempts the same vis-à-vis the material record.

The *BraYā*'s treatise on the *khaṭvāṅga* proves an inviting point of departure for inquiry into the object's history, iconography, and ritual use. Beyond David Brick's (2012) insightful study of the *khaṭvāṅga*'s early, pre-Śaiva history, based on the Dharmaśāstra literature, I am not aware of detailed studies on the subject.[1] The artist Robert Beer (1999: 252–58) devotes several pages to analysis of the *khaṭvāṅga* in Tibetan iconography, with masterful illustratations but no documentation of relevant visual and textual sources. Filling some of the gap, John Huntington and Dina Bangdel (2003) publish numerous examples of Vajrayāna *khaṭvāṅga*s, mostly Tibetan, with compelling descriptions and analyses that draw heavily on Beer (1999). Although a wide-ranging examination of the *khaṭvāṅga* in medieval India is thus highly desirable, my goal in this chapter is primarily limited to reconstructing the *BraYā*'s skull-staff, while also contextualizing this in the textual and visual records.

Literally and originally, *khaṭvāṅga* means "bedpost"—the limb (*aṅga*) of a cot (*khaṭvā*). It is primarily in the sense of "skull-staff" that the term has currency, however. Tracing the early history of the term in the Dharmaśāstra literature, Brick (2012) argues that the object so named evolved from the wooden rail of a raised cot, which was to be carried as part of the penance for the sexual crime of 'violating an elder's bed' (*gurutalpaga*). By the time of Baudhāyana,[2] the bedpost—later a staff—had a skull mounted upon it and was instead associated with the arduous rite of expiation for brahminicide.[3] Long before its Śaiva adaptation, the object had thus been associated with an expiation ritual having mortuary elements, upon which aspects of the Śaiva *mahāvrata* or *kapālavrata* are clearly modelled (Lorenzen 1991: 74–79). This Dharmaśāstric rite of expiation also provides essential context to the Skull of Brahmā myth: Rudra undertakes the skullbearer's vow to atone for severing Brahmā's fifth head.

Along with skull-bowls and other bone paraphernalia, the *khaṭvāṅga* became a divine emblem in early-medieval Śaiva iconography, and a defining accoutrement of the *mahāvrata* as practiced by the Lākulas and, presumably, the even more elusive Atimārga Kāpālikas.[4] The *khaṭvāṅga* is especially prominent

[1]For some brief but useful remarks on the *khaṭvāṅga* relevant to Śaivism, see Bansat-Boudon & Tripathi (2011: 265–66 [n. 1201]), and Ladrech (2010: 246–47). The latter provides images of several *khaṭvāṅga*s from South Indian statuary.

[2]Kane (1968 [vol. I, pt. 1]: 51) places the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* in the period 500–200 B.C.

[3]Cf., for instance, *Mahābhārata* XII (*Śāntiparvan*), 36.1–3. For a summary of views in the Dharmaśāstras on expiation of brahminicide, see Kane (1973 [vol. 4]: 88–91).

[4]Although the club (*lakula*) was evidently their distinguishing emblem, evidence that the

in the iconography and ritual of the *Bhairavatantras*, much as in Vajrayāna *Yoginītantra* traditions. While the principal context for its use remained the practice of vows (*vratacaryā*), the range of applications and visibility of the *khaṭvāṅga* and other mortuary accoutrements expanded considerably. As objects, the skull and skull-staff were borne or utilized in multiple contexts, while simultaneously being visualized as attributes of deities and invoked ritually by their own mantras and *mudrās*, thus becoming embedded in tantric ritual systems on multiple levels. The centrality of mortuary accoutrements is suitably illustrated by the *BraYā*'s description of the practitioner of the *bhairavavrata* or *mahāvrata*, a Mantramārga adaptation of the earlier Atimārga *mahāvrata*:

> [103] His limbs should be covered in ashes. He should [fasten] his matted locks like a crown. His head should be adorned with skulls. [104] He should be adorned with pieces of bone on his ears, on his head and arms. His sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) should be [made of human] hair [taken from corpses]. His hips should be decorated with a [similar?] belt. [105] He should wear a necklace around his neck, and a [. . .] on his topknot. His body should be [covered with] mantras. [He should carry] a *khaṭvāṅga* which has a trident, with a skull decorated by [human] hair. [106] And he should also play a small *ḍamaru*-drum or kettle-drum (*paṭahī*), O woman of renown. He should also use a bell, as well as a garland of bells (*mālikā*) on his belt. [107] He should wear jingling [bells] on his feet, and on the fingers of his hands. [He should also be] adorned with divine arm-bracelets, and he should draw an eye on his forehead.[5]

Lākulas' *mahāvrata* or *lokātītavrata* involved carrying a *khaṭvāṅga* is provided in the vow's description in the *Mukhāgama* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*; for an edition and discussion of this passage, see SANDERSON (2006a: 163–65).

[5] *BraYā* 21.103–7. The translation is that of KISS (2015), with minor modifications; the text, as constituted in his edition, is as follows:

> *bhasmoddhūlitagātras tu jaṭāmakuṭadhāriṇaḥ* |
> *candrārdhaśekharaṃ caiva śiraḥ kapālamaṇḍitam* ||103||
> *karṇau śirasi bāhubhyām asthikhaṇḍair vibhūṣitam* |
> *bālayajñopavītī ca mekhalākaṭibhūṣitam* ||104||
> *kaṇṭhe tu kaṇṭhikāṃ dadyāc chikhāgre mantravigraha* |
> *khaṭvāṅgaṃ śūlasaṃyuktaḥ samuṇḍaṃ keśabhūṣitam* ||105||
> *ḍamarukaṃ vāpi vādīta paṭahī ca mahāyaśe* |
> *ghaṇṭā tu kārayed ekāṃ mekhalāsu ca mālikāḥ* ||106||

Practice of the vow culminates in a visionary encounter with Bhairava himself, bearer of the skull, whose entry into the body of the *sādhaka* effects his divine transformation.[6] Notably, the *khaṭvāṅga* does not have specific ritual functions in the observance, essential though the accoutrement may be to the practitioner's mimesis of the deity. As *BraYā* 83.136–7b asserts, its efficacy lies merely in being borne and paid reverence in the course of the skullbearer's observance.

6.2 Iconography, material, and meaning: the *khaṭvāṅga* and cosmology

Passages on the iconography and measurements of the *khaṭvāṅga* in *BraYā* 83 complement chapter four. Extending nearly one thousand verses, *BraYā* 4 is an important treatise on cult paraphernalia: images of the deities, rosaries, the *ḍamaru* drum, bells, sacrificial ladles, skull-vessels, and more. It describes an intricate skull-vessel (*tūra*) and also teaches the rite of empowerment (*sthāpanavidhi*) for the *khaṭvāṅga*. It nonetheless lacks a detailed description of the latter object.[7] Chapter 83 thus fills this lacuna. Though complementary,

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pādayo ghurghuraṃ dadyād aṅgulīkarasaṃyutam |
keyūrabhūṣaṇaṃ divyaṃ lalāṭe netram ālikhet ||107||

This passage has also been translated by Törzsök (2011: 359).

[6] For a discussion of possession by Bhairava in this context, see Törzsök (2011: 359–60).

[7] *BraYā* 4.788–800b. Describing the rite of "establishing," i.e. consecrating or empowering a *khaṭvāṅga*, this passage from *BraYā* 4 reads as follows:

adhunā sampravakṣyāmi khaṭvāṅgasya tu sthāpanam |
mṛdābhi[ḥ] kṣālayitvā tu kaṣāyaiś ca tathaiva hi ||788||
gandhodake tathā prokṣya tenaiva tu vidhānavit |
vidhinā lakṣaṇair yuktaṃ devīnām agrataḥ sthitaḥ ||789||
āsanaṃ kalpayitvā tu svayāgavidhicoditaṃ |
khaṭvāṅgaṃ sthāpayet tasmiṃ āsane sādhakottamaḥ ||790||
āsanasyopariṣṭā tu tasyāgraṃ dakṣiṇāmukham |
daṇḍan tu cottare caiva sthāpayīta vicakṣaṇaḥ ||791||
prādeśan vātha hastam vā atha vā tu svamānakam |
sthāpayitvā tu mantrajñaḥ svayāgaṃ tatra vinyaset ||792||
pūjayitvā yathānyāyaṃ gandhadhūpādibhiḥ kramāt |
arghaṃ datvā tathā caiva mudrāṃ badhvā yathākramam ||793||
arghan datvā punaś caiva sādhako mantravit punaḥ |
khaṭvāṅgamantram uccārya puṣpāṇy upari nikṣipet ||794||

abhiśekaṃ tato datvā arghapātrodakena tu |
tatas taṃ pūjayen nityaṃ sakṛt puṣpāṇi gṛhṇatha ||795||
khaṭvāṅgamudrām uccārya devīnām agrataḥ sthitaḥ |
ḍamarukaṃ pūjayen mantrī vidyām uccārya pūrvvavat ||796||
abhiśekañ ca dātavyaṃ arghapātrodakena tu |
ḍamarukasya tu mantreṇa satataṃ pūjayet punaḥ ||797||
khaṭvāṅgaṃ ḍamarukaṃ caiva ghaṇṭā caiva mahāmati |
na dṛṣṭyopahataṃ kāryaṃ na cānyaiḥ saṃspṛ[ś]āpayet ||798||
ḍamarukaṃ darśaye yad vā khaṭvāṅgaṃ kiṅkiṇī[n] tathā |
sparśane darśane caiva anadhikārī tu suvrate ||799||
japed daśasahasrāṇi pañca caivādhikāriṣu |

789c yuktaṃ] *em.*; yuktāṃ **A** 790c khaṭvāṅgaṃ] *em.*; khaṭvāṅga **A** 791a °opariṣṭā] *corr.*; °opariṣṭhā **A** 792a prādeśan] *em.*; prāgdesan **A** 792d svamānakam] *conj.*; svamāṇavam **A** 794d puṣpāṇy upari nikṣipet] *conj.*; puṣpāṇyāpariṇikṣipet **A** 795a abhiśekaṃ] *corr.*; abhiṣekaṃ **A** 797a abhiśekañ] *corr.*; abhisekañ **A** 798b ghaṇṭā] *corr.*; ghaṇṭhā **A** 798d saṃspṛśāpayet] *corr.*; saṃspṛsāpayet **A** 799c anadhikārī] *conj.*; anādhikī **A**

"[788–90b] I shall now teach the rite of establishment for the skull-staff. One knowledgeable in the procedure should clean [it] with earths and the [five] astringents (*kaṣāya*), then through the same procedure, sprinkle with perfumed water [a *khaṭvāṅga*] possessing the requisite characteristics, being situated before the goddesses. One should prepare a seat as taught in the procedure for one's own deity pantheon. [790c–91] The best of *sādhaka*s should establish the skull-staff there on the seat. The wise one should place [the *khaṭvāṅga*] on the seat [with] its tip facing south; the staff should be to the north. [792] [It should measure] a span, a cubit, or else the measure of one's own body. After placing [the skull-staff on the seat], the knower of mantras should install his own mantra-pantheon on it. [793–94] He should worship it as appropriate with scented paste, incense, and so forth, in [due] order. After offering the guest water, he should bind the [*khaṭvāṅga*] *mudrā*, in due order. The *sādhaka*, knowing mantras, should offer the guest-water again, utter the *khaṭvāṅga*-mantra, then should cast flowers on [the *khaṭvāṅga*]. [795–96b] He should then bestow consecration with water from the offering vessel. Afterwards, he should always worship it, taking hold of flowers (?) and uttering the [mantra] of the *khaṭvāṅga-mudrā* once while situated before the goddesses. [796c–97] The mantra-holder should worship the *ḍamaru*-drum in the aforesaid manner, [but] uttering the *vidyā*. Consecration should be given with water from the offering vessel. He should always worship [it] again with the *ḍamaru*'s mantra. [798–800b] The skull-staff, *ḍamaru*-drum, and bell, O high-minded one, should not be defiled by the gaze of others; one should not cause it to be touched. Should one display the *ḍamaru* or *khaṭvāṅga*, or likewise the *kiṅkiṇī*, in the case of touching and seeing [by] a non-initiate, one should perform ten-thousand incancations [of the mantra], but five-thousand in the case of initiates, O pious woman."

discrepancies suggest that the chapters, which I earlier suggested belong to different textual strata, may nonetheless differ in provenance: for one, *BraYā* 83 does not make use of the iconometric and other technical terminology of *BraYā* 4. In particular, the distinctive term *tūra*, used for the skull-vessel in *BraYā* 4 and elsewhere, does not appear in *BraYā* 83, not even in the lacunose section at the beginning concerned with skull-rites. Absent also is any reference to the influential skull-vessel taxonomy advanced in *BraYā* 4.[8] It may also be the case that the *khaṭvāṅga*s themselves differ in construction, though it is difficult to draw conclusions from *BraYā* 4's brief remarks.[9]

The *khaṭvāṅga* is not a unitary object: visual and textual sources attest to considerable variety. This is evident even within the *BraYā* and closely related texts. The *Jayadrathayāmala* describes a *khaṭvāṅga* comprised of a sturdy, flawless staff, decorations of cloth and human skin, bells, and a perforated skull.[10] Multiple *khaṭvāṅga* types are alluded to in connection with the *vrata*s of *BraYā* 21, of which the *bhairavavrata* was earlier described. These observances are distinguished from each other by variations in clothing, accoutrements, comportment, diet, and so forth, differing also in the presence, absence, and type of skull-staff used. In the Skull-observance (*kapālavrata*), the practitioner bears what we might call the "head-on-a-stick" variety, described precisely as such.[11] This staff-mounted skull is what gives the *vrata* its name, for it involves no other bone accoutrements. Notably, the term *khaṭvāṅga* is not applied to the object. In the Platter (*vardhamāna*) observance,[12] one carries both skull and *khaṭvāṅga*, while also wearing the Five Insignia, bone pieces on the arms, and a skull (or skull-garland) upon the crown. In this case the *khaṭvāṅga* is described as "hav-

[8] *BraYā* 4.747–87 concern the selection of human skulls to use as ritual vessels (*tūra*). This passage has parallels in Buddhist *Yoginītantras*; see p. 114. *BraYā* 62.237c–38 departs by mentioning the use of *tūra*s made from human or animal bones, or clay from a cremation ground (*tūrāṇi tu pravakṣyāmi yeṣu siddhiḥ prajāyate* ||237|| *kharamānuṣakūrmoṣṭra[ś]vaśrgālahayāsthiṣu* | *[śmaś]ānamṛdayā cāpi kuryāt pratyakṣadevatām* ||238||).

[9] The only parts of the *khaṭvāṅga* mentioned in *BraYā* 4.791 are the *agra* ("tip," which might indicate a spear- or trident-topped *khaṭvāṅga*) and *daṇḍa* (staff). This lack of detail could imply an object less ornate than the one envisioned in *BraYā* 83. Moreover, the options for sizes mentioned in 4.792ab do not tally clearly with those described in chapter 83.

[10] *Jayadrathayāmala* III (*Yoginīsañcāra*), 38.155c–56 (Sanderson 2006a: 164): *khaṭvāṃgaṃ cchidrasaṃpūrṇṇaṃ mahācāmaraśobhitam* || *cīrākiṅkaṇisaṃyuktaṃ sudaṃḍaṃ dṛḍham avraṇam* | *dhārayed vāmakaragaṃ nānāśobhāsamanvitaṃ* ||. Presumably "filled with perforations" (*cchidrasaṃpūrṇṇaṃ*) describes the skull.

[11] *BraYā* 21.28cd: *kapālaṃ yaṣṭikāyāṃ tu kṛtvā vai bhramate sadā.*

[12] *BraYā* 21.41–46b.

ing a spear-blade alone" (*śūlamātra*, 21.42ab). As Kiss (2015: 216) suggests, this *khaṭvāṅga* apparently lacks a skull, being in effect a staff with a spearhead. That the *kapālavrata*'s head-on-stick is not called a *khaṭvāṅga*, while an object lacking a skull is, intimates that the skull may at some point have ceased to be the *khaṭvāṅga*'s invariable defining feature. It is nonetheless common for the *khaṭvāṅga*s decribed in tantric sources to combine a skull with a spear or trident. In a rather macabre example from the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the cranium of a woman, smeared with one's own blood, is to be affixed onto a spear that had been used to impale a criminal (*śūlaprota*), with the blade protruding from the skull-top. Ritually empowered, this is used as a *khaṭvāṅga* for a cremation-ground observance.[13] It appears that the *khaṭvāṅgamudrā* ("skull-staff gesture") of the *BraYā* and various other sources is calqued upon a *khaṭvāṅga* of this variety: one binds the mudrā by raising the left arm or resting it upon the shoulder, like an ascetic's staff, making a fist with the left hand, like a skull, and extending the index finger like a spear-tip.[14] This suggests that a spear-and-

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[13] *Tantrasadbhāva* 21.120–23 (numbering and manuscript sigla follow the draft edition of Dyczkowski):

> *athānyaṃ sādhanaṃ vakṣye sādhakānāṃ hitāya vai* ||120||
> *strīkapāle kṛtir devi ātmaraktena lepitā* |
> *śūlaprotaṃ samāśritya śūlamūle pratiṣṭhayet* ||121||
> *pūjya sarvopahārādyaiḥ japet padmāsane sthitaḥ* |
> *prabhāte śūlam ādāya kṛtvā khaṭvāṅgam uttamam* ||122||
> *tatra taṃ sthāpya deveśi śmaśāne vratam ācaret* |
> *japeta prayato mantrī siddho bhavati mantravit* ||123||
>
> 120d vai] K; vaiḥ G 121a kṛtir] *em.* (Isaacson); kṛte KG 121a devi] K; devī G 121b ātmaraktena] KG^{pc}; ātmarakṣe – G^{ac} 121c śūlaprotaṃ] *em.*; śūlaproktaṃ KG 123c japeta prayato] *conj.* (=*Tantrasadbhāva* 7.72a, 7.88a, & 7.92d; *consider also* japeta ayutaṃ *or* japeta prayutaṃ); japet prayutam G; jape – t prayutaṃ K

Corruption in 121a somewhat obscures the procedure. For the mss.'s *strīkapāle kṛte devī* or *devi* perhaps read *strīkapāle kṛtā devī* or *strīkapāle kṛtir devi* (as adopted, a suggestion of Isaacson), the idea being that an image of the goddess (Raktacāmuṇḍā) is created inside the skull. Cf. 21.188 (*strīkapāle kṛtiṃ lekhya anāmārudhireṇa tu*) and 21.100cd (*kapāle likhya deveśi* [K; *deveśī* G] *bhīmarūpāṃ kapālinīm*).

[14] *Brahmayāmala* 43.8: *vāmaṃ tu ūrdhvato hastaṃ tarjanī cordhvasaṃsthit[ā]* | *śeṣā muṣṭyā tu saṃyuktāḥ khaṭvāṅgasya na saṃśayaḥ* || ("The left hand is upright; the forefinger also points upwards, but the remaining fingers are conjoined, no doubt, for the *khaṭvāṅga* [mudrā] "). Cf. *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 7.21c–22a (*vāmaskandhagato vāmamuṣṭir ucchritatarjanī* || *khaṭvāṅgākhyā smṛtā mudrā*); cf. also *Svacchandatantra* 14.2–3c.

skull type of *khaṭvāṅga* may once have been prevalent, though later eclipsed by the trident-*khaṭvāṅga*. In addition to this variable, the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga*s attest several other inflections and decorative elements. In the observance of the goddess Raktā, a practitioner carries a *khaṭvāṅga* possessing a bell and decorative feathers,[15] while the *khaṭvāṅga* for the earlier-quoted Great Vow (*mahāvrata*) of Bhairava has a trident, head, and decorations made of human hair.[16] The *khaṭvāṅga* borne by Bhairava, described in *BraYā* 83, combines most of these elements. Ritual bells (*ghaṇṭā*) possess similar variety: *BraYā* 4 describes them as ninefold, corresponding to *sādhaka*s' nine initiatory clans (*gotra*). The bell of the clan of Bhairava features a lotus, skull, and trident, in some respects mirroring Bhairava's *khaṭvāṅga*.[17]

The *khaṭvāṅga* of Bhairava is an ornate object, part trident and part staff, differing significantly from the club-like skull-staffs often held by Śaiva deities. A hypothetical model is provided in figure 6.1. This assumes a *khaṭvāṅga* four cubits (*hasta*) long, the largest of the options mentioned. As discussed in the annotation to the translation, numerous details, including technical terms for the *khaṭvāṅga*'s parts, remain unclear from the text, which assumes familiarity with the object it describes. Two passages separately name the parts of the *khaṭvāṅga*—the first (83.101–18) in delineating cosmological correspondences and presiding deities, the second in specifying measurements (83.122–34). These are difficult to reconcile fully. My model thus relies upon a degree of speculation as well as comparison to the visual record.

A *khaṭvāṅga* may be constructed from a variety of materials: bamboo, woods such as pine and sandalwood, wood scavenged from a cremation ground, or one of a number of metals. In form, it consists of a trident whose base (*pādaka*) is affixed to a staff, to which in turn a spike is attached at the bottom. Wide rings (*kāñcī*), presumably of metal, are used at the junctures. To the upper portion, apparently near the base of the trident, multi-coloured twine affixes cloth banners (probably red), goose or peacock feathers, hair (perhaps clustered like a fly-whisk or *cāmara*[18]), and a bell. Puzzlingly, there is no unam-

[15] *BraYā* 21.64: *kapālaṃ dakṣiṇe haste khaṭvāṅgaṃ vāmato nyaset | ghaṇṭāpiñcchakasaṃyuktaṃ ḍamarukaṃ vādayed budhaḥ ||*.

[16] *BraYā* 21.105cd: *khaṭvāṅgaṃ śūlasaṃyuktaṃ samuṇḍaṃ keśabhūṣitam*.

[17] *BraYā* 4.870–86. Detailed measurements for the skull-and-spear bell (*kapālaśūlaghaṇṭā*) of the *bhairavagotra*, of which the others are inflections, are given in 873–78b.

[18] This possibility is suggested by the yak-tail chowries which may adorn tridents and other polearms in Tibetan iconography; see Beer (1999: plates 124–26). Note also the *cāmara* dangling from the *khaṭvāṅga* in figure 6.2.

biguous reference to the skull which presumably sits at the base of the trident: the word *mūrdhni* in 105d may mean "on the head," though it could merely mean "on top." Presumably a head is implied by the reference to matted locks (*jaṭā*, 115), which one expects to be affixed to the skull. Whether this should be an actual skull, an embossment, or a skull-shaped figurine (perhaps carved of bone) is entirely unclear. Multiple options are provided for the *khaṭvāṅga*'s size: four cubits (*hasta*), three, or closer to two. These measurements may or may not include the trident and base-spike. The standard for the digit (*aṅgula*), the basic unit of measure, is not absolute, but derived from the individual's own body.[19]

Much like the tantric body, in the vision of the *BraYā* (83.99–118), Bhairava's skull-staff is a homologue of the Mantramārga cosmos. The staff's base represents the Fire of Time at the root of the universe, presided over by the *rudra* Ananta. Above this, arrayed along the shaft are the ascending series of hell-realms, netherworlds, and worlds comprising the entire *brahmāṇḍa*, presided over by Brahmā. The upper reaches of the impure universe of Śaiva cosmology begin with the handle of the trident, where are affixed decorative feathers and hair embodying the eight *nāga* clans and the hosts of demigods and spirit beings. These are bound by twine of three colours representing the *guṇas* of Prakṛti. The levels of the Śaiva universe known as the six *kañcukas* or 'sheaths'—fate, time, and so forth—are arrayed above on the trident's handle, culminating in the round ring at the base of the trident itself, which represents Māyā, material cause of the impure universe. Vāyu and the *maruts* preside over the flag which fastens here or somewhere below. In the bell which dangles from the trident are present the *rudras* and *gaṇas*; in the sounding of the bell is goddess Sarasvatī. The head itself is presided over by Bhairava. In its matted locks are present the Weapon Mantras (*astra*) and the hosts of tantric goddesses: *yoginīs*, *mātṛs*, and so forth, joined by Skanda and his retinue of Seizers (*graha*). "In [the act of] taking hold [of the *khaṭvāṅga*] are present the Vedas and *vedāṅgas*, the fourteen sites [of knowledge]. And in releasing [is present] the *gāyatrī*. When held [there is present] the Oṃkāra. When placed (*sthāpite*) [the wise] know the *sāvitrī* [to be present]" (*BraYā* 83.116–17b). The three prongs of the trident itself are presided over by the triad of *śaktis*, Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī; the eternal, supreme Śiva reigns from its highest point. Thus it is that "one who worships the skull-staff worships the triple universe;

[19] See the annotation to the problematic verse 83.124.

one who bears the skull-staff holds the creation" (83.135c–36b).

This cosmological symbolism is extended to other insignia of the Great Vow, from the *sādhaka*'s skull-vessel to his bone ornaments and matted locks, all of which have presiding divinities (*BraYā* 83.171–75). In addition, aspects of this symbolism find echo in the *BraYā*'s rite of Kaṅkālabhairava (paṭala 63), in which the *sādhaka* impales a corpse upon a spear made of wood from a cremation-ground, affixing a trident atop and spike below. Empowered by mantra, the corpse-staff is homologized with the entire hierarchy of *tattva*s, presided over by the triad of *śakti*s. Echoing *BraYā* 83.171–75, the practitioner's bone paraphernalia are also made to embody the deities and cosmos.[20] As suggested in §1.9.4, these two chapters (63 and 83), as well as 66, appear to be closely related, and might preserve material ultimately derived from Atimārga Kāpālika sources (see §4.3–4).

Other Śaiva sources which give doctrinal meaning to the *khaṭvāṅga* do not engage with iconographic minutiae in this manner: the *Jayadrathayāmala* and *Tantrasadbhāva*, for instance, invest meaning in the *khaṭvāṅga* primar-

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[20] *BraYā* 63.1–8:

bhairava uvāca ||
athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi kaṅkālavratasādhanam |
yena sidhyanti vai devyaḥ saptāhā sādhakasya tu ||1||
udbaddhamṛtakaṃ gṛhya mantrapūtena bhasmanā |
[ś]aucayitvā tataḥ pretaṃ mantranyāsaṃ samācaret ||2||
āropya ca tataḥ pretaṃ śmaśānolmuka[ś]ūlake |
tasyādhastān nyasec chūlaṃ puṣpalohamayaṃ śubham ||3||
triśūlam upariṣṭā tu śaktitrayavikalpitam |
mantranyāsaṃ nyaset tatra svaśaktinicitaṃ śubham ||4||
sarvvādhvanicitaṃ tan tu sarvvavastukṛyātmakam |
vratañ ca sannidhāpīta mahākaṅkālarūpinam ||5||
śikhāgre -d- īśvaraṃ dadyā jñānaśakti kṛyā tathā |
karṇṇike galake rudrā mahāmāyāntagāvadhi ||6||
tadadho kaṭakeyūra-upavītakaṭisarāḥ |
nūpurāntās tu bhuvanā nyastavyā ceśvarānvitāḥ ||7||
nyastavyā tu mahādevi mudrāyuktā vratātmakāḥ |
vinyaseta tato mantrī kaṅkālaṃ bhairavaṃ param ||8||

3b śmaśāno°] *corr.*; śmasāno° **A** 3c tasyādhastān] *corr.*; tasyādhastāṃ **A** 5c sannidhāpīta] *conj.*; sannidhīvīta **A** 5d *conj.*; mahākālaṃ kālarūpinaṃ **A** 6a -d- īśvaraṃ] *conj.*; -t- īśvaraṃ **A** 6d āvadhi] *em.*; āvidhiḥ **A** 7c bhuvanā] *em.*; bhuvanāṃ **A** 8d param] *conj.*; vratam **A** (cf. 68.27d, 46b, & 47b: *phetkāraṃ bhairavaṃ param*)

ily through etymology.[21] Abhinavagupta's gnostic explication of the skull and skull-staff is virtually devoid of iconographic detail.[22] Nonetheless, the *BraYā*'s iconological exposition on the *khaṭvāṅga* shares much with accounts of other ritual paraphernalia, especially Śaiva tridents (*triśūla*) and Vajrayāna *khaṭvāṅgas*.[23]

The trident is central to ritual symbolization in the Trika system, where it serves as locus for worship of the goddess triad (*trika*) in a maṇḍala, or is visu-

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[21] The relevant passages of the *Jayadrathayāmala* and *Tantrasadbhāva* both present difficulties. *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.97c–99b makes the following confusing remarks on the "inner" or yogic (*adhyātmaka*) meaning of the *khaṭvāṅga*, a word it derives from √*khaṭṭ* plus *aṅga*: *khaṭvāṅgaṃ kathayiṣyāmi paripāṭyā yathākramam* ||97|| *āpādatālumurddhāntaṃ yathā bhavati tac chṛṇu* | *śirādau sarva-aṅgeṣu aṅgapratyaṅgajeṣv api* ||98|| *khaṭṭate yena deveśi khaṭvāṅgī tena saṃsmṛtaḥ* | (ms. A42/2); perhaps, "I shall now teach the *khaṭvāṅga* sequentially, in due order, as it is from the feet to the palate, ending with the head; hear this! O Queen of the gods, he is known as a *khaṭvāṅga*-bearer since [it] covers (*khaṭṭate*) [i.e. encompasses?] all [his] limbs, starting with the head, and also the hair on the limbs' appendages." The idea might be that the yogin's own body forms his *khaṭvāṅga*, his head the skull, his body the staff, and his hair its ornamentation. This passage is also incorporated as *Kubjikāmata* 25.124–25, as notes Törzsök (*Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. II: 162), with several different readings. A longer passage in *Jayadrathayāmala* I (45.43c–48b) provides a detailed but not entirely clear etymology, equating the *khaṭvāṅga* with the *māyātattva* (*māyāmayam hi khaṭvāṅga[ṃ]*, 47a).

[22] In *Paramārthasāra* 79–80, Abhinavagupta speaks of the necessity for the nondualist yogin to cognize his body as nothing more than a skull-staff (*sarvaṃ samayā dṛṣṭyā yat paśyati yac ca saṃvidaṃ manute* | *viśvaśmaśānaniratāṃ vigrahakhaṭvāṅgakalpanākalitām* ||79|| ...). Yogarāja elaborates: "for the body of the yogin after all amounts to nothing but a corpse, is nothing but the remainder of the root impressions (*saṃskāra*) [left by his previous experience], for he deems his [true] self to have gone beyond the body, owing to the extermination of his foul seizure by the conceit that his body is the locus of the cognizer. For him who thinks thus, his body is imagined as stamped (°*mudrā*) with the form of a skeleton. [Therefore, **his awareness**] **is furnished** (*kalitām*), impressed (*mudritām*), with that [image], inasmuch as [his awareness is now presumed to be the] substratum for whatever is to be enjoyed" (*...yoginaḥ kila svaśarīrapramātṛtābhimānadurgrahasaṃkṣayāc charīrātītaṃ svātmānaṃ manyamānasya saṃskāraśeṣībhūto* ***vigrahaḥ*** *śavaprāyam evety avadhārayataḥ svaśarīram eva kaṅkālamudrākalpanā tayā* ***kalitām*** *bhogyādhāratvena mudritām*; translation of Bansat-Boudon & Tripathi [2011: 268]).

[23] One might even mention Brahmanical ascetic staffs (*daṇḍa*). The *Yatidharmasamuccaya* (3.48–49) quotes a lost Pāñcarātra text, the *Tattvasāgarasaṃhitā*, which speaks of the ascetic's triple staff (*tridaṇḍa*) as an image of the deity: "Let an ascetic think of the top section of the triple staff as Parameṣṭhin, the second as Puruṣātman, the mid-section as Viśvātman, the fourth section as Nivṛttipuruṣa, and the fifth section as Sarvātman, Let him envisage the triple staff in its entirety as an image of Viṣṇu" (*śrīpañcarātre tattvasāgarasaṃhitāyāṃ* | *tridaṇḍasyāgrabhāgaṃ tu saṃsmaret parameṣṭhinam* | *dvitīyaṃ puruṣātmānaṃ viśvātmānaṃ tu madhyamam* ||*48*|| *turyaṃ nivṛttipuruṣaṃ sarvātmānaṃ tu pañcamam* | *tridaṇḍaṃ samudāyena viṣṇurūpaṃ smared yatiḥ* ||*49*||; edition and translation of Olivelle [1995]).

alized as their locus within the practitioner's body in meditation.[24] While the ritual contexts thus differ from that of the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga*, the investiture of cosmological symbolism follows similar patterns. Thus, in the *Tantrāloka*'s exposition of inner worship, which follows the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*,[25] the trident is visualized in the vertical axis of the body with its shaft as the central channel of yoga. This extends upwards, originating from a 'bulb' (*kanda*) below the navel corresponding to the round protrusion at the trident's base, where is visualized the basal (*ādhāra*) *śakti* at the root of the cosmos. The entire impure universe is arrayed along the trident's shaft, culminating (at the palate) in the knot (*granthi*) which is *māyā*, where are affixed the trident's banners.[26] In locating *māyā* at the upper juncture of the shaft, and identifying it as a 'knot' both cosmological and textile, the symbolism of the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga* is identical. Atop the shaft begins the trident proper, which serves as locus for the visualization of the goddess triad. Upon a square plinth lies the corpse of Sadāśiva, which, fittingly, corresponds to the position of the skull of the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga*, presided over by Bhairava. The triad of Trika goddesses visualized on the prongs of the trident correspond in placement to the *śakti*s Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī of the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga*. These similarities suggest that the Trika and *BraYā* share a common core of Mantramārga trident symbolism, inflected on account of cultic differences as well as material modifications to the object. Vestiges of this shared symbolism may be preserved even in festival tridents of the Saiddhāntika temple *āgama*s, where the trident's various components become loci for installation of the sixfold Mantramārga cosmos (*ṣaḍadhvan*) and an expansive pantheon.[27]

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[24]On the *triśūlābjamaṇḍala* of the *Mālinīvijayottara*, and other trident and lotus-based maṇḍalas of the Trika, see Sanderson (1986), a classic study of Trika ritual. On the 'trident maṇḍala' of the Trika's *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, see Törzsök (2003: 222–24; plate 19), who reconstructs this following *Tantrāloka* 31.155 and its commentary. See also Padoux 2003.

[25]*Tantrāloka* 15.295c–328b, *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 8.55–80. Here I depend entirely on Sanderson's (1986: 178–87) analysis; see especially his diagram on p. 187.

[26]By way of contrast, it is notable that the *BraYā* invokes a world-based cosmos (*bhuvanādhvan*) for the shaft's symbolism: an ascending hierarchy of realms, extending from the hell-worlds to heavens. It is conceivable that this is a vestige of Atimārga trident or *khaṭvāṅga* symbolism. No reference is made to the *tattva*s of the 'impure' universe of Sāṅkhya; the Mantramārga hierarchy of *tattva*s begins with *prakṛti* and the other 'sheaths' (*kañcuka*; see figure 6.1).

[27]For instance, the three prongs serve as loci of *śivatattva* (middle), *vidyātattva* (left), and *ātmatattva* (right), presided over by Rudra, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā; the plinth (*phalakā*) represents Pārvatī. See Davis (2010: 83–86), who follows the *Mahotsavavidhi* of Aghoraśiva and cites the

These shared symbolic patterns extend in part to Vajrayāna Buddhist *khaṭvāṅga*s. In Tibetan iconography, an array of divine weapons may incorporate skulls, including staffs, clubs, spears, tridents, and other polearms. These are probably modelled on earlier Indic *khaṭvāṅga*s and evince the proliferation of mortuary elements in Vajrayāna iconography.[28] The *khaṭvāṅga* proper is an ornate mortuary staff of multiple varieties, some topped by tridents and others by *vajra*s,[29] though earlier Indic examples may lack both.[30] Particularly relevant is the *khaṭvāṅga* associated with the Cakraśaṃvara system (figures 6.2–3), an intricate object imbued with equally elaborate doctrinal meaning. Upon a long, sometimes octagonal staff are impaled three heads—freshly severed, dried, and skeletal—stacked on a four-sided (*viśva-*) *vajra* and vase. An upright *vajra* or trident caps this variety of skull-staff. The object's structure is highlighted by the lavish metal *khaṭvāṅga* shown in figure 6.3,[31] whose vase rests atop a four-sided *vajra* on a multi-layered lotus. A pair of single *vajra*s cap the elaborately decorated staff's base and crest. In contrast, in the Tibetan painting of Vajrayoginī shown in figure 6.2,[32] a more delicate *khaṭvāṅga* balances upon the deity's left shoulder, crested by a double-sided *vajra*. A green and red banner billows out from her skull-staff, from which hang a *ḍamaru*-drum, bell, two pendants (a disk and crescent), and a chowrie. Having in view a similar object, with a few inflections, BEER (1999: 254) explicates the Vajrayāna *khaṭvāṅga*'s "outer," cosmological level of symbolism as follows:

> As a representation of the physical universe the *vishvavajra* of the *khatvanga* symbolises the earth base of the Mt Meru mandala. Its twelve visible prongs represent the four main continents and eight subcontinents surrounding Mt Meru. The eight-sided shaft with its top (zenith) and bottom (nadir) represents Mt Meru's central axis and the ten directions. The vase represents Mt Meru, and its four leaf-shaped pendants, the four faces of Mt Meru. The vase's

work of Stella KRAMRISCH and S. S. JANAKI.

[28] See BEER (1999), especially plates 124–29.

[29] See BEER (1999: 253–58).

[30] Note for instance the eleventh-century Cakraśaṃvara from Ratnagiri housed in the Patna Museum (LINROTHE 1999: Fig. 198), and the *circa* eleventh-century gilt copper-alloy Heruka from Bengal in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LINROTHE 1999: Fig. 189). The latter possesses a base spike, a detail which accords with the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga*.

[31] The object is extremely similar to that studied in detail by HUNTINGTON & BANGDEL (2003: 358–60), whose analysis sheds much light on Vajrayāna *khaṭvāṅga*s and related ritual objects.

[32] Published with a detailed analysis byHUNTINGTON & BANGDEL (2003: 386–87).

> top represents Indra's palace above Mt Meru, with the visualised wish-fulfilling tree at its centre. The fresh red head above the vase represents the six heavens of the desire-god realms (*kamaloka*), as red is the colour of desire. Blue or green symbolises the decay or death of desire, and the decaying green or blue head represents the eighteen heavens of the pure form realms (*rupaloka*) of the desireless gods. The fleshless dry white skull represents the four highest formless realms (*arupaloka*) The crowning *vajra* at the top symbolises the paradise realms of the Buddhas. If a trident crowns the *khatvanga*'s top it represents the Three Jewels, and the Buddhas of the three times—past, present, and future. The hanging *damaru* and bell symbolise the union of method and wisdom. The hanging pendants of sun and moon represent these planets circling Mt Meru. The triple-valence pendant represents the victory banner placed at Mt Meru's summit; and the hanging white scarf which is tied around the vase symbolises Mt Meru's encircling mountains and the great salt ocean.

All of these iconographic elements are given yogic meanings on the level of "inner symbolism:" the trident, for instance, represents the three principal *nāḍī*s, the flames around the central prong the inner heat, and the object's shaft the central *nāḍī* through which flows *bodhicitta*, which melts at the level of the crown, represented by the white skull.[33] On the level of "secret symbolism," the *khaṭvāṅga* embodies Cakraśaṃvara's maṇḍala of sixty-two deities.[34] Though this symbolic complex obviously departs from the Śaiva trident and *khaṭvāṅga*, common patterns of signification and some details highlight their roots in a shared ritual and material culture.

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[33] On the *khaṭvāṅga* as central *nāḍī*, compare with *caryāpada* 11 of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇhapāda (following KVAERNE 2010 [1977]: 119–22): "Firmly holding the *nāḍiśakti* as *khaṭvāṅga*, the drum of the Unstruck (sound) resounds with the sound of the Hero. Kāṇha, having adopted the conduct of a kāpālika-yogin, roams about in the city of the body, being of one disposition (towards all) ..." (*nāṛi śakti diṛha, dharia khaṭṭe | anahā ḍamaru bājae bīranāde* || 1 || *kāṇha kāpālī yogī païṭha acāre | deha naarī biharae ekākāre* || 2 || ...). Perhaps instead understand *ekākāre* as "alone."

[34] BEER (1999: 254–56). The author does not cite primary sources. Péter-Dániel SZÁNTÓ (personal communication) has drawn my attention to a brief iconographic description of a similar *khaṭvāṅga* in the *Kriyāsamuccaya*, Kyoto ms. 7, fols. 46v–47r. Tibetan sources presumably preserve much more material on the subject.

6.3 Situating the *Brahmayāmala*'s *khaṭvāṅga* in material culture

As comparison with Vajrayāna *khaṭvāṅga*s and the Trika trident illustrates, the iconography of Bhairava's trident-*khaṭvāṅga* merits broader consideration vis-à-vis the visual record. While a thorough history of the *khaṭvāṅga* is beyond the scope of this chapter, a number of observations may be made that help situate the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga* historically. In the development of Śaiva iconography, the *khaṭvāṅga* emerges comparatively late, long after bone ornaments and skull-bowls.[35] In fact, *khaṭvāṅga*s appear infrequently in statuary prior to the seventh century and become common only from the eighth. Śiva's association with the skull-staff must be older, however: in the *Sauptikaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata,* Aśvatthāman praises the god as bearer of the *khaṭvāṅga* (X, 7.4), an epithet also appearing in the old *Skandapurāṇa* (14.9a). Images of Śiva as a *khaṭvāṅga*-bearer are nonetheless difficult to trace before the seventh century, and it never becomes a characteristic emblem: by and large, Śiva in most of his forms remains bearer of the trident. It is only with Bhairava and the goddess Cāmuṇḍā that the skull-staff becomes ubiquitous, though not invariable, alternating with the trident. Other sometime-bearers of the *khaṭvāṅga* include Mahākāla and Kālī, Yama, and a plethora of Śaiva and Buddhist esoteric deities who appear in the visual record primarily from the ninth century onwards—Heruka, *yoginī*s, and so forth.

Surveying Indic statuary reveals numerous variations in skull-staffs. Early *khaṭvāṅga*s are typically stout, short, unembellished clubs with a skull affixed or embossed onto the thick head. This type is exemplified by a *circa* seventh-century image of Mahākāla in the role of door-guardian housed in the Vidisha State Museum (figure 6.4). One of the earliest bearers of the *khaṭvāṅga*, Mahākāla retains a version of this emblem even in his later Buddhist guises (figure 6.7). Short *khaṭvāṅga*s often have less taper than the Vidisha Mahākāla's, being more like rods than clubs, and may have decorative rings and other embellishments, such as a serpent entwined around the shaft and/or skull. Some, such as the 8th–9th century Cāmuṇḍā from Rajasthan in the Fogg Museum (figure 6.5),[36] feature a circular array of peacock feathers fanning out above the skull, reminiscent of the peacock-feather staff often born by Śiva in the

[35] On early images of Śiva with mortuary accoutrements, see Bisschop (2008), discussed above (§4.3.3).

[36] Concerning the dating of this image, see Meister (1976).

"Bhikṣāṭanamūrti" image-type. The stout *khaṭvāṅga* held by a *yoginī* of the Markanda Rsi temple (c. late 11th-century)[37] features a life-sized skull with draping matted hair, crested by an unidentifiable deity seated on a disk resembling a temple finial (figure 6.6). A skull-vessel and imposing chaplet of skulls complete her *kāpālika* regalia. In other cases, the *khaṭvāṅga*'s shaft is staff-like and may extend the full height of the deity. This is evident in the imposing image of Bhairava from Sohāgpur, in the Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh (frontispiece).[38] Here, the stout, bone-like shaft of the *khaṭvāṅga* grows thicker at the bottom, like a themur reaching its joint at the round filigree base. A life-like skull is affixed atop the staff, through which a snake appears to slither; a large, upturned bell caps the skull as its crest.

Another variety of *khaṭvāṅga* seldom seen in Indian statuary attaches a skeleton rather than skull to the staff. This type is depicted on a lintel relief panel of the *circa* 900 C.E. Jarai Math near Barua Sagar (figure 6.9). Ascetics on either end of the panel—one male and one female—hold club-like *khaṭvāṅga*s with diminutive skeletons affixed or carved onto the upper section.[39] Comparison with the Tibetan objects BEER (1999: 292–94) refers to as "skeleton-clubs" confirms that this *khaṭvāṅga*-type is not anomalous.

Prevalent in the iconography of Vajrayāna deities, especially the Buddhist Mahākāla (figure 6.7, right), the trident-topped variety of *khaṭvāṅga* described in *BraYā* 83 is less common in non-Buddhist statuary. Most examples I am aware of belong to Bhairava or Cāmuṇḍā. Prior to the seventh century, few if any images of either deity bear a *khaṭvāṅga*, although both regularly carry skulls. In sixth-century images, Cāmuṇḍā often bears a lance. Thereafter, this implement is replaced frequently by the *khaṭvāṅga*, trident, or both (in the case of multi-armed images),[40] and in some cases by a composite object combining

[37] I am grateful to Thomas DONALDSON, who drew this image to my attention and kindly provided a photograph (figure 6.6).

[38] Formely in the Thakur Saheb of Sohāgpur Collection, the image is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi (DONALDSON 2007, vol. 1: 344; vol. 2: figure 298).

[39] Skeleton-*khaṭvāṅga*s are borne by a female and a male ascetic on opposite ends of the lintel panel above the main entrance. On the right, a skull-crested, male *khaṭvāṅga*-bearer makes an offering, perhaps of flesh, from his skull-bowl into the ladle of a female ascetic. A canine at her feet gazes eagerly upwards. This scene may represent the "exchange of human flesh" (*mahāmāṃsavikraya*) mentioned in a number of literary and tantric texts, on which see HATLEY (2007: 85–87, 100). A similar scene unfolds between the two female figures on the left. On the date of the Jarai Math, see MEISTER (1983: 273), who cites two archaeological reports.

[40] This shift may fit with the literary evidence, for in the early seventh century, Bāṇa praises

skull-staff and trident. An example of the latter is provided by the late eleventh-century Cāmuṇḍā from Kapilās Hill in Orissa (figure 6.11).[41] More trident than staff, the object has a small skull embossed near the joint where the long shaft meets the base of the spear-prongs. A number of eleventh–twelfth century Pāla-sena images of Bhairava carry a similar trident-*khaṭvāṅga*,[42] as does a twelfth-century Orissan image of the Buddhist Mahākāla (figure 6.7). In this case, however, a second, smaller skull rests on the central prong of the trident, while the base-spike takes the form of a four-pronged *vajra*. In several details these accord with the *khaṭvāṅga* borne by Bhairava in the *BraYā*, especially in having a ring and spike at the bottom. These characteristic features of tridents are largely absent from the bases of staff- and club-like *khaṭvāṅga*s. Further parallels are provided by the stout, trident-topped *khaṭvāṅga* borne by a five-faced, ten-armed dancing Bhairava from the Indian Museum (*circa* 11th-century), an image which accords typologically with the *BraYā*'s Kapālīśa. Clusters of gathered cloth, or perhaps matted hair, dangle from the back of this short *khaṭvāṅga*'s life-like skull where it joins the trident (figure 6.8).

In contrast to the wealth of material available for Vajrayāna iconography, the visual record for Śaiva *khaṭvāṅga*s is somewhat limited, restricted mainly to statuary. However, painted depictions of Śiva's trident from a much later period afford surprisingly useful parallels. Note, for instance, the deity's staff-like trident in a Pahari painting of Gaṅgādhara Śiva (figure 6.12), where the object incorporates a vase (much like the *khaṭvāṅga* of Cakraśaṃvara), a *ḍamaru* drum (mounted near the position of a *khaṭvāṅga*'s skull), and a flowing red pennant underneath the prongs' bulbous base. Another mid eighteenth-century Pahari painting from Mandi (figure 6.13) shows Śiva bearing a slender trident with a sharp base-spike, like the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga*. A cloth banderole and an am-

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Caṇḍī, whose identity is not clearly distinguishable from Cāmuṇḍā's, as bearer of the *khaṭvāṅga* (*Caṇḍīśataka* 91). The *circa* eighth-century *Devīmāhātmya* (7.4–7) describes Kālī as carrying a "very colourful skull-staff" (*vicitrakhaṭvāṅgadharā*), suggesting an ornate object with dyed cloth flags and so forth. She is also described as bearing the *khaṭvāṅga* in a passage rejected from the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*; in a *stotra* of Durgā following IV (*Virāṭaparvan*), 5.29 of the critical edition, Yudhiṣṭhira addresses the goddess as follows: *kāli kāli mahākāli khaḍgakhaṭvāṅgadhāriṇi | triśūlavarade devi trinetre bhuvaneśvari |*.

[41] For an early tenth-century example, note the Cāmuṇḍā in a lintel niche of the Someśvara temple at Mukhalingam, above Ekapādabhairava; the image is published in Donaldson (1986, vol. 3: figure 660).

[42] Note also, for instance, the late twelfth-century Bhairava from Bhairhatta published by Linrothe (1999: figure 220).

ple peacock-tail chowrie dangle from the trident's base, echoing the goose and peacock-feather decorations of the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga*. Such paintings bring to life elements of earlier tantric *khaṭvāṅga*s, not all of which appear in statuary. They also illustrate the degree to which *khaṭvāṅga*s and tridents came, in some contexts, to converge.

Despite this, sharp contrasts between *khaṭvāṅga*s and tridents frequently obtain, as highlighted by several eighth- to ninth-century images from Orissa that juxtapose two different modes of Śaiva ascetic garb: those of *khaṭvāṅga*-bearers and trident-bearers. An example is provided by a lintel relief panel of the Someśvara temple at Mukhalingam (figure 6.10).[43] In the left section of the panel sits a bearded ascetic on a raised platform wearing a loincloth, with strands of *rudrākṣa* beads around his neck and arms, a sacred thread, and heavy earrings and bracelets; his matted hair is fastened upwards, and he probably holds a skull-bowl in the right hand. The upright *khaṭvāṅga* in his left hand is a hefty, tapered club upon which has been mounted a lifelike skull. Kneeling before him, perhaps seeking instruction, is a clean-shaven Śaiva ascetic who carries a trident. At the top of the shaft, below the prongs, is fastened a cloth, from one end of which dangles a large bell. A pair of similarly-equipped contrasting ascetics converse jovially in the section on the right. Comparison of these ascetics' skull-staffs and tridents illustrates how clearly the *khaṭvāṅga* of *BraYā* 83 is modelled upon the latter. With close affinities to the Vajrayāna objects discussed, the *khaṭvāṅga* of *BraYā* 83 is an ornate trident onto which mortuary emblems have been affixed, differing fundamentally from the archaic bedpost skull-staff prescribed in the Dharmaśāstras and the club- or staff-like *khaṭvāṅga*s represented widely in first millennium Indian art. It may also differ from the *khaṭvāṅga*s first born by Atimārga votaries of the Great Vow, one of which might be represented in the Someśvara relief (figure 6.10).

The question arises as to when and in what context this shift in the nature of the object occurred. Unfortunately, too little is known about earlier Atimārga versions of the *khaṭvāṅga* to situate the object's development securely in cultic terms. It is nonetheless tempting to link the increasing prevalence of the skull-staff as an iconographic emblem in the seventh century to the prominence of the *khaṭvāṅga* in Śaiva ascetic vows (*vrata*), whether in Lākula or Atimārga Kāpālika contexts. It is also notable how club-like these early *khaṭvāṅga*s usually are, given that the club (*laguḍa* or *musala*) was a defining Atimārga sec-

[43] Cf. Donaldson (1986: figure 30).

tarian emblem:[44] one wonders whether their *khaṭvāṅga* may in fact have been an inflection of the club, modified in the main by mounting a skull upon it (as in figures 6.4 and 6.10). Equally notable is that "tantric" *kāpālika*s—those prominently employing mortuary paraphernalia within a Mantramārga ritual framework—may not initially have used the *khaṭvāṅga*. This is suggested by Bāṇa's account of Bhairavācārya in the *Harṣacarita* (early seventh-century), one of the earliest descriptions of a tantric votary of Bhairava.[45] Mortuary emblems are prominent enough in his accoutrements: he bears a skull as alms-vessel, and in the performance of the macabre 'zombie rite' (*vetālasādhana*), he wears black garments and a garland of skull-bones.[46] He does not, however, carry a *khaṭvāṅga*, but rather a bamboo staff with a crooked iron spike.[47] In contrast, Bhavabhūti's early eighth-century drama, the *Mālatīmādhava*, features a tantric *khaṭvāṅga*-bearer. Its cast of characters includes the *kāpālika* Aghoraghaṇṭa and his female disciple, Kapālakuṇḍalā ("lady with skull-bone earrings"), whose extroardinary costume and nocturnal flight to the cremation ground find vivid description.[48] Her whirling *khaṭvāṅga* incorporates cloth banners as well as a bell, though not necessarily a trident, departing from earlier club-like versions of the object. Representations of Śaivism in this work reflect with little ambiguity the ritual milieu of the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha.[49] This may suggest that the Mantramārga adaptation and transformation of the *khaṭvāṅga*—and, indeed, the total adoption of Kāpālika mortuary paraphernalia—lies in the interstice

[44] The very names of two Atimārga groups—Lākula and Mausala—derive from words for 'club' (*laguḍa* and *musala*). On the evidence for diverse Atimārga ascetic orders, see Bakker (2014: 137–53).

[45] For discussions of Bāṇa's Śaivism, see Lorenzen (1991: 16–23); Sanderson (2001: 11, 13); and Hatley (2007: 73–82).

[46] *unmīlanmālatīmuṇḍamālaḥ* ("having a garland of heads [white] like blooming jasmine").

[47] *śikharanikhātakubjakālāyasakaṇṭakena vaiṇavena viśākhikādaṇḍena sarvavidyāsiddhi-vighnavināyakāpanayanāṅkuśeneva satatapārśvavartinā virājamānam* ("he had always at his side a bamboo segmented staff (? *viśākhikādaṇḍa*) with a crooked spike of dark iron fixed into the top, as though a goad for driving away the spirit lords obstructing success in all spells").

[48] *Mālatīmādhava* V, verse 4: *viṣvagvṛttir jaṭānāṃ pracalati nibiḍagranthibaddho 'pi bhāraḥ saṃskārakvāṇadīrghaṃ paṭu raṭati kṛtāvṛttikhaṭvāṅgaghaṇṭā | ūrdhvaṃ dhūnoti vāyur vivṛtaśavaśiraḥśreṇikuñjeṣu guñjann uttālaḥ kiṅkiṇīnām anavaratarāṇatkārahetuḥ patākāḥ ||* ("My mass of dreadlocks moves about in every direction, though bound in a tight knot; the bell of my *khaṭvāṅga* sounds shrilly as [the staff] twirls around, reverberating musically; the mighty wind sweeps its flags upwards, resounding in the hollows of the row of skulls [which garlands me] and making my bell ornaments clamour ceaselessly").

[49] Specifically, the *Yoginīsañcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as Sanderson (1985a: 213 [n. 89]) notes, as well as the *BraYā* (Hatley 2007: 84–94).

between early Bhairava-centric tantric ritual and the more radical *yoginī* cults of the Vidyāpīṭha, possibly in the late-seventh to early-eighth centuries, the likely period of the *BraYā*'s composition.

Although my reconstruction of the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga* and of the object's history are somewhat speculative, these highlight the importance of material culture for the study of tantric traditions. While doctrine and ritual are no doubt critical to understanding Śaivism's history, objects—whether images, manuscripts, ritual paraphernalia, or textual accounts of these—have much to tell us as well. With its detailed and often unique descriptions of materalia, the *BraYā* has much to contribute to this subject, especially in chapter 4. Analysis of the visual record suggests that Mantramārga Śaivas may have fundamentally altered the *khaṭvāṅga*, transforming it from the club-like object utilized by Atimārga votaries of the Great Vow into the ornate, staff-like trident described in the *BraYā*. In both construction and symbolism, the *BraYā*'s *khaṭvāṅga* has notable parallels in the skull-staffs of Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna Buddhism, and draws on a common stock of Mantramārga trident symbolism. It would seem that, much as Śaiva groups continually innovated in ritual and doctrine, for instance by extending the cosmos upwards, positing new cosmological levels unreachable by their rivals,[50] they also continually refashioned and re-envisioned their cult objects.

[50] As shown by Sanderson 2006b.

Figure 6.1: The Khaṭvāṅga of Bhairava: a hypothetical reconstruction based on *Brahmayāmala* 83 (illustration by V. Vijay Kumar)

Figure 6.2: Vajrayoginī (detail) bearing an intricate *khaṭvāṅga*, skull-vessel, and chopper. Kham Province, Eastern Tibet; late 19th century. Pigments on cloth. Rubin Museum of Art, F1997.19.2 (HAR 290). Gift of the Shelley & Donald Rubin Foundation.

Figure 6.3: Vajrayāna *khaṭvāṅga*. Iron with gold and silver inlay. China, Yongle period (1403–24). Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 2015.500.6.28.

Figure 6.4: Mahākāla bearing a club-like *khaṭvāṅga* paired with Yamunā as *dvārapālas*. Madhya Pradesh, ca. 7th century. Vidisha State Museum. Photograph by the author.

Figure 6.5: Cāmuṇḍā (detail) bearing a peacock-feather *khaṭvāṅga* with an embossed skull. Rajasthan, 8th–9th century (see Meister 1976). Fogg Museum, Harvard University. Photograph by the author.

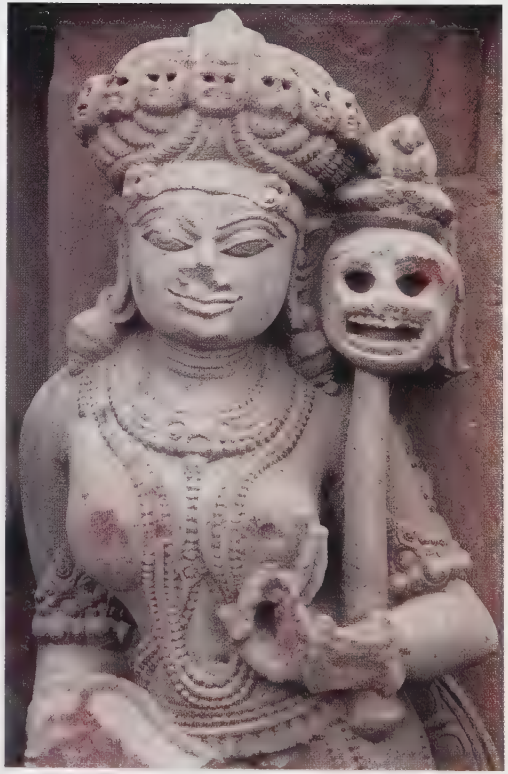

Figure 6.6: A *yoginī* with a chaplet of skulls bearing a skull-vessel and a *khaṭvāṅga* crested by a seated deity. Markanda Rsi temple, Markandi, Maharashtra; c. late 11th century. Photograph by Thomas Donaldson.

Figure 6.7: Mahākāla atop a *vetāla* bearing a trident-*khaṭvāṅga*, skull-vessel, and chopper. Orissa, 12th century. Victoria & Albert Museum. Photograph by the author.

Figure 6.8: Five-faced, ten-armed dancing Bhairava (detail) bearing a trident-*khaṭvāṅga*. Jagnail, West Dinajpur, North Bengal; c. 12th century. Indian Museum, Kolkata. Photograph by the author.

Figure 6.9: Lintel relief panel featuring *kāpālikas* bearing skeleton-club *khaṭvāṅgas* (second from left and far right). Jarai Math, Barua Sagar, Madhya Pradesh. Ninth century. Photograph by the author.

Figure 6.10: Lintel relief panel detail with Śaiva ascetics (*khaṭvāṅga*- and trident-bearers) flanking Cāmuṇḍā. Somesvara temple, Mukhalingam, Andhra Pradesh. AIIS Photoarchive, no. 64289.

Figure 6.11: Seated Cāmuṇḍā bearing a large trident-*khaṭvāṅga* with a base-spike and embossed skull. Kapilās hill, Dhenkanal District, Orissa; c. late 11th century. Photograph by Thomas DONALDSON (published in DONALDSON 2002: figure 292).

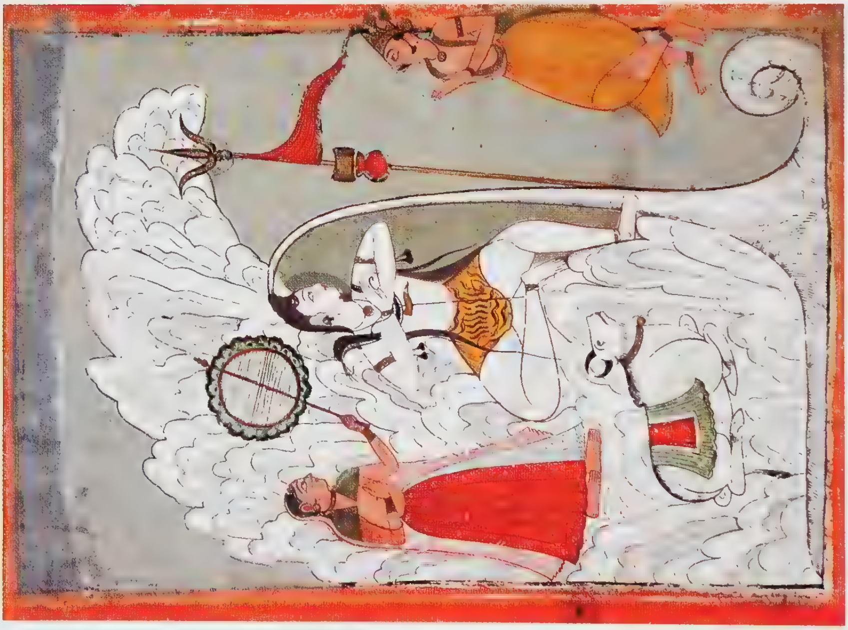

Figure 6.12: Śiva as Gaṅgādhara with trident. Folio from a Hindi manuscript by the saint Narayan. Bathu, Guler, Himachal Pradesh, ca. 1740. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.86.345.6. Gift of Paul F. Walter.

Figure 6.13: Śiva bearing a trident with a base-spike, peacock-feather whisk, and banner, accompanied by Durgā. Mandi, Himachal Pradesh, ca. 1740–70. ©Victoria & Albert Museum, London, IS.42-1954.

Part II

Critical Edition and Translation

१

ब्रह्मयामले सम्बन्धपटलः प्रथमः

ॐ नमः शिवादिभ्यो गुरुभ्यो योगीश्वरीणाम् ॥

यत्तत्वम्मन्त्रगर्भं सकलशिवमयं हेतुनिर्वाणविश्वं
दूतीनाम्पद्मषण्डे ऽसमसुखविलसल्लिङ्गरूपं बिभर्त्ति ।

Codices: A: *ff.* 1*v*–4*v* (NGMPP reel no. A42/6 exposures 2 upper–5 lower); B: *ff.* 1*v*–6*r*; C: *ff.* 1*v*–7*r*; D: *ff.* 1*v*–4*r*; E: *ff.* 1*v*–6*r*

Incipit: Cf. incipits of mss. of the *Tantrasadbhāva*: ॐ नमो महाभैरवाय दिग्देवतादिभ्यो गुरुभ्यः ॥; cf. also *Jayadrathayāmala* & *Kulapañcāśikā* mss.: ॐ नमः शिवादिभ्यो गुरुभ्यः ॥   1a Cf. *BraYā* 86.3: व्योमव्यापिनमव्यक्तं [*em.*; अत्यन्त A] कालहीनङ्कलात्मकं । शिवं सूक्षं सुनिर्व्वाणं कारणं योगपीठगम् ॥   1 = *BraYāSāra* 1.1; ms. S_1: यत्तत्वं मन्त्रगर्भं सकलशिवमयं हेतुनिर्वाणविश्वं दुतीनां पद्मषण्डे समसुखविलसल्लिङ्गरूपं बिभर्त्तिः । नानाभोगाधिवासैर्विविधनद्यपदैः शक्तिराव⟨द्व/द्ध⟩काण्डं तत्तत्वं विश्वगर्भं भवनगदलनं भैरवः पुनातु ॥; ms. S_2: यत्तत्वं मन्त्रगर्भं सकलशिवमयं हेतुनिर्व्वाणविश्वं दूतिनां पद्म+ख+ण्डे समसुखविलसल्लिङ्गरूपं बिभर्त्तिः । नानाभोगाधिवासै विविधनयपदैः शक्तिरावर्द्धकाण्डं तत्तत्वं विश्वगर्भं भवनगहरनं भैरवो वः पुनातु ॥

Incipit: ॐ नमः शिवादिभ्यो गुरुभ्यो योगेश्वरीणाम्] *corr.*; …≀श्व⟨री/रा⟩णा≀ A (*tops missing; bottoms consistent with* D *and* E *from* गुरु°; *final anusvāra possibly lost*); श्रीगणेशाय नमः B; ≀ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः≀ C; ॐ नमः शिवादिभ्यो गुरुभ्य योगीश्वरीणा DE   1a तत्वम्] A; तत्त्वं BCE; तत्व° D ◆ °गर्भं] BC; °गर्भ AE; °गभ D ◆ °मयं] BCDE; °मय A ◆ °विश्वं] DE; °वि≀स्वं≀ A; °बिम्बाद् B; °बिम्बं C   1b दूतीनाम्] A; दूतीनां BDE; दूतीना– C ◆ पद्मषण्डे] ABC[pc]; पद्मखण्डे DE; –द्मषर्ण्डे C[ac] ◆ °सुख°] ABC; °≀स्रश्व≀ D; °सूख° E ◆ °रूपं] AD; °रूप° E; °कायं BC ◆ बिभर्त्ति] B; बिभर्त्तिः AC; विभूर्त्तिः DE

नानाभोगाधिवासैर्विविधलयपदैः शक्तिराबद्धकाण्डे
तत्तत्वं विश्वगर्भं भवनगदलनम्भैरवम्वः पुनातु ॥१॥
श्रुत्वा शास्त्रं पुरा देवी मूलतन्त्रं महोदयम् ।
मुद्रामण्डलमन्त्रोघं विद्यापीठोपलक्षितम् ॥२॥
सहस्राणि दश द्वे च चतुःपीठं तु भैरवम् ।
विमला निर्ग्गतं यत्तदघोरी भीमविक्रमा ।
प्रत्युवाच महादेवं भैरवं मन्त्रविग्रहम् ॥३॥
यत्पुरा सूचितन्देव तन्त्रमुच्छुष्मसम्भवम् ।
विमलाह्वेति यत्प्रोक्तं ज्ञानोघं शक्तिपूर्व्वकम् ॥४॥
यस्मिंस्तु संस्थितं ह्येतच्चतुःपीठन्तु भैरवम् ।

1cd Cf. *Yoginīvijayastava* (NGMPP C48/10) 1.1cd: दूतीनां योगिनीनां नवत्रिकविषये षट्प्रकारे चतुष्के सर्वव्यापी शिवो ऽयं सकलशिवमयो भैरवो वः पुनातु ॥ **2b–3d, 5b–d** Cf. *BraYā* 33.300: तेनाद्यन्तु समाख्यातं मूलतन्त्रं न संशयः । अस्माद्विनिर्ग्गतं देवि चतुःपीठं तु भैरवम् ॥ **3b** Cf. *BraYā* 39.19cd: चतुःपीठं समुत्पन्नं तन्त्रं भैरवसंज्ञितम् ॥ **4ab** Cf. *BraYāSāra* 1.3cd (MS. S_1): यत्पुरा कथितं देव पिचु उच्छुष्मसंभवं ॥

1c °भोगाधिवासैर्] ABC^{pc}E; °–गाधिवासैर् C^{ac}; °भोगाधिवासै D ◆ विविध°] ABC; द्विविध° DE ◆ °लय°] *conj.* (Sanderson); °नय° ABCDE ◆ शक्तिराबद्धकाण्डे] *conj.*; शक्तिरावर्द्धकाण्डे ABCDE **1d** भैरवम्] AC; भैरवो B; भैरवस् DE **2a** श्रुत्वा] BDE; स्रुत्वा AC ◆ शास्त्रं पुरा] B; शास्त्र पुरा A*(no tops)*C; मन्त्रपरो DE ◆ देवी] BC; दे⟨वी/वा/वो⟩ A; देवो DE **2b** मूलतन्त्रं महोदयम्] *em.*; ⟨मू/सू⟩––––––यम् A; पार्वतिं प्रत्युवाच ह B; पार्व्वतिं प्रत्यु+वाच ह+ C; मूलतन्त्रमहोदयः D; मूलतन्त्रमहा–यः E **2c** °मन्त्रोघं] A; °मंत्राणि BC; °मन्त्रोघे DE **2d** °पीठोपलक्षितम्] ABC; °पीठे य लक्षितः DE **3a** दश] ABCD; द्दश E **3b** भैरवम्] ABC; भैरवः DE **3c** निर्ग्गतं] ABCD; निर्ग्गत E ◆ यत्] ACD; ये DE **3d** अघोरी] ADE; अर्+⌈–⌉+ी B; अ⌈–र्घो⌉री C^{ac}; अ+घा+री C^{pc} **3e** महादेवं] ADE; महादेवो B^{pc}; महादेव B^{ac}C **3f** °विग्रहम्] ABC^{pc}; °विग्रहंः DE **4b** तन्त्रमुच्छुष्म°] B^{pc}; तन्त्रामुच्छुष्म° A; तं⌈त्र–ण–⌉सुष्म° C; म⌈न्त्रोम्रे⌉च्छुष्म° D; मन्त्रो⌈म–⌉च्छुष्म° E ◆ °सम्भवम्] ABC; सम्भवः DE **4c** विमलाह्वेति] ABCE; वि⌈स⌉लाह्वेति D ◆ प्रोक्तं] AB^{pc}DE; प्रोक्ष B^{ac}; प्रोक्षर् C **4d** ज्ञानोघं] A; –नाघं B; स्तेनाद्यं D; स्तेनाघं E; ⌈ज्ञ–⌉ना⌈थं⌉ C **5a** यस्मिंस्] A; यस्मिन् BCE; ⌈य–स्म–⌉न् D ◆ ह्येतच्] ACD; हतच् D; हेत E

यस्माद्विनिर्ग्गतं सर्वं मन्त्रपीठं महोदयम् ॥५॥
चतुःपीठस्य सम्बन्धे यत्त्वया चोदितं मम ।
तन्त्रावतारसंयुक्तमाद्यं यत्सिद्धिकारणम् ॥६॥
सरहस्यं ममाचक्ष्व ज्ञानोघात्सारपूजितम् ।
शिवशक्तिविभेदश्च बिन्दुभेदन्तथैव च ॥७॥
नवशक्तिविभेदश्च शृष्टिभेदं सुविस्तरम् ।
एकाकिनी यथा शक्तिर्नवभेदैर्व्यवस्थिता ॥८॥
गुह्यकाकिङ्करीभिश्च किंकर्योच्छुष्मसम्भवाः ।
योगिन्यो लाकिनीनान्तु बहुभेदैर्व्यवस्थिताः ॥९॥
एका एव महावीर्या व्यापिनी शक्ति चोत्तमा ।

5c ≈ 1.44a: अस्माद्विनिर्ग्गतं सर्व्वं 7ab Cf. *BraYā* 31.63ab: एतज्ज्ञानं [*em.*; एत A] महादेवि ज्ञानोघात्सारपूजितम् [*conj.*; ज्ञानोघोच्चार° A] । 7c–9 ≈ *BraYāSāra* 1.4–6 (MS. S_1): शिवशक्तिविभेदं च बिन्दुभेदं सुविस्तरं । नवशक्तिविभेदेन सृष्टिभेदं सुविस्तरं ॥४॥ एकाकिनी यदा शक्ति बहुभेदैर्व्यवस्थिताः । योगिन्यो गुह्यकानाञ्च शाकिन्यो किङ्करी तथा ॥५॥ मुद्राणांञ्च तथास्त्राणां मण्डलानां तथैव च । कि–कर्योनुचराणाञ्च बहुभेदैर्व्यवस्थिताः ॥६॥ 9ab ≈ *BraYā* 4.263ab: गुह्यकानुचरा ह्येताः किङ्कर्योच्छुष्मसम्भवाः ।

5c यस्माद्विनिर्ग्गतं] *conj.* (Isaacson); यस्मा–ि–ग्ग–त– A; यस्मात्पीठं तु तत् B; यस्मात्पीठं तु +तत्+ C; यस्मा हि निर्गतं D; यस्मादिनिर्ग्गतं E 5d °पीठं] ABDE; °पीठ° C ◆ महोदयम्] ABDE; महोदयंः C 6a सम्बन्धे] ABC; सम्वत्त D; सम्वर्त्त E 6b त्वया] ABC; त्वयो DE ◆ चोदितं] *em.*; चोदितो ABCDE ◆ मम] B^{pc}; ममः $AB^{ac}CDE$ 6c तन्त्रावतार°] ADE; तंत्रावतारं BC^{pc}; तंत्रोवतारं C^{ac} ◆ °संयुक्तम्] *em.*; °संयुक्ताम् ADE; संप्रे⟨क्ष–⟨म् BC 6d आद्यं] ABDE; आद्य C 7a स°] ABCE; ⟨सं⟨° D ◆ ममाचक्ष्व] A; समाचक्ष्व $B^{pc}CED$; समाचक्ष्वे B^{ac} 7b ज्ञानोघात्सार°] *conj.*; ज्ञानोघोचार° A; ज्ञानाद्याचार° BC; स्तेनाद्योचार° D; स्तेनाघोचार° E 7c °शक्ति°] BCDE; °सक्ति° A ◆ °विभेदश्च] ADE; °विभेदश्श्च BC 7d °भेदन्] AD^{pc}; °भेदस् BC; °भेन् $D^{ac}E^{(err.)}$ 8a °विभेदश्च] ADE; °विभेदश्श्च $B^{pc}C$; °विभेददश्श्च B^{ac} 8c एकाकिनी] *corr.*; एकाकिणी ABCDE 8d °भेदैर्] ABC; °भेदै DE ◆ व्यवस्थिता] B^{pc}; व्यवस्थिताः $AB^{ac}CDE$ 9a गुह्यका°] ABC^{pc}; ––का° C^{ac}; शुह्यका° DE 9b किंकर्यो° BCDE; किं⟨क–र्य्यो⟨ A ◆ °सम्भवाः] *em.*; °सम्भवम् ABCDE 9c लाकिनीनान्तु] ABCE; लाकिनीमां तु D 9d °भेदैर्] ABC; °भेदै DE ◆ व्यवस्थिता] *em.*; व्यवस्थिताः ABCDE 10a एका] ABCD; एको E ◆ °वीर्या] ABD; °वीर्य्यो CE 10b व्यापिनी] BC; व्यापिणी ADE ◆ शक्ति चोत्तमा] ACDE; शक्तिरुत्तमा B^{pc}; शक्तिश्श्चोत्तमा B^{ac}

तस्या यागमशेषन्तु क्रियते सुरपूजित ।
यथा तथा महादेव योगिनीसिद्धिकाङ्क्षिणां ॥१०॥
गुरुशुश्रूषनिरते वाममार्ग्गानुवर्त्तिने ।
अद्वैतभावनावस्थे निर्व्विकल्पे मने स्थिते ॥११॥
सिद्धिर्यथा भवेद्देव तद्विधानम्वद प्रभो ।
योगिन्यो स्वल्पबुद्ध्यास्तु अल्पचित्ताल्पसात्विकाः ॥१२॥
भर्त्तुः शुश्रूषणपरा गुरुभक्तिसमन्विताः ।
तासां सिद्धिर्यथा देव वद मे तत्समासतः ॥१३॥
ईश्वर उवाच ॥
साधु साधु महादेवि यत्त्वयाहं प्रोचोदितम् ।

12cd Cf. *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.2: अल्पायुषस्त्विमे मर्त्या अल्पवीर्याल्पबुद्धयः । अल्पसत्त्वाल्पवित्ताश्च लोभमोहासमन्विताः ॥ **12c–13** ≈ *BraYā* 14.1–2b: योगिन्यो [*corr.*; योगिन्योः A] स्वल्पबुद्ध्यास्तु स्वल्पचित्ताल्पसत्विकाः । भर्त्तुः शुश्रूषणपरा गुरुभक्तिसमन्विताः ॥२॥ तासां सिद्धिर्यथा देव तम्मे ब्रूहि समासतः । **12c–15** ≈ *BraYāSāra* 1.7–9b (S_1): योगिन्या स्वल्पबुद्ध्यास्तु अल्पवित्ताल्पसात्विका । भर्त्तुः शुश्रूषणपरा गुरुभक्तिसमन्वितां । तासां सिद्धिर्यथा देवि संक्षेपात्तद्ब्रवीहि मे ॥७॥ श्रीभैरव उवाच ॥ साधु साधु महाभद्रे यत्वयाहंम्प्रचोदिताः । संक्षेपात्तन्त्रसद्भावं बह्वर्थं गूढविक्रमं ॥८॥ प्रवक्ष्यामि समासेन शृणुष्वेकमना प्रिये । **14b** = *BraYā* 18.60b, 60.4b, & 79.2b

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10c तस्या] *em.*; तस्य AD; तन्मे BC; तंस्य E ◆ यागम्] *em.*; योगम् ABCDE **10d** सुरपूजित] *em.*; सुरपूजितः ABCDE **10f** °काङ्क्षिणां] BCDE; °काक्षिणां A **11a** °शुश्रूष°] *corr.*; °सुस्रूष° A; °शुशूण° B^{pc}; °शुशोष° B^{ac}; °सुश्रोष° C; °स॒न्तो॒ष° D; °मन्त्रोष° E ◆ °निरते] $AB^{pc}E$; °निरतो $B^{ac}C^{corr.?}$; °निर॒त–॒ D **11b** °मार्ग्गानुवर्त्तिने] ABC; °मार्गन्तु वर्त्तिने DE **11c** अद्वैत°] AB; अद्वैतद्° C; अ॒द्वै॒त° D; अर्द्धेत E ◆ °भावना°] ACDE; °–ावना° B **11d** निर्व्विकल्पे] *em.*; निर्विकल्पैर् ABCDE **12a** भवेद्देव] *em.*; भवेदेव ABCDE **12b** विधानम्] BC; विधानाम् ADE **12c** योगिन्यो] $AB^{ac}CDE$; योगिन्यः B^{pc} ◆ स्वल्प°] ABC; अल्प° DE ◆ °बुद्ध्यास्तु] *em.*; °बुद्धास्तु AB; °बुद्धांस्तु C; बुद्धान्तु DE **12d** °चित्ताल्प°] ACDE; °चिन्ता+ल्प+° B ◆ °सात्विकाः] ABCD; °सोत्विकाः E **13a** शुश्रूषणपरा] *corr.*; सुश्रूषणपरा A; सुश्रूषणपराः BC; सन्तोषणपरो $D^{pc}E$; सन्त्रोषणपरो D^{ac} **13d** वद मे तत्] *em.*; भवते च ABCDE ◆ समासतः] A; नमो नमः BC; समानतः DE **14b** यत्त्वया°] B; यत्वया° ADE; यत्वयो° C ◆ प्रचोदितम्] *em.*; प्रचोदितः ABCDE

निखिलन्तत्प्रवक्ष्यामि सर्व्वसन्दोहलक्षणम् ॥१४॥
यथा च तन्त्रसद्भावं बह्वर्थं गूढविक्रमम् ।
सरहस्यं महाभागे शृणुष्वेकाग्रमानसा ॥१५॥
पुरादकस्माद्देवेशि क्रीडमानस्य स्वस्थितौ ।
यदि यागविज्ञाता स्यामिच्छा याव ममोत्थिता ॥१६॥
इच्छया प्रेरितेनैव श्रीकण्ठो भक्तिवत्सलः ।
दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रन्तु इज्याञ्जलिपुरस्सरम् ।
आराधितो मया देवि भक्त्याविष्टेन चेतसा ॥१७॥
श्रीकण्ठेन ततो मह्यं परा करुणया महत् ।
ज्ञानौघस्तु समाख्यातः पदबन्धक्रमेण तु ॥१८॥

14d = *BraYā* 1.120b **14–15** Cf. *BraYā* 60.4–5b: साधु साधु महाप्राज्ञे यत्त्वयाहं प्रचोदितम् । संक्षेपाद् बिन्दुसद्भावं बह्वर्थं [*em.*; बह्वर्थ° A] गूढविक्रमम् ॥४॥ प्रवक्ष्यामि समासेन शृणुष्वायतलोचने ।

14c निखिलन्] ABC; निशिलत् DE ◆ प्रवक्ष्यामि] ABC; प्रवक्षामि DE **15a** तन्त्र°] ACD; तत्र DE ◆ °सद्भावं] ABCD; सत्भावं E **15b** बह्वर्थं] BC; बह्वार्थं A; बह्वार्थ° DE ◆ °विक्रमं] B; °विक्रमाम् A; °विक्रमाः C; विक्रमा DE **15c** °भागे] ABC; °से⟨नो⟩ D; °से⟨रो⟩ E **15d** °एकाग्रमानसा] *corr.*; °एकाग्रमानसाः ACDE; °ऐकाग्रमानसा B **16a** पुरादकस्माद्] *conj.*; पुरादकस्मा A; पुरोदक– B; पुदोदकंन्या C; पुरोदकस्मा DE **16b** क्रीडमानस्य] ADE; क्रिडमानस्य B$^{err.}$C **16c** यागविज्ञाता स्याम्] *conj.*; यागं विजानास्या A; योगं विजाना⟨न्या⟩ BC; योगं विजेनान्यो DE; यागं विजानीयाम् *conj.* **16d** इच्छा याव] *conj.*; इच्छया च ABCDE ◆ ममोत्थिता] *em.*; ममोत्थिताः A; समास्थिता BC; समास्थिताः DE **17b** श्रीकण्ठो] ABC; श्रीक⟨ण्ठा/ण्ठो⟩ DE **17c** दिव्यं] ABCD; दिव्य° E ◆ वर्ष°] ABDE; वर्षे C ◆ °सहस्रन्तु] ABC^{pc}DE; –––– C^{ac} **17d** इज्या°] BC; ईज्या° A; ईच्छा° DE ◆ °पुरस्सरम्] A; °पुरःसरम्] B; °पुरःसरंः C^{pc}; °पुरंसर⟨ः⟩ C^{ac}; °पुरत्सरः DE **17e** आराधितो] ACDE; आराधिता B ◆ मया] ABC; नया DE **17f** भक्त्याविष्टेन] ABC; भक्ताविष्णेन DE ◆ चेतसा] ABCDE^{pc}; चेतसाः C^{ac} **18a** श्रीकण्ठेन] BCDE; श्रीक⟨ण्–न–⟩ A ◆ ततो] AC^{pc}DE; तमो B ◆ मह्यं] ABC^{pc}; सेहं DE **18b** °करुणया] *em.*; °कारुणया ABC^{pc}; °कारणया C^{ac}; °कारुणयो DE ◆ महत्] ABC^{pc}; सहत् DE **18c** ज्ञानौघस्तु] A; ज्ञानाख्यं तु BC; स्तेनो⟨घ⟩न्तु D; स्तेन⟨घे⟩न्तु E ◆ समाख्यातः] ABD; समा⟨ख्या⟩$^{err.}$तः E; ममाख्यातः C **18d** पदबन्ध°] AC^{pc}; पदवेध° B; पदेव° C^{ac}; यदवत्त° DE

श्रीकण्ठस्य प्रसादेन[→*f.*2*r*] सर्व्वो ऽयं परिणतो मम ।
मत्सम्पर्कात्त्वया चैव अशेषश्चावधारितः ॥१९॥
ततस्त्वया हितार्थाय आदेशेन विना प्रिये ।
परिजनस्य समाख्यातुं प्रारब्धं भक्तिहृष्टया ॥२०॥
विप्लाप्यमानं तन्दृष्ट्वा महातन्त्रं मया पुनः ।
क्रोधाविष्टेन शप्तासि ज्ञानन्ते नाशितं यया ॥२१॥
ततस्त्वया महाभागे त्रस्तया कम्पमानया ।
साश्रुलोचनया चैव भूम्यां गत्वाथ दण्डवत् ॥२२॥
करञ्जलिपुटं कृत्वा भीतया ज्ञानविप्लुवे ।

20–21 Cf. *BraYā* 24.123–24: रहस्यं परमं ह्येतद् गूहितव्यं [*em.*; ग्रहितव्यं A] प्रयत्नतः । आदेशेन विना देवि न कथ्यं यस्य कस्य चित् ॥१२३॥ त्वया पूर्व्वं समाख्यातं परिजनस्य निजस्य तु । एतज्ज्ञानं [*em.*; एत ज्ञानं A] महादेवि तेन शप्ता [*conj.*; तप्ता A] मया तदा ॥१२४॥

19a श्रीकण्ठस्य] ABC^{pc}DE; श्रीकण्ठस्ये C^{ac} • प्रसादेन] ABE; प्रमादेन C; प्रसादन D 19b सर्व्वो ऽयं] ABDE; सं⟨व्वो⟩ यं⟨ C^{pc}; स–– C^{ac} • परिणतो] ADE; परि⟨न⟩$^{err.}$तो B; परिनतो C^{pc}; प⟨दि⟩तो C^{ac} • मम] BC; ममः ADE 19c मत्सम्पर्कात्] AB^{pc}; मत्संपत् B^{ac}; मत्संपर्क्का C^{pc}; ––– C^{ac}; सत्सम्पर्क्कात् DE • त्वया] ABC; त्वयो DE 19d अशेषश्चा°] *em.*; अशेषश्च्चा° ADE; अशेषत्वा° B; अशेषश्चा° C^{pc}; °अशेष⟨–ा⟩° C^{ac} 20a ततस्त्वया] A; ततस्+त्वया+ B; तस्तस्त्वया C^{pc}; तत⟨स्तं⟩यो C^{ac}; ततस्त्वयो DE 20b प्रिये] ABCD; प्रिय C 20c परिजनस्य] BCDE; परिजानस्य A • समाख्यातुं] *em.*; समाख्यातं ABCE; समोख्यातं D 21a विप्लाप्यमानं] *em.*; विप्लाप्यमान ABCDE 21b महातन्त्रं] B; महातन्त्र ACDE 21c °विष्टेन] ABC; °विष्णेन DE • शप्तासि] *corr.*; सप्तासि ADE; सप्ता⟨णि⟩$^{err.}$ B; ⟨मं⟩त्रानि C 21d ज्ञानन्ते नाशितं] *corr.*; ज्ञानन्ते नासितं A; ज्ञानन्तेनानितं B^{pc}; ज्ञानन्तु नानितम् B^{ac}C; स्तेनत्तेनोदितं DE • यया] ABCD^{pc}E; यथा D^{ac} 22a ततस्] ABDE; तत– C • त्वया] ABCD; त्वयो E • महाभागे] AB; महाभाग C; महाभारो DE 22b त्रस्तया] A; त्रस्तयोः B^{pc}; त्रस्तयो B^{ac}CDE • कम्पमानया] A; कम्पमानयो⟨:⟩ B; कम्पमानयो CDE 22c साश्रु°] *corr.*; सास्तु° A; नाश्रु° B; नास्तु° CD; नाक्र° E • °लोचनया] AB; °लोचनयो CDE 22d गत्वाथ दण्डवत्] *em.*; गत्वा⟨प/थ⟩ दंडवत् A; गत्वा प्रदंत्तवत् B; गत्वा पदं⟨भ/न⟩वत् C; पदंभवत् DE 23a करञ्जलिपुटं] *corr.*; कराञ्जलिपुटां AD; कराञ्जलिपु–˙ B^{pc}; कराक्षलि⟨पणं⟩ B^{ac}C; कराञ्जलिपु⟨ट–˙⟩ E 23b भीतया] AB^{pc}; भीतयो B^{ac}CDE • ज्ञानविप्लुवे] A; –नविप्लवे B^{pc}; क्षनविप्लुवे B^{ac}; ⟨क्ष/क्षु⟩नविप्लुव C; स्तेनविष्णवे DE

विज्ञप्तो ऽहम्महादेवि शोकाधिष्ठितया पुनः ॥२३॥
ततस्त्वाम्विह्वलान्दृष्ट्वा गृहीतः करुणया ह्यहम् ।
एवमुक्तासि कारुण्या महामन्युभृतेन तु ॥२४॥
भूर्लोकं गच्छ देवेशे अवतारं कुरुष्व थ ।
ब्राह्मणस्य गृहे देहमपरं गृह्ण सुव्रते ॥२५॥
तत्रस्थाया ततस्तुभ्यं भक्त्याहं संप्रचोदितः ।
अनुग्रहं करिष्यामि तवाहं शक्तिराज्ञया ।
मया सार्द्धम्पुनस्त्वैक्यन्तत्सर्व्वम्प्राप्स्यसि प्रिये ॥२६॥
ततो ऽवतीर्ण्णा मद्वाक्या प्रयागस्य समीपतः ।
कणवीरे महाग्रामे मेघदत्तगृहे शुभे ॥२७॥
छन्दोगस्य महादेवि उत्पन्ना लक्षणान्विता ।

23c विज्ञप्तो ऽहम्] BC; विज्ञाप्तोहम् A; विस्त–प्तोह D; वि–प्तो E ◆ महादेवि] ABC^{pc}DE; महोदेवि C^{ac} 23d शोकाधिष्ठितया पुनः] *corr.*; सोकाधिष्ठितया पुनः A; लोकाधिष्ठितपावनः B; –धिष्ठितपोवनः C^{ac}; लोकाधिष्ठितपोवनः C^{pc}; सोकाधिष्ठितयो पुनः DE 24a ततस्] ABDE; तत C ◆ त्वाम्] AB; त्व C; त्वोम् DE ◆ विह्वलान्] A; विह्वलां B; विह्वला CDE 24b गृहीतः] *em.*; गृहीतं ABCDE ◆ करुणया] AB^{pc}; करुया B^{ac}; करुयो C; करुणयो DE ◆ ह्यहम्] AB; हृदं CDE 24c उक्तासि] A; उ⟨क्ता⟩$^{corr.}$नि B; अ–ानि C; रेकानि DE ◆ कारुण्यान्] *em.*; कारुण्या ACDE; कारुण्या+–+ B 25a भूर्लोकं] AB; भूर्ल्लोक C; भुर्ल्लोक DE 25b कुरुष्व थ] ABCE; कुरुष्व⟨मे⟩$^{err.}$थ D 25c गृहे] ABC^{pc}DE; गृह C^{ac} 25d अपरं] ABDE; अपर C ◆ गृह्ण] AB^{pc}; गृह्त B^{ac}DE; गृʔह्णʔ C ◆ सुव्रते] ABC; ते व्रते DE 26a तत्रस्थाया] AB^{pc}DE; तत्रच्छाया B^{ac}; तत्रस्थायो C ◆ ततस्] B^{pc}; ततोस् AB^{ac}C; ततोन् DE ◆ तुभ्यं] ABCD; तु त्वं E 26b भक्त्याहं] ABC; भक्ताʔदंʔ DE ◆ °चोदितः] B; °चोदितम् ACDE 26e मया सार्द्धम्पुनम्] A; नयानोर्ध्वम्पुनम् B; नयानोर्द्धम्पुनस् C; सयोनोर्द्धस्यनम् DE ◆ त्वैक्यन्] AB; त्वैक्यत् C^{pc}D; त्वेक्यत् E 26f प्राप्स्यसि] A; प्राप्स्यति BC^{pc}; प्रा–ति C^{ac}; प्रोʔप्स्यनिʔ D; प्राप्साने E ◆ प्रिये] ABDE; प्रिʔयʔ C 27a मद्वाक्या] B^{pc}; मद्वाक्यो A; मद्वाह्यो B^{ac}C; सद्वाक्षो DE 27b प्रयागस्य] A; प्रयोगस्य BCDE ◆ समीपतः] A; नमावतः B^{ac}C; नेनीवतः B^{pc}; नेमीवतः D; नेमीव्रतः E 27c कणवीरे] ACD; करवीर° B^{pc}; कणवीर° B^{ac}E 27d मेघदत्त°] A; मेध्यदत्त° B; मध्यदत्त° C; मेʔघेʔ दत्त° DE 28a छन्दोगस्य] A; च्छन्दोगम्ये BDE; च्छन्दोगम्य C ◆ महादेवि] E^{ac}; महादेवी ABCDE^{pc}

सत्तिका तत्र संजाता तव नामन्न संशयः ॥२८॥
ततो महा त्वया भक्त्या बुद्धिसम्पन्नया ह्यहम् ।
आराधितो महादेवि सततं लिङ्गपूजया ॥२९॥
तत्र त्रयोदशे वर्षे सिद्धा त्वं शक्त्यनुग्रहात् ।
खेचरत्वमवाप्नोषि संप्राप्ता च ममान्तिकम् ॥३०॥
सा शक्तिस्त्वं महाभागे या शप्ता विप्लवे कृते ।
पुरा मया स्मरात्मानां अघोरी नाम ते ऽधुना ॥३१॥
मदीया त्वं महाशक्तिः सर्व्वानुग्रहकारिका ।
तत्प्रवक्ष्यामि ते ज्ञानं यद्भ्रष्टं विप्लवे कृते ॥३२॥
श्रीकण्ठेन यथा प्रोक्तं भूत्वा सदाशिवःपदात् ।
सरहस्यं महादेवि शृणुष्वेकाग्रमानसा ॥३३॥

33b ≈ *BraYā* 1.41d: ज्ञात्वा सदाशिवःपदात्

28c सत्तिका] BDE; स⟨न्ति/त्ति⟩का A; सत्विका C^{pc}; स–का C^{ac} ◆ संजाता] ABC; संयात DE 28d नामन्] AC; नाम BDE ◆ संशयः] BDEC; शन्सयः A 29a महा त्वया] C; महा⟨त्व/न्व⟩या A; महात्त्वया B; महान्वयो DE ◆ भक्त्या] ABC; भक्ता DE 29b ह्यहम्] AB^{pc}D; हृदः C; हृतं E 29d °पूजया] ADE; °पूज≀य–≀ B^{pc}; °पूज≀येत्≀ B^{ac}; °पूजये C^{pc}; °पूज⟨यन्/येत्⟩ C^{ac} 30a तत्र] ABCD; तःत्र E 30b सिद्धा त्वं] B^{pc}; सिद्धास्त्वं AB^{ac}DE; सिद्धास्त्र° C ◆ शक्त्यनुग्रहात्] B^{pc}; शक्तिनुग्रहा ACDE; शक्त्यनुग्रहा B^{ac} 30c खे°] ABCD^{pc}E; खेः D^{ac} ◆ अवाप्नोषि] *corr.*; अवाप्नोसि AB^{pc}C; अप्नोसि B; अवाप्नोति DE 30d संप्राप्ता] B; संप्राप्तो ACD; स प्राप्तो E ◆ ममान्तिकम्] A; ममान्तिकंः B; ममान्तिकः C; समोत्तिकः DE 31a सा] ABC; सो DE ◆ त्वं] ADE; च BC ◆ महाभागे] ABDE; महाभाग C 31b या शप्ता] *corr.*; या सप्ता A; या ⟨स⟩$^{err.}$प्ता B; या≀म≀प्ता C; योनेप्तो DE ◆ विप्लुवे कृते] AB^{pc}CD; विप्नवे कृते B^{ac}; विप्लुवक्षतं E 31c पुरा मया] ABC; पुरो मयो D; पुरो मेयो E ◆ स्मरात्मानां] AB; स्मरात्माना C; स्मरोन्मानां DE 31d अघोरी] ADE; अकारी BC ◆ नाम] ABDE; नानाम C 32a मदीया] ABC; सदीयो DE 32b °कारिका] ADE; °कारि≀कोः≀ B; °कारिकाः C 32c तत्] ADE; तं BC ◆ ते] AB^{pc}D; त≀न्≀ C; त B^{ac}E ◆ ज्ञानं] AB; ज्ञान C; स्तेनं DE 32d विप्लुवे कृते] ABC; विप्लुवक्षते D; विप्लुवकृते E 33a यथा] *conj.*; महा ABCDE ◆ प्रोक्तं] BCDE; प्रोक्त– A 33b सदाशिवःपदात्] A^{pc}B^{pc}DE; सदाशिवपदात् (*unmet.*) A^{ac}B^{ac}C 33d °एकाग्रमानसा] *corr.*; °एकाग्रमानसाः ACDE; °ऐकाग्रमानसे B^{pc}; °ऐकाग्रमानसा B^{ac}

अचिन्त्यस्य परा शक्तिः शिवस्य परमात्मनः ।
इच्छा नामेन संजाता तया बिन्दुः प्रबोधितः ॥३४॥
प्रबुद्धस्य ततो बिन्दो ज्ञानौघं निष्कलन्ततः ।
अभिव्यक्तो महादेवि अकस्मान्मन्त्रविग्रहः ।
ज्ञानसंपूर्ण्णदेहस्तु सदाशिवपदे स्थितः ॥३५॥
तस्मात्सदाशिवानुज्ञा ततः सृष्टिरभूत्पुनः ।
हूहुकान्तावधूतस्था तत्वमाला स्वभावतः ॥३६॥
लोकस्य हितकाम्यायाममृताख्येन सुव्रते ।
निबद्धं तु समासेन ज्ञानोघम्विमलात्मकम् ॥३७॥
अनुष्टुप्छन्दबन्धेन सपादेन महात्मने ।

38a Cf. *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Uttarasūtra* 1.25ab: अनुष्टुप्छन्दबन्धेन देवेभ्यः प्रतिपादितम् ।

34a अचिन्त्यस्य] ABDE; अचिन्तन्य C ◆ परा शक्तिः] AB^{pc}DE; परा शक्ति B^{ac}; परा शक्ति?:? C 34c नामेन] ABCD; नाम न E ◆ संजाता] *em.*; संजातः A; संजातस् B^{pc}; संजात B^{ac}CDE 34d बिन्दुः] *corr.*; बिन्दु ABCDE ◆ तया] A; तयोर् B; तयो CDE ◆ प्रबोधितम्] *em.*; प्रबोधितः ABCDE 35a प्रबुद्धस्य] ABE; प्रतत्तस्य C; प्र?बु–?स्य D ◆ बिन्दो] ACDE; बिन्दौ B 35b ज्ञानौघं] AD^{pc}; ज्ञानान्य° C; ⟨स्त⟩$^{err.}$नौघं D; ष्टनौघं E 35c अभिव्यक्तो] ABC; अभिव्यक्ता DE 35d मन्त्र°] ABDE; यन्त्र° C 35e ज्ञानसंपूर्ण्णदेहस्] A; ज्ञानेन पूर्णदेहम् BC^{pc}; ज्ञानेने पूर्णदेहस् C; स्तेनसंपूर्ण्णदेहन् DE 36a तस्मात्] A; तस्या BC; तस्मान् DE ◆ सदाशिवानुज्ञा] A; सदाशिवाद्रक्षा B^{pc}; सदाशिवा–क्ष B^{ac}; महाशिवा रक्ष C; सदाशिवा त्रस्त DE 36b ततः] ABDE; तत C ◆ सृष्टिर्] A; शृष्टिर् BCDE 36c हूहुका°] A; हुहुका° BC; हृहुका° D; हृह्लका° E ◆ °न्तावधूतस्था] *em.*; °न्तावधूतस्थां ACDE; °न्तां वधूतस्थां B 36d °माला] *em.*; °मालां A; °सालां BC; °सोलां DE 37a °काम्यायाम्] A; °काम्याया B^{pc}; °काम्यायो B^{ac}DE; °कास्यायो C 37b अमृताख्येन] A; न मृताख्या न BC; न मृता⟨श्ये⟩$^{err.}$न D; न मृताख्येन E ◆ सुव्रते] A; चेद् व्रते B; चेद् व्रत C; चे व्रते D; सूव्रते E 37c निबद्धं] *em.*; निबन्धस् AB^{pc}; निबन्ध B^{ac}; निब⟨न्तं⟩$^{err.}$C; निवत्तन् DE 37d ज्ञानोघम्विमलात्मकम्] *corr.*; ज्ञानोघम्विमलात्मकः A; ज्ञानौघं विसलात्मकम् B^{pc}; ज्ञानौघं विमलात्मकम् B^{ac}; ज्ञानांजनसलात्मकः C; स्तेनोघ्येम् विमलात्मकः D; स्तोनोघ्येम् विमलात्मकंः E 38a अनुष्टुप्छन्द°] *em.*; अनष्टुच्छन्द° AB^{ac}D; अनुष्टुच्छन्द° B^{pc}; अनुष्टुच्छ° B^{ac}; अनष्ठच्छ° C; अनुष्टुच्छन्द° DE ◆ °बन्धेन] A; °वंचेन B; °वचन° C; °वत्वेन D 38b महात्मने] *em.*; महात्मना ABC^{pc}DE; महा–– C^{ac}

लक्षसंख्येन संक्षेपान्मन्त्रज्ञानक्रियात्मकम् ॥३८॥
निराचारपदे भूत्वा पुनश्चोभयदर्शनात् ।
परापरेण देवेन श्रीकण्ठाय प्रभाषितम् ॥३९॥ [→*f.2v*]
अस्मा ज्ञाना महादेवि श्रीकण्ठेन हिताय वै ।
कोटिकोटिप्रविस्तारैर्लोकानां हितकाम्यया ॥४०॥
पृच्छकाश्रयभेदेन क्रियाभेदविभागशः ।
शुद्धाशुद्धेन मार्गेण असत्वेन च सुव्रते ।
विस्तारितानि तन्त्राणि ज्ञात्वा सदाशिवःपदात् ॥४१॥
अयन्तु ज्ञानसन्दोहं स्वरूपावस्थितं प्रिये।

39c–42 Cf. *BraYā* 39.91–93: आदिमो ज्ञानसन्दोहस्त्रिभिः स्रोत्रैर्विनिर्गतः । सदाशिवेन देवेन श्रीकण्ठाय प्रभाषितम् ॥९१॥ सपादज्ञानसन्दोहः श्रीकण्ठेन महायशे । दशस्रोत्रविभागेन भाषितं साधकेच्छया ॥९२॥ कोटिकोटिप्रविस्तारैः कल्पकल्पमहस्रकैः । प्रचोदितो महादेवि तद्विदैर्बहुधा पुनः ॥९३॥; cf. *BraYā* 33.323c–327b (see §2.4, note 96): सदाशिवेन देवेन उभयमार्ग्गानुवर्त्तिना ॥३२३॥ तत्सर्व्वं निर्ग्गतं देवि ज्ञानोघास्मा न संशयः । शुद्धमार्ग्गे तथाशुद्धे शुद्धासुद्धे तथैव हि ॥३२४॥ शुद्धान्येव हि प्रोक्तानि अशुद्धान्यपि कानि च । शुद्धाशुद्धौ तु चान्यानि एभिर्भेदैः स्थितानि तु ॥३२५॥ पृथक्पृथानि मन्त्राणि उभयमार्ग्गोपसेविनाम् । सदाशिवेन प्रोक्तानि बहुभिर्वा प्रविस्तरैः ॥३२६॥ अयन्तु ज्ञानसन्दोहं स्वरूपेणैव संस्थितम् । 41 Cf. *BraYā* 39.14: पृच्छकाश्रयभेदेन तन्त्राणां कीर्त्तनं कृतम् । शुद्धाशुद्धविमिश्रेभ्यः तृभिः स्रोत्रैर्यथाक्रमम् । विनिर्ग्गतानि तन्त्राणि ज्ञानोघाद्भाषितानि तु ॥

38c °संख्येन] ABC; °सम्ख्या न DE ◆ संक्षेपान्] A; संख्यया BC; संक्षेयो DE 38d मन्त्र°] ADE; नेत्र° B^{pc}; –त्र° B^{ac}; ⟨त्रे/त्रे⟩त्र° C ◆ °ज्ञान°] ABC; °स्तेन° DE ◆ °क्रियात्मकम्] *em.*; °क्रियात्मकः ABDE; °क्रियान्मकः C^{pc}; क्रिन्मकः C^{ac} 39a °पदे] ACDE; °+पदे+ B ◆ भूत्वा] ABCE; ⟨कृ⟩$^{err.}$त्वा D 39b पुनश्चोभय°] A; पुनश्चाभय° B^{pc}; पुन≀च्चाभ≀य° B^{ac}; पु⟨नः स⟩$^{err.}$द्धिय° C; पुनश्च भय° D; पुनश्चाभय° E 39c देवेन] ABC; देवेण DE 40a अस्मा ज्ञाना महादेवि] *em.*; ≀–मा ज्ञाना महादेवि≀ A*(no tops)*; तस्मा ज्ञानी महादेवि B^{pc}; श्रीकण्ठेन समात्मानं B^{ac}C; अस्मा स्तेनो महादेवि DE 40b श्रीकण्ठेन] $ABCD^{pc}$; श्रीकण्ठन D^{ac}; श्रीकण्ठस° E ◆ वै] $AB^{pc}DE$; च $B^{ac}C$ 40c कोटिकोटि°] BCDE; कोठिकोठि° A ◆ प्रविस्तारैर्] *corr.*; प्रविस्तारेर् A; प्रविस्तारं B; प्रविस्तार C; प्रविस्तारै DE 41b क्रिया°] ABC; क्रियो° DE ◆ °विभागशः] ABC; °विभाग–ः D; °विभागतः E 41c °शुद्धेन] ABDE; °शुद्ध न C ◆ मार्गेण] BC; मार्गेन A; मोर्रोन DE 41d सुव्रते] ABC; सेव्रते D; ≀स–≀व्रते E 41e तन्त्राणि] ABC; तन्त्रानि DE 41f ज्ञात्वा] ABC; स्तत्वा DE 42a ज्ञान°] ABC; स्तेन° DE ◆ °सन्दोहं] ABDE; °मन्दोहं C 42b स्वरूपा°] AB^{pc}; स्वकायो° B^{ac}C; स्वकाया° DE ◆ प्रिये] ABDE; प्रिय C

सपादलक्षसंख्यातं मया ज्ञातं यथार्थतः ॥४२॥
तवापि ज्ञानभ्रष्टायास्संप्रवक्ष्यामि साम्प्रतम् ।
सपादलक्षभेदेन श्लोकानां संस्थितं तु यत् ॥४३॥
अस्माद्विनिर्ग्गतं सर्व्वं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
त्वयापि कथनीयं हि लोकानां हितकाम्यया ॥४४॥
दिव्यादिव्यस्वभावेन स्थितया शक्त्यनुज्ञया ।
क्रोधभैरवदेवस्य सिद्धस्यैव शिवेच्छया ।
सपादलक्षसंख्यातं एवं वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥४५॥
सपादश्चैव लक्षश्च क्रोधभैरवसंज्ञकात् ।
कपालभैरवस्यैव कथयिष्यसि सुव्रते ॥४६॥
ब्राह्मणस्य कुरुक्षेत्रे उत्पन्नस्य महामतेः ।
श्रीधरेत्यभिधानस्य अधिकारस्थितस्य वै ॥४७॥
शक्त्याधिष्ठितचित्तस्य असिद्धस्य न संशयः ।
कपालभैरवो देवि लक्षश्चैव सपादकम् ॥४८॥

42d मया] ABC; म यो DE ◆ ज्ञातं] AB^{pc}C^{pc}; ज्ञा B^{ac}C^{ac}; स्तेनं DE ◆ यथार्थतः] ABDE; यथाथत C 43a तवापि ज्ञान°] *em.*; तयापि ज्ञान° A; तया विज्ञान° BC; तयापि स्तेन° DE ◆ °भ्रष्टायाम्] A; °भ्रष्टायाः BC; °भ्रष्टायां DE 43d श्लोकानां] BCDE; स्लोकानां A 44a अस्माद्] AB^{pc}DE; अस्मा B^{ac}; अस्मार् C 44b त्रैलोक्यं] ABDE; त्रैलोकं C ◆ सचराचरम्] ABDE; मे चराचरं C 44c त्वयापि] AB; त्वयोपि CDE 45a °स्वभावेन] ABC; °त्वभावेन DE 45b स्थितया शक्त्यनुज्ञया] AD; स्थितया शक्त्यंनुज्ञया B; स्थितया शक्तनुज्ञया° C; स्थितपाशक्ष्यनुज्ञया E 45d सिद्धस्यैव] ABDE; सिद्धस्येव C 45e सपाद°] ABDE; मयाद° C ◆ °संख्यातं] ADE; °संख्यात(म्) B^{pc}; °संख्यात– B^{ac}C 45f एवं] ABC; मेवं DE 46a सपादञ्] A; सपादश् BCDE ◆ लक्षश्च] AB; लक्षश्च CDE 46d कथयिष्यसि] A; कथयिष्यामि BC; कथयिष्येनि DE ◆ सुव्रते] ABC; सेव्रते D; ⟨से/सु⟩व्रते E 47a °क्षेत्रे] ABD; °क्षत्रे CE 47b उत्पन्नस्य] ABC; उत्पन्नस्ये DE ◆ महामतेः] *em.*; महामते ABCDE 47c श्रीधरेत्य्] AB; श्रीधरत्य् CD; श्रीधरभ्य् E ◆ अभिधानस्य] ABC; अभिधानस्ये DE 47d अधिकारस्थितस्य] AB^{pc}CDE; अधिकारधितस्य B^{ac} 48a शक्त्या°] AD; श–या° B^{pc}; शज्या° B^{ac}C; शक्ष्या° E 48b संशयः] ABCD; ⟨शं⟩$^{err.}$शयः E 48d लक्षञ्] A; लक्षश् BCDE ◆ सपादकम्] A; सपादकः BDE; न पादकः C

चतुर्विंशतिभिश्चैव सहस्त्रैस्संघरिष्यति ।
मूलतन्त्रविधानन्तु स्वरूपेण व्यवस्थितम् ॥४९॥
लोकानांमल्पचित्तानां चतुःपीठादिवर्जितम् ।
अस्मिनेव ह्यसौ तन्त्रे सिद्धिं प्राप्स्यति नान्यथा ॥५०॥
कपालभैरवात्सिद्धादसिद्धस्यैव वक्ष्यसि ।
पद्मभैरवसंज्ञस्य एवं वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥५१॥
ओड्रदेशे तु जातस्य देवदत्तस्य संज्ञया ।
चरणो बह्वृचास्याथ आदेशेन न संशयः ॥५२॥
असिद्धस्त्वेव देवेशि पद्मभैरवसंज्ञकः ।
चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रं ग्रन्थं द्वादशभिः पुनः ॥५३॥
संघारन्तु सहस्त्रैस्तु करिष्यति शिवेच्छया ।

49a °विंशतिभिश्] BE; °विन्सतिभिश् A; °विद्राभिश् C; °विशतिभिश् D 49b सहस्त्रैम्] A; सहस्त्रैः B^{pc}; सहस्त्रै B^{ac}; सहस्त्रै C; सहस्त्रैन् D; सहसैन् E ◆ संघरिष्यति] A; सं⟨–घि⟩ष्यति B^{pc}; सं–रिष्यति B^{ac}; म⟨थ्य⟩रिष्यति C; सष्यरिष्यति DE 49d स्वरूपेण] $AB^{pc}E$; ---ण B^{ac}; स्व–पेण D; चक्रायण° C ◆ व्यवस्थितम्] *em.*; व्यवस्थितः ABCDE 50a लोकानांम्] ACD; लोकानाम्] BE 50b °पीठादि°] ABCE; °पी⟨ठो⟩$^{err.}$दि° D ◆ °वर्जितम्] AB^{pc}; °वर्तितः B^{ac}; °व⟨ति⟩त– C; °वर्ज्जितः DE 50c अस्मिन्] ACDE; अस्मिन्न्] B ◆ एव] *conj.*; एक ABCDE ◆ ह्यसौ] AB^{pc}; क्रसौ B^{ac}; क्रमौ C; ह्यमौ DE ◆ तन्त्रे] AB; तत्र C; तन्त्र DE 50d सिद्धिं] B^{pc}; सिद्ध ACDE; सिद्धं B^{ac} ◆ प्राप्स्यति] *conj.*; प्राप्स्यसि ABDE; प्राप्स्यशि C 51a °भैरवात्] A; °भैरवा BC; °भैरवोत् D; °भैरवोन् E ◆ सिद्धाद्] *conj.*; सिद्धो] ADE; सिद्धा BC 51b असिद्धस्यैव] $AB^{pc}DE$; असि–ऐस्यैव B^{ac}; अतिसौम्यैव C 52a ओड्र°] A; उड्र° B; उद्र° C; उत्र° DE ◆ तु जातस्य] $AB^{pc}DE$; तु जतस्य B^{ac}; भुजे तस्य C 52b °दत्तस्य] ADE; °दन्तस्य BC 52c चरणो] *em.*; चरणा ABCDE ◆ बह्वृचास्याथ] *em.*; ⟨ब⟩ह्वजास्याथ A; ब–मन्याथ B; बह्वजा⟨न्यो⟩ थ DE; बक्रमन्याथ C 52d आदेशेन न] ABC; आदेशे न DE 53a असिद्धस्त्वेव] $AB^{pc}DE$; असिद्धस–एव B^{ac}; अनिद्धस्थ च C 53b संज्ञकः] *em.*; °संज्ञकाः ADE; °संज्ञया B; °संज्ञयाः C 53c °विंशति°] BDE; °विन्सति° A; °⟨विं⟩शति° C ◆ °साहस्रं] $AB^{pc}CDE$; °सहस्रं B^{ac} 53d ग्रन्थं] $AB^{pc}CDE$; गुच्छं B^{ac} 54a संघारं तु] A; संख्या चतु+:+° B; संख्या चतु° C; संप्यरिन्तु DE ◆ सहस्त्रैस्तु] ABC; सहस्त्रन्तु DE 54b शिवे°] ABC; सिवे° DE

अनेनैव तु तन्त्रेण ततः सिद्धिं प्रयास्यसि ॥५४॥
एतत्तन्त्रमसिद्धस्य सकाशात्तव एव हि ।
श्रुण्विष्यन्ति महाभागे शिष्याश्चैव चतुर्द्दश ॥५५॥
रक्तभैरवको नाम्ना ज्वालाभैरवको ऽपरः ।
हेलाभैरवकश्चैव त्रयो ऽप्येते महायशे ।
मध्यदेशसमुत्पन्नाश्चरणो ऽथर्व्वणं तथा ॥५६॥
वामभैरवको देवि विजयभैरवको ऽपरः ।
सौराष्ट्रायां समुत्पन्नौ शूद्रौ जात्या प्रकीर्त्तितौ ॥५७॥
भीभत्सभैरवो देवि गजकर्ण्णस्तु भैरवः ।
चण्डभैरवकश्चैव सिन्धुविषयसम्भवाः ॥५८॥

54c अनेनैव तु] ABDE; अनेन वर्त्त° C ◆ तन्त्रेण] *conj.*; मन्त्रेण ABCDE 54d सिद्धिं] B; सिद्धिः ACDE ◆ प्रयास्यसि] ADE; प्रयस्यसि B^{pc}; प्रयच्छसि B^{ac}; प्रयास्यति C 55a एतत्] ABC; एतन् DE ◆ तन्त्रम्] B; तत्रम् AC; तत्र DE ◆ असिद्धस्य] ABC; ससिद्धस्य DE 55b सकाशात्तव] *corr.*; सकासात्तव A; नेकानान्ते च BC; नेकानोत्तव DE 55c श्रुण्विष्यन्ति] ADE; श्रोष्यन्ति च B^{pc}; श्रुचिष्यन्ति B^{ac}C ◆ महाभागे] AB; शदाभोग C; महाभारो DE 55d शिष्याश्] A; शिख्याश् BC; शिष्योश् D; शिष्योञ् E ◆ चतुर्द्दश] B^{pc}; चतुर्द्दशः AB^{ac}CDE 56a रक्त°] A; र⌈क्त⌉° B^{pc}; ⌈र−−⌉ B^{ac}; रुक्ष° C; रक्ष° DE ◆ °भैरवको] AB^{pc}CDE; °भैरको B^{ac} ◆ नाम्ना] ABC; नाम्नो DE 56c °भैरवकश्] B^{pc}; °भैरव⌈कोश्⌉ B^{ac}; °भैरवकाश् ADE; °भैरवकोश् C 56d त्रयो ऽप्येते] AB^{pc}; त्रयो−ते B^{ac}; त्रया प्रेत C; त्रयो प्येत DE ◆ महायशे] *corr.*; महायसे A; महोपमे B^{pc}; महोप⌈म−ः⌉ B^{ac}; महोयमः C; महायमे DE 56e मध्यदेश°] A; मध्यदेशे BD; मध्यदेसे C; म⌈ध्ये⌉ देसे E ◆ °समुत्पन्नाश्] *corr.*; °समु⌈त्प⌉न्ना A; ⌈समुत्से⌉न्ना B^{pc}; महानेत्रा C; स⌈म्रेश्च⌉न्ना DE 56f चरणो ऽथर्व्वणं] *conj.*; चरणं थर्वणं A; चरणं व⌈र्द्धनं⌉ B^{pc}; चरणं व−− B^{ac}; चरणं वर्द्धणं C; चरणं षर्व्वणं DE 57a °भैरवको] ABDE; °भैरवका C 57b विजयभैरवको] ADE; विजयभैरवो B; विजयं भैरवा C 57c मौराष्ट्रायां] ADE; मौरा⌈ष्ट्र−−⌉ B^{pc}; सौरा−−− B^{ac}; सौराष्ट्राय C ◆ समुत्पन्नौ] *em.*; समुत्पन्न ABCDE 57d शूद्रौ] *em.*; शूद्रो ADE; शूद्रा BC ◆ जात्या] AB^{pc}; −त्या B^{ac}; ⌈−त्प⌉ C^{pc}; −⌈त−⌉ C^{ac}; जत्यो DE ◆ प्रकीर्त्तितौ] *em.*; प्रकीर्त्तितैः A; प्रकीर्त्तितः BCDE 58a भीभत्स°] ADE; बीभत्स° B^{pc}; −−− B^{ac}; श्रीपद्म° C ◆ °भैरवो] ABDE; °भैरवा C 58b °कर्ण्णस्] AB^{pc}; °कर्णं B^{ac}CDE ◆ भैरवः] AB^{pc}DE; भैरवं B^{ac}; भैर⌈वंः⌉ C 58c °भैरवकश्] B^{pc}; °भैरवकाश् AB^{ac}CDE 58d सिन्धु°] AB^{pc}; सिन्दु B^{ac}; मिन्दु° C; सिक्ष्य° DE ◆ °सम्भवाः] *em.*; °सम्भवः ABCDE

भीभत्सभैरवो देवि गजकर्ण्णभैरवो ऽपि च ।
क्षत्रियौ राजपुत्रौ तु चण्डभैरवको पुनः ।
ब्राह्मणो ऽथर्व्वणो देवि चरणेन न संशयः ॥५९॥
यज्ञसोमसुतो भव्यो बृहोदरीविशब्दिते ।
ग्रामे जातो महादे[→*f.3r*]वि नात्र कार्य विचारणात् ॥६०॥
ग्रामबाह्ये तु देवेशि तत्र देवी बृहोदरी ।
तस्या नामेन सो ग्रामो बृहोदरी प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥६१॥
आराधयित्वासौ विप्रस्ततो देवीं बृहोदरीम् ।
विद्यामात्रन्तु संप्राप्य जपन्तत्रैव सुव्रते ॥६२॥
करिष्यति महासत्वस्ततस्तस्य भविष्यति ।
आदेशो चास्य शास्त्रस्य श्रवणाय न संशयः ॥६३॥

59a भीभत्स°] AB^{pc}DE; भीरुक्ष° B^{ac}C ◆ °भैरवो] ABDE; °भैरवा C **59b** °भैरवो] AB^{pc}DE; °रवो B^{ac}C ◆ ऽपि च] ABDC; यि च E **59c** क्षत्रियौ] *em.*; क्षेत्रियो A; क्षत्रिया BC; क्षत्रियो DE ◆ °पुत्रौ] ABD; °पु≀त्रौः≀ C; °पुत्रो E **59d** चण्ड°] ACDE; वण्ड° B ◆ °भैरवको] *em.*; °भैरवका ABCDE **59e** ब्राह्मणो ऽथर्वणो] ABDE; ब्राह्मणाथर्व्वणा° C **59f** चरणेन] AB^{pc}DE; चरणान B^{ac}C **60a** यज्ञसोमसुतो भव्यो] A; यज्ञसो–––भव्यो B^{pc}; यक्ष≀––≀महाभव्यो B^{ac}; यक्ष नाम महाभव्या C; यज्ञसास⟨स्र/म्र⟩तो भव्या D; यज्ञसासम्रतो भव्या E **60b** बृहोदरी°] AB^{pc}DE^{pc}; वृकोदरी° B^{ac}C; बृहोदरि° E^{ac} ◆ °विशब्दिते] *corr.*; °विसब्दिते ABDE; °विसब्दित C **60c** ग्रामे जातो] AB^{pc}E; ग्रामक्ष≀तो≀ B^{ac}; ग्रामक्षतां C; ग्रामजातो D **60d** कार्य विचारणात्] AB^{ac}CDE; कार्य्या विचारणा B^{pc} **61a** °बाह्ये तु] AB^{pc}DE; ––– B^{ac}; वा हृत C ◆ देवेशि] CDE; देवेसि A; देवे⟨सि⟩$^{err.}$B **61b** बृहोदरी] ADE; वृकोदरी BC **61c** तस्या] *em.*; तस्य ABCDE ◆ नामेन सो ग्रामो] A; नामेन स ग्रामो] B^{pc}; ना≀म≀न–ग्रा≀मो≀ B^{ac}; नामनमा ग्रामा C; नामनमोग्रा– D; नामनमोग्रापि E **61d** बृहोदरी] AB^{pc}DE; वृ–ोदरी B^{ac}; वृकोदरी C ◆ प्रकीर्त्तिता] B^{pc}; प्रकीर्त्तिताः AB^{ac}CDE **62a** आराधयित्वा] ACDE; आराधयि≀त्य≀ B^{pc}; आराधयि– B^{ac} ◆ विप्रस्] A; विप्रः BC; विप्रन् DE **62b** देवीं बृहोदरीं] *em.*; देवी बृहोदरी AB^{pc}DE; देवी वृ–ोदरी B^{ac}; देवी वृकोदरी C **62d** जपन्] A; जपेत् BCDE ◆ सुव्रते] AB; सुव्रत C; च व्रते DE **63a** करिष्यति] *em.*; करिष्यामि ABCDE ◆ महासत्वस्] AB^{pc}DE; महास≀त्व–≀ B^{ac}; महासत्वः C **63b** तस्य] ABCD; तस्यै E **63c** शास्त्रस्य] AD; ≀णंत≀स्य B; गात्रस्य C; शास्त्रे स्य E

श्रुण्विष्यति महादेवि पद्मभैरवपार्श्वतः ।
तत्र सिद्धस्त्वसौ विप्रस्तन्त्रकर्त्ता भविष्यति ॥६४॥
गालयित्वा इमं चार्थं शतैरष्टादशैर्मितैः ।
संहरिष्यति तत्वज्ञस्तथा चैव त्रयोदशैः ॥६५॥
सप्तभिश्च तथा चैव संघरिष्यति सुव्रते ।
लोकानाञ्च हितार्थाय नात्र कार्य विचारणात् ॥६६॥
नाधिकारं यतः कृत्वा ज्ञानप्राप्तिर्न जायते ।
विद्यामात्रविधानन्तु संक्षेपेण हिताय वै ।
श्रावयिष्यति लोकानान्तत्र तृतयकेन तु ॥६७॥
कुमारभैरवो देवि अष्टादशशतन्तथा ।
चण्डभैरवकस्याथ श्रुत्वा विस्तारयिष्यति ॥६८॥
क्रोधभैरवको देवि त्रयोदशशतं तथा ।

64a श्रुण्विष्यति] *em.*; श्रुण्विष्यन्ति ADE; ––ष्यन्ति B^{pc}; भविष्यन्ति B^{ac}C **64b** °पार्श्वतः] B^{pc}; °पार्स्वतः A; °––तः B^{ac}; °पूजितः C; °योत्ततः DE **64c** तत्र] B; तत्रः ACD; ततः E ◆ त्वसौ] ABDE; ⟨न्वा⟩मौ C **64d** तन्त्र°] A; +त+⟨तु⟩° B; ऋतु° C; तत्र DE **65a** इमं] $AB^{ac}CDE$; इमां B^{pc} ◆ चार्थं] *conj.*; चार्था⟨न्/त्⟩ A; वार्था B; चार्थी C; चा⟨र्था/र्थी⟩त् D; चार्थीत् E **65b** शतैर्] B; सतैर् ADE; मतैर् C ◆ अष्टादशैर्] *corr.*; अष्टादसैर् AD; अ⟨ष्टां⟩⟨दसैर्⟩$^{err.}$B; अष्टोदनै C; अष्टादसै E ◆ मितैः] *corr.*; म्मितैः A; म्मितै BC; स्मितैः DE **65c** संहरिष्यति] A; संहरिष्यन्ति BC; संदरिष्यति DE ◆ तत्वज्ञस्] *corr.*; तत्व⟨ज्ञा⟩स् A; तत्वज्ञा B^{pc}; तद्वज्ञ B^{ac}C; तत्वज्ञन् DE **65d** तथा] B; तथाश् ACDE ◆ त्रयोदशैः] B^{pc}; त्रयोदसैः ADE; त्रयोद– B^{ac}; त्रयोदनः C **66a** सप्तभिश्] B^{pc}; सप्ताभिश् $AB^{ac}CDE$ ◆ च तथा] B^{pc}; चस्तथा A; चत्तथा B^{ac}C; चन्तथा DE **66b** संघरिष्यति] A; संचरिष्यति BC; संप्यरिष्यति DE ◆ सुव्रते] ABCE; ⟨स्रे⟩व्रते D **66c** लोकानाञ्च] BCE; लोकाणाञ्च AD **66d** विचारणात्] B^{ac}CDE; विचारणा⟨त्⟩ A; विचारणा B^{pc} **67a** नाधिकारं] *conj.*; नधिकारा A; अधिकारा BC; नधिकारा DE **67b** ज्ञान°] ABC; स्तेन° DE ◆ °प्राप्तिर्न जायते] B^{pc}; °प्राप्तिन्न जायते ADE; °प्रामि⟨न्नर्ज⟩यते B^{ac}; °प्राप्तिन्नर्जयते C **67d** संक्षेपेण] ADE; संक्षेपण BC ◆ वै] ADE; च BC **67e** लोकानान्] ADE; लोकानां B^{pc}; लोकानांन् B^{ac}C **68a** °भैरवो देवि] *em.*; °भैरवन्देवि ABCD; °भैरववन्दे E **68b** °सतन्] A; °मतन् BCDE **68c** °भैरवकस्याथ] A; °भैरवकन्याथ BC; °भैरवक⟨स्या⟩थ D; °भैरवकस्यार्थ E **68d** श्रुत्वा] BCDE; स्रुत्वा A **69a** °भैरवको] $AB^{pc}DE$; °भैरवका B^{ac}C

चण्डभैरवकाच्चैव ज्ञात्वा विस्तारयिष्यति ॥६९॥
तेजभैरवनामानस्तथा सप्तशतं पुनः ।
चण्डभैरवकाच्चैव श्रुत्वासौ विस्तरिष्यति ।
अवतारे तु संप्रोक्तं शिष्याणान्तृतयन्तथा ॥७०॥
भविष्यकीर्त्तिता ह्यत्र ये चतुर्द्दशमध्यतः ।
करालभैरवो नाम तथा उच्छुष्मभैरवः ।
मातङ्गजातिसंभूतौ पद्मभैरवशिष्यकौ ॥७१॥
यमभैरवकश्चान्यः काश्मीरे सम्भविष्यति ।
छन्दोगो ब्राह्मणो देवि तथा अन्यो भविष्यति ॥७२॥
विष्णुभैरवनामानो लम्पायाम्विषये तथा ।
वाजिमध्यंदिनो विप्रो भविष्यति तथापरः ॥७३॥
दक्षिणभैरवः काश्यामुत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणस्तथा ।

69c °भैरवकाच्] *em.*; °भैरवकाश् A; °भैरवकश् B^{pc}DE; °भैरंवकाश् B^{ac}C 69d ज्ञात्वा] ABC; स्तत्वा DE 70a °नामानस्] *em.*; °नामानं ABDE; °नामान C 70c चण्ड°] ACDE; चं–° B ◆ °भैरवकाच्] *em.*; °भैरवकाश् ACDE; °भैरव+क+श् B 70d श्रुत्वा] BCDE; स्रुत्वा A ◆ विस्तरिष्यति] ABCE; विस्तरि≀ष्य≀ति D 70e अवतारे] A; अवतारं BCDE ◆ तु] A^{pc}BDEC; – A^{ac} ◆ संप्रोक्तं] B^{pc}; ≀स≀प्रोक्तां B^{ac}; संप्रोक्तां AD; स प्रोक्तां C; संप्रोक्ता E 70f तृतयन्] AB^{pc}CDE; ≀त–≀तयन् B^{ac} 71a भविष्य°] AB^{ac}CDE; भविष्य≀त्≀° B^{pc} ◆ कीर्त्तिता ह्यत्र] AB^{pc}DE; कीर्त्तिताद्यत्र B^{ac}C 71b ये] AB; य CDE ◆ चतुर्°] ABDE; च≀तु≀° C 71d उच्छुष्म°] AB^{pc}DE; उ≀च्छ्व≀ष्म° B^{ac}; उच्छ्वष्म° C 71e °संभूतौ] *em.*; °संभूतो ABCDE 71f °शिष्यकौ] *em.*; °शिष्यगौ AB^{pc}; °शिष्य–ौ B^{ac}; °शिष्यसौ CDE 72a °भैरवकश्] *em.*; °भैरवकाश् ABDE; °भैरवकां C ◆ चान्यः] *em.*; चान्याः ABCDE 72b काश्मीरे] B; कास्मीरे AD; काश्मीर C; कास्मिरे E ◆ सम्भविष्यति] ADE; ≀ते भवि≀ष्यंति B^{pc}; ––ि–ष्यंति B^{ac}; न≀न–≀रिष्यति C 72c छन्दोगो] ABD; छंदोगा C; च्छन्दशो E ◆ ब्राह्मणो] AB^{pc}E; ब्राह्म≀ण–≀ B^{ac}; ब्राह्मणा CD 73a °नामानो] ADE; °नामा≀ना≀ B^{pc}; °नामान B^{ac}C 73b लम्पायाम्] AD; लस्यायाम् B^{pc}; वस्यायाम् $B^{ac}C^{pc}$; वस्यायोम् C^{ac}; लम्यायाम् E 73c °मध्यंदिनो] *em.*; °मध्यंदिने ABC; °मध्यदिने DE ◆ विप्रो] ABDE; विप्रा C 74a °भैरवः] BC; °भैरवैः AD; °भैरविः E ◆ काश्याम्] *corr.*; कास्याम् A$B^{pc}C^{pc}$; कास्योम् $B^{ac}C^{ac}$; कात्याम् DE 74b उत्पन्नो] B^{pc}; उत्पन्नौ ADE; ≀उ≀त्पन्नौ B^{ac}; अन्यत्रौ C ◆ ब्राह्मणस्] B^{pc}; ब्राह्मणन् ACDE; ब्राह्मण– B^{ac}

बह्वृचश्चापरश्शिष्यो भविष्यति न संशयः ॥७४॥
ओड्डियाने महादेवि तथा शेखरभैरवः ।
ब्राह्मणो तैत्तिरीकश्च अपस्तम्भो भविष्यति ॥७५॥
चतुर्द्दश समाख्याताः पञ्चभैरवशिष्यकाः ।
ज्ञात्वा द्वादशसाहस्रं सिद्धिं प्राप्स्यन्ति सुव्रते ॥७६॥
व्याख्यां चैव करिष्यन्ति शिष्याणां सिद्धिकाङ्क्षिणाम् ।
शक्त्याधिष्ठितचित्तानां चतुर्द्दश तु संज्ञकाः ॥७७॥
पञ्चभैरवकस्यैव षष्ठं वै स्थानमाशृताः ।
स्वच्छन्दभैरवो श्रुत्वा सकाशात्क्रोधभैरवः ॥७८॥
अर्थं द्वादशसाहस्रं सहस्रैर्दशभिः पुनः ।
संहरिष्यति देवेशे शक्त्याधिष्ठितचेतसा ॥७९॥
तन्त्रावतारविच्छिन्नं योगिनीनां प्रभावतः ।

74c बह्वृचश्] *em.*; बह्वयो ADE; बहवश् B^{pc}; ब–– B^{ac}; बह्वया C ◆ चापरश्] *em.*; चापरास् A; चापरा BC; चापरान् DE ◆ शिष्यो] E; सिष्यो A; शिष्या BC; शि≀ष्यो≀ D 74d भविष्यति] AC; भविष्यन्ति BE; भवि–ति D ◆ संशयः] BDE; शंसयः AC 75a ओड्डियाने] A; उड्डियाने B^{pc}; उड्डियान B^{ac}CDE 75b शेखरभैरवः] A; सेखरभैरव B^{pc}; –खरभैरव B^{ac}; सत्वभैरवंः C; मेखरभैरवः DE 75c ब्राह्मणो] ADE; ब्राह्मणस्] B^{pc}; ब्राह्म≀ण–≀ B^{ac}; ब्राह्मणा C ◆ तैत्तिरीकश्च] B; तेत्तिरीकश्च A; तत्तिरीकश्च C; तेन्तिरीकश्च DE 75d अपस्तम्भो] AB^{ac}; ––म्बो B^{ac}; ≀श्रु≀पन्तस्ता C; अयस्तम्भो DE 76a समाख्याताः] B^{pc}; समाख्याता AB^{ac}C; समो ख्यातो D; समाख्यातो E 76d सिद्धिं] AB^{pc}DE; सिद्धि B^{ac}C ◆ सुव्रते] ABCE; नुव्रते D 77a व्याख्यां] BE; व्याख्या ACD ◆ करिष्यन्ति] ABCE; करि≀ष्य≀न्ति D 77b शिष्याणां] *corr.*; सिष्याणां ACE; ⟨सि⟩$^{err.}$ष्याणां B; ≀सि–णां≀ D 77c शक्त्या°] AB^{pc}; श–° B^{ac}; शज्या° C; शक्ष्या° DE 77d चतुर्द्दश] B; चतुर्द्दशं (*unmet.*) ACDE ◆ संज्ञकाः] A^{pc}; संज्ञका A^{ac}BCDE 78a °भैरवकस्यैव] *conj.*; °भैरवकाश्चैव ABCDE 78b वै स्थानम्] ABCD; वै⟨ष्ठा⟩$^{err.}$वम् E ◆ आशृताः] *conj.*; आशृतः ACDE; आश्रितः B^{pc}; आ≀श–≀तः B^{ac} 78c °भैरवो] ADE; °भैरवः] B^{pc}; °भैरवा B^{ac}C ◆ श्रुत्वा] *corr.*; स्रुत्वा ACDE; ⟨स्रु⟩$^{err.}$त्वा B 78d सकाशात्क्रोध°] A; सकोपात्क्रोध° B; सकोपा≀क्रो≀ध° C; सकाशा≀त्रो≀ध° D; सकाशा क्रोध° E 79a अर्थं] *em.*; अ⟨र्थ/थ⟩ A; अथ BCDE 79b सहस्रैर्] ABC; सहस्रै DE ◆ दशभिः] $B^{pc}C^{pc}$; द्दशभि (*unmet.*) A$B^{ac}C^{ac}$E; दशभि D 79c देवेशे] ADE; देवेशि BC 79d शक्त्या°] AB^{pc}E; शज्जा° B^{ac}C; श–° D ◆ °धिष्ठित°] *conj.*; भूतस्तु AE; भूतन्तु BCD 80b योगिनीनां] ABDE; योगिनानां C

कथयिष्यति लोकानां दशसाहस्रकं[→*f.3v*] प्रिये॥८०॥
उज्जैन्यायान्तु संजातो †विप्रजोउकपुत्रकः† ।
देइका तस्य वै माता बहुगर्भप्रसारिता ॥८१॥
स्नाताचामति मातॄणां पुरतः पुत्रकाङ्क्षिणी ।
जप्तविद्यो महावीर्यः समयलङ्घप्रभावतः ॥८२॥
क्षिपिष्यन्ति ह्यसिद्धत्वान्मातराः शक्तिचोदिताः ।
तस्या गर्भे महाभागे अमन्त्रीनामकस्तथा ॥८३॥
ततस्तस्य महादेवि तासां चैव प्रभावतः ।
विद्यां प्राप्य जपं कृत्वा ततः शास्त्रं स वेत्स्यति ॥८४॥
ततो निबद्धग्रन्थश्च दिव्यसङ्ज्ञानुभावतः ।
दशसाहस्रकेनार्थं अशेषं कथयिष्यति ॥८५॥
ततस्तेनैव ज्ञानेन पश्चात्सिद्धिं स लप्स्यति ।

80c कथयिष्यति] ABC; कथयिष्यन्ति DE 80d प्रिये] ABDE; प्रिय C 81a उज्जैन्यायान्तु] A; उज्ज⟅यीन्या⟆न्तु B^{pc}; उज्ज−−न्तु B^{ac}; उज्जन्यायान्तु CDE ◆ संजातो] ADE; संजाता BC 81b विप्रजो] AB^{pc}D; विप्र⟨ज्ञा/ज्ञो⟩ B^{ac}; विप्रज्ञा C; पिप्रजो E 81c देइका] A; दइका BCD; दइकां E ◆ वै] ABCD; चै E ◆ माता] A^{pc}; मात्रा A^{ac}BDE; मात्रो C 81d °प्रसारिता] *em.*; °प्रसारिताः ADE; °प्रसादिताः B; °प्रमादिताः C 82a स्नाता°] ABCE; ⟅स्ना⟆ता° D ◆ °चामति] *em.*; °चामन्ति AB; वासन्ति C; चामन्त्रि DE ◆ मातॄणां] AB^{pc}D; मा⟅तृ⟆णां B^{ac}; सोतृणां C; मात्तृणां E 82c °विद्यो] AB^{pc}; °वि⟨द्या/द्यो⟩ B^{ac}C; °विद्या DE ◆ °वीर्यः] *corr.*; °वीर्य ADE; °वीद्य+ः+ B; °वीद्य C 82d समय°] A; ⟅सै⟆म+य+° B; मसलं C; समये DE ◆ °लङ्घ°] DE; लंघे A; लं− B; सं° C 83a क्षिपिष्यन्ति] *corr.*; क्षिपिश्यन्ति AD; ि−धिन्यत्ति B^{pc}; क्षिधिनार्त्ति B^{ac}; क्षिंधिनार्त्ति C; क्षिपश्यन्ति E ◆ ह्यसिद्धत्वान्] DE^{pc}; ह्यसिद्धत्वा⟨त्/न्⟩ A; ह सिद्धत्वान् BC; ह्यद्धत्वान् E^{ac} 83b मातराः] *corr.*; मातरा AD; मातरः B; मातरो CE 83c तस्या] *em.*; तस्य ABCDE ◆ गर्भे] AB; गर्भ° CDE ◆ महाभागे] AB; महाभारा C; महाभारो DE 83d °नामकस्] AB^{pc}; °नामकन् B^{ac}CDE 84a तस्य] A^{pc}; त A^{ac}; तत्र BC; ते सा DE 84b तासां] A; ⟅ता⟆सां B; भाषां C; तासा DE ◆ प्रभावतः] ABDE; प्रभावत C 84c विद्यां] B; विद्या ACDE ◆ जपं] ADE; जयं BC^{pc}; −यं C^{ac} 84d स वेत्स्यति] *conj.* (Isaacson); भवेत्स्यति A; भविष्यति BC; भवत्स्यति DE 85a °ग्रन्थश्च] *conj.*; °ग्रन्थस्य ABCDE 85b °सङ्ज्ञानुभावतः] ADE; °सगात्रभावतः B^{pc}; °सद्भावभावतः B^{ac}C 85c °साहस्रकेनार्थं] AB; °साहस्रकेनाथं DE; °साहस्रकं नाथंम् C 86b लप्स्यति] BC; लप्सति ADE

चण्डभैरवनामानः सहस्रैः सप्तभिः पुनः ॥८६॥
तदेव दशसाहस्रं करिष्यति महाधिपे ।
द्वादशैव सहस्राणि कर्त्तुवाञ्छा भविष्यति ॥८७॥
न चार्थं दिव्यशिष्याणां संहर्त्तुं सो करिष्यति ।
सप्तभिश्च सहस्रैस्तु विघ्नन्तस्य भविष्यति ॥८८॥
अनया वाञ्छया देवि बिन्दुभैरवसंज्ञकः ।
सप्तभिश्च सहस्रैस्तु तस्य विघ्नम्भविष्यति ॥८९॥
अनयैव महादेवि वाञ्छया दशसंज्ञके।
मायाभैरवनामानो न च सिद्धिं प्रयास्यति ॥९०॥
सप्तभिश्च सहस्रैस्तु विघ्नन्तस्य भविष्यति ।
अनन्तभैरवश्चैव विस्तरं कर्त्तुवाञ्छया ॥९१॥
सहस्रैस्सप्तभिश्चैव विघ्नन्तस्यापि सुव्रते ।
भविष्यति न सन्देहो एवम्वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥९२॥

90a–91b *omitted from* E

86c °नामानः] *corr.*; °नामान ADE; °नामानं BC **86d** सहस्रैः] ABC; सहस्रै DE ◆ सप्तभिः] ABC; समभि DE ◆ पुनः] ABCD; पु⟨णः⟩$^{err.}$ E **87a** एव] ADE; ≀एवं≀ B^{pc}; °अर्द्धं B^{ac}C **87b** करिष्यति] ABCD; करिष्यंति E ◆ महाधिपे] ABDE; महाधिप C **87c** द्वादशैव] DE; द्वाद≀शै≀व A; द्वाद⟨सै⟩$^{err.}$⟨व⟩$^{corr.}$ B; द्वादसं च C **87d** कर्त्तु°] B^{pc}; कर्त्ता° ADE; कन्ता° B^{ac}C **88a** न चार्थं] *em.*; न चार्थ ADE; न चार्थे B; तत्रार्थ C ◆ शिष्याणां] BC; सिष्याणां ADE **88b** संहर्त्तुं] *conj.*; समर्त्तुं AB^{pc}; न नर्त्तुं B^{ac}C; ममन्त्रं DE ◆ सो करिष्यति] A; नाकरिष्यति B^{ac}DE; नो करिष्यति B^{pc}; नाकतिष्यति C **88d** विघ्नन्] AB^{pc}DE; वि– B^{ac}; विष्या C **89b** बिन्दु°] ABCD; बिन्द्र° E **89d** तस्य विघ्नम्] AB^{pc}; भविष्यति B^{ac}; भविष्यतिः C; तस्य विघ्न DE **90a** अनयैव] ABD; अनेनैव C **90b** वाञ्छया] BC; वाच्छया AD ◆ °संज्ञके] *conj.*; °संज्ञकः ABCD **90c** °नामानो] AD; °नामानं BC **90d** न च] BC; नव° AD ◆ सिद्धिं] C; सिद्धि AB^{ac}D; मिद्धिः B^{pc} ◆ प्रयास्यति] ABC; प्रयाम्यति D **91a** सहस्रैस्] ABC; सह≀स्र–≀स् D **91b** विघ्नन्] AD; ≀–न≀न् B^{pc}; विप्रन् B^{ac}C **92a** सहस्रैस्] *corr.*; ≀सहस्रैस्≀ A*(no bottoms)*; सहस्रैः B^{pc}; सहस्रै B^{ac}CDE **92b** विघ्नन्] AB^{pc}DE; वि–न् B^{ac}; वि≀प्प्र≀न् C ◆ तस्यापि] ABC; तस्यो पि DE ◆ सुव्रते] AB; सुव्रत C; नुव्रते DE **92c** सन्देहो] ADE; सन्देह BC **92d** एवम्वै] A; एवैश्वै B^{pc}; एवैश्च B^{ac}C; एव≀श्चै≀ DE

सदाशिवेन देवेन द्वापरे भाषितम्महान् ।
ततो दिव्येन मानेन तस्मात्सप्ततिमे युगे ।
तव देवि मयाख्यातन्तन्त्रं भैरवपूजितम् ॥९३॥
कलौ युगे न सन्देहः श्रीकण्ठस्याज्ञया तथा ।
अस्माद्वै सप्तमे चैव कपालीशस्य सुव्रते ॥९४॥
त्वम्वक्ष्यसि महादेवि त्रेतायां भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ।
द्वापरे कलिसन्धौ तु पद्मभैरवसंज्ञकः ॥९५॥
सपादलक्षसंख्यातं संघरिष्यति नान्यथा ।
कलौ चतुर्थपादे तु तथा स्वच्छन्दभैरवः ॥९६॥
संघरिष्यति देवेशि एवम्वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ।
चण्डभैरवकश्चैव तथा च विभुभैरवः ॥९७॥
मायाभैरवकश्चैव विस्तारं कर्त्तुवाञ्छया ।
कलौ चतुर्थपादान्ते भविष्यन्ति वरानने ॥९८॥
अनन्तभैरवश्चैव कल्पान्ते विस्तरं तदा ।

93b भाषितम्] ACD; भाषितो B^{pc}; भाषि‹त–› B^{ac}; भाषितंन् E ◆ महान्] $AB^{pc}DE$; महत् $B^{ac}C$ **93c** दिव्येन मानेन] AB; दिव्यनमानेन C; दिव्यनमोनेन DE **93d** तस्मात्] ADE; तस्मान् BC ◆ सप्ततिमे युगे] A; ‹मे ब्रूहि› सत्पुरा B; मे ‹ब्रु›हि सत्पुरा C; सप्ततिम पुरा DE **93e** तव] ADE; तद्व BC ◆ °आख्यातन्] ABC; आख्यातत् D^{pc}; °आ‹ग्या›तत् D^{ac}; °आख्यात E **93f** तन्त्रं] ABC; तत्र D; तत्तत्र E ◆ °पूजितम्] AB^{pc}; °पूजित– B^{ac}; पूजितः CDE **94a** युगे] AB^{pc}; पुरा $B^{ac}CDE$ ◆ सन्देहः] DE; सन्देहेः A; संदेह BC **94c** सप्तमे] AB; सप्तम C; सप्तसे DE **94d** सुव्रते] ABCE; नुव्रते D **95a** त्वम्] AD; त्वद् BC; ‹त्वम्› E ◆ वक्ष्यसि] *em.*; वक्ष्यामि ABCDE **95b** त्रेतायां] ABCD; त्रे‹त्ता›यां E **95c** °सन्धौ तु] *corr.*; °संधौस्तु ADE; °संखौस्तु B; °सख्यौस्तु C **95d** पद्मभैरव°] ABCD; यदा भैरव° E ◆ °संज्ञकः] *em.*; °संज्ञकौ ABCDE **96b** संघरिष्यति] A; सं‹क›$^{corr.?}$रिष्यति B; संपरिष्यति C; संप्यरिष्यति D; सप्यरिष्यति E **96c** °पादे] ABDE; °पादन् C **96d** °भैरवः] BC; °भैरव ADE **97a** संघरिष्यति] AB^{pc}; संप्यरिष्यति $B^{ac}CDE$ ◆ देवेशि] CDE; देवेसि A; देवे⟨सि⟩$^{err.}$B **97b** एवम्वै] ABC; एवंश्चै DE ◆ भैरवो] ABDE; भैरवा C **97c** °भैरवकश्] $AB^{pc}DE$; °भैरवक B^{ac}; °भैरवकं C **97d** विभु°] ABDE; बिन्दु° C **98b** विस्तारं] ABDE; विस्तार° C ◆ °वाञ्छया] ABDE; °वाछ्छया C **99b** कल्पान्ते] ABDE; कल्पान्त° C ◆ तदा] *conj.*; सदा ABCDE

न शक्नोष्यति वै कर्त्तुं भक्त्याधिष्ठितचेतसः ॥९९॥
चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रं मानयिष्यति सुव्रते ।
चण्डभैरवको देवि विभुभैरवमेव च ॥१००॥
मायाभैरवकश्चैव तथा चानन्तमेव च ।
एते वै पश्चिमा वीरास्तन्त्रं ज्ञात्वा न संशयः ॥१०१॥
सिद्धिं प्राप्स्यन्ति देवेशि कल्पान्ते भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ।
एतच्छास्त्रं कलौ चान्ते यो[→*f.4r*]गिन्यः शक्तिचोदिताः॥१०२॥
अपहृत्य प्रयास्यन्ति सम्प्रदायश्च सुव्रते ।
शक्त्यान्तं नात्र सन्देहो एवं वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥१०३॥
कृतौ युगे महादेवि त्रेतायां द्वापरे तथा ।
नावतारो ऽस्य शास्त्रस्य सूचितो भैरवेण तु ॥१०४॥
कलौ युगे पुनश्चैव एवमेव महाधिपे ।
अवतारो ऽस्य शास्त्रस्य करिष्यसि न संशयः ॥१०५॥

99c शक्नोष्यति] *conj.*; शक्योष्यति A; शक्त्याष्यति B^{pc}; शक्त्याष्यभिः B^{ac}C; श॥ष्को॥ष्यति DE 99d भक्त्या°] ABC; भक्ष्या° DE ◆ °चेतसः] ADE; °चेतनः BC 100a °विंशति°] BC; °विन्सति° ADE 100b सुव्रते] ABE; सुव्रत C; नुव्रते D 100d विभु°] ADE; बिन्दु° BC 101a °भैरवकश्] ABCE^{pc}; °भैरवकञ् D; °भैरकश् E^{ac} 101b चानन्तम्] ABC; चान्तम् DE 101c एते वै पश्चिमा] *conj.*; एतदपश्चिमा (*unmet.*) AD; एत⟨–⟩$^{corr.}$पश्चिमा B; एतत्तपश्चिमा C; एतदपश्चि E ◆ वीरास्] AB^{pc}DE; वीरा B^{ac}C 101d तन्त्रं] ABCD; तन्त्र E ◆ संशयः] AB^{pc}DE; संशयन् B^{ac}C 102a देवेशि] BCDE; देवेसि A 102b कल्पान्ते] ABDE; कल्पान्त° C 102c छास्त्रं] BC; छास्त्र ADE ◆ चान्ते] AB^{pc}DE; चा– B^{ac}; नान्तु C 102d योगिन्यः] ADE; ॥व्यो॥गिन्यः B^{pc}; ––– B^{ac}; व्याशेनः C 103a अपहृत्य] ABCD; अपहृत E 103b सम्प्रदायश्च] *em.*; सम्प्रदायश्च AB^{pc}DE; संप्रदाश्च B^{ac}C 103c शक्त्या°] AB^{pc}; श–ा B^{ac}; श॥र–॥ा C; शक्ष्या° DE ◆ सन्देहो] BCDE; शन्देहो A 104a कृतौ] A^{pc}DE; कृ– A^{ac}; कृते B^{pc}; कृत्वा B^{ac}C ◆ युगे] AB^{pc}; पुरा B^{ac}CDE 104c नावतारो ऽस्य] AB^{pc}D; नावतारान्य B^{ac}C; नावतारस्य E ◆ शास्त्रस्य] BC; सास्त्रस्य ADE 104d सूचितो] ABCD; सुचितो E ◆ भैरवेण] ABCD; भैरवेन E 105a युगे पुनश्] AB^{pc}; पुरा॥नत॥श् B^{ac}C^{pc}; पुरातश् C^{ac}; पुरा पुनश् DE 105b महाधिपे] AB^{pc}DE; महाधिप B^{ac}C 105c अवतारो ऽस्य] AB^{pc}; अवतारान्य° B^{ac}C; अवतारास्य DE 105d करिष्यसि] A; करिष्यति BCD; करिष्यंति E

द्वादशैव सहस्राणि नाधिकानि मनागपि ।
कथयिष्यसि देवेशि लोकानां हितकाम्यया ॥१०६॥
कुमारीद्वीपवास्तव्या ये लोकाः संस्थिताः प्रिये ।
तेषां शास्त्रस्य नान्यस्य प्राप्तिश्चैव भविष्यति ॥१०७॥
कलापग्रामके देवि ततस्सः संघरिष्यति ।
कलियुगस्य आदौ तु अवतारं करिष्यति ।
द्वादशैव सहस्राणि नात्र कार्य विचारणात् ॥१०८॥
सपादलक्षन्देवेशि कथयिष्यसि सुव्रते ।
स्वच्छन्दभैरवस्यैव एवम्वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥१०९॥
द्वादशैव सहस्राणि संहृतानि महाधिपे ।
येन तस्य महाभागे नात्र कार्य विचारणात् ॥११०॥
दशभिस्तु सहस्रैस्तुमुक्त्वा वीरचतुष्टयम् ।
ततो ऽसौ चोदितो देवि त्वयैव वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥१११॥

106b नाधिकानि] ADE; नाधिका⟨नि⟩ B^{pc}; नाधिकारि B^{ac}C ◆ मनागपि] ABC; मनाशपि DE 106c कथयिष्यसि] ADE; कथयिष्य+ति+ B; कथयिर्ष्य+मि+ C ◆ देवेशि] BCDE; देवेसि A 107a °द्वीपवास्तव्या] ADE; °–ीपवास्तव्या B^{pc}; – – – –व्या B^{ac}; °द्धी वचो मृष्या C 107b ये] ABC; य DE ◆ लोकाः] *corr.*; ⟨लो⟩का A; लोका BC; लौका DE ◆ संस्थिताः] *corr.*; संस्थिता ABCDE 107c शास्त्रस्य] AB^{pc}; शास्त्र CB^{ac}; शास्त्रन्य DE 108a कलाप°] AB^{pc}; कला– B^{ac}; कलाव° C; कलापे DE 108b ततस्सः] A; तत सः B^{pc}; त– – B^{ac}; तत्तस्यः C; ततस्मः DE ◆ संघरिष्यति] A; संहरिष्यति B^{pc}; सं–रिष्यति B^{ac}; संभरिष्यति C; संप्यरिष्यति DE 108c कलि°] ABC^{pc}DE; –लि° C^{ac} 108f कार्य] AB^{ac}DE; काय्र्या B^{pc}; काय्य C ◆ विचारणात्] ACDE; विचारणा⟨त्⟩$^{err.}$B 109a सपाद°] ACDE; स⟨पा⟩द° B 109b कथयिष्यसि] AB^{pc}; कथयिष्यामि B^{ac}C; कथयिष्येशि DE 109c °भैरवस्यैव] $ADEB^{pc}$; °भैरवश्चैव B^{ac}C 109d एवम्वै] AD; एवं च BC; एवश्चै E ◆ भैरवो] AB^{pc}DE; भैरवा B^{ac}C 110b संहृतानि] ABCD; संहृताणि E ◆ महाधिपे] AB^{pc}DE; महाधि⟨प–⟩ B^{ac}; महाधिप C 110c येन] AB^{pc}DE; ये B^{ac}; पुर C ◆ तस्य] *em.*; तस्या AC; तस्मा+त्+ B; तस्यो DE ◆ महाभागे] AB; महाभाग C; महाभारो DE 110d कार्य] AB^{ac}CDE; काय्र्या B^{pc} ◆ विचारणात्] ACDE; विचारणा⟨त्⟩$^{err.}$B 111b मुक्त्वा] AB^{pc}; ⟨वक्ता⟩ B^{ac}C; नुक्ता D; नुक्त्वा E ◆ °चतुष्टयम्] A; °चतुष्टय– B; °चतुष्टयः CDE 111c चोदितो] ABDE; चोदिता C 111d °वर्ण्णिनि] ADE; °वर्णिनी BC

कलापग्रामके स्थित्वा विष्णुभैरवकस्य तु ।
असिद्धश्चैव देवेशि शास्त्रं द्वादशसम्मितम् ॥११२॥
सहस्रैर्नात्र सन्देहः कथयिष्यति सुव्रते ।
विष्णुभैरवको देवि कुमारीद्वीपवासिनाम् ॥११३॥
कथयिष्यति लोकानां शक्त्याधिष्ठितचेतसाम् ।
सहस्राणि दश द्वे च एवम्वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥११४॥
गृहे गृहे महादेवि यथा सप्तशतानि च ।
तथा द्वादशसाहस्रो भविष्यति न संशयः ॥११५॥
शक्त्याधिष्ठितचित्तानां नात्र कार्यं विचारणात् ।
गृहे गृहे महादेवि ये पुन्साः सिद्धिभाजनाः ॥११६॥
स्त्रियो वा सिद्धिभागिन्यस्तेषांमपि गृहेष्वथ ।
प्रचरिष्यति देवेशि एवम्वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥११७॥
असिद्धिभाजना ये तु पुरुषो ऽथ स्त्रियो ऽथ वा ।

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115 Cf. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 22.10cd: कामरूपे इमं शास्त्रं योगिनीनां गृहे गृहे ॥

112a कलाप°] ABC; कलाय° DE **112b** विष्णु°] ABDE; विष्ण° C ◆ °भैरवकस्य तु] ABD^{pc}E; °भैरवकम्पतु C; ––––तु D^{ac} **112c** देवेशि] BCDE; देवेसि A **112d** शास्त्रं] B; शास्त्र ACDE ◆ °सम्मितम्] AB^{pc}; सम्मि⟨त–⟩ B^{ac}; °संस्मितः C; °सम्मितः DE **113a** सहस्रैर्] ABDE; सहस्रै C ◆ सन्देहः] AB^{pc}DE; संदेह B^{ac}C **113b** सुव्रते] ABCE; नुव्रते D **113c** °भैरवको] AB^{pc}DE; °भैरवका B^{ac}C **113d** °द्वीपवासिनाम्] AB^{pc}; –ीपवा–नां B^{ac}; °द्वीय योगिनां C; °द्वीपवासिनाः DE **114b** शक्त्या°] AE; श–⟨या⟩ B^{pc}; श– B^{ac}; शज्या° C; शक्ष्या° D **114d** वै] ADE; च BC **115b** सप्त°] ABDE; मष्ट° C **115c** साहस्रो] AB; °साहस्रा CDE **115d** भविष्यति] ABCD; भविष्यंति E ◆ मंशयः] BCDE; संशय⟨ः/म्⟩ A **116a** शक्त्या°] ADE; श⟨क्त्या⟩° B^{pc}; शप्य्र्या° B^{ac}C **116b** कार्यं] AB^{ac}CDE; कार्य्या B^{pc} ◆ विचारणात्] ACDE; विचारणा⟨त्⟩$^{err.}$ B **116d** ये पुन्साः] *corr.*; ये पुन्सा A; ये पुंसः B^{pc}; मयत्प्रज्ञा B^{ac}C; य पुन्मा DE **117a** °भागिन्यस्] AB^{pc}DE; °भागि⟨न्य–⟩ B^{ac}; °भामिन्यंन् C **117b** तेषांम्] ADE; तेषाम् CB^{pc}; ⟨–षाम्⟩ B^{ac} ◆ अपि गृहेष्वथ] *em.* (Isaacson); अधिगृहेष्वथ AB^{pc}; अधि–––थ B^{ac}; अधिमृदुष्वथ C; अधिगृहेस्वथ D; अधिगृहेन्वथः E **117c** प्रचरिष्यति] AB^{pc}DE; प्रचरिष्यंति B^{ac}C **118a** असिद्धि°] *em.*; असिद्ध° ABCDE ◆ °भाजना] AB^{pc}D; °भावना B^{ac}C ◆ ये तु] AB^{pc}D; तु B^{ac}C **118b** पुरुषो ऽथ स्त्रियो] AD; पुरुषा⟨र्थै⟩ स्त्रिया° B; पुरुषार्थैस्त्रियोः C; पुरुषोर्थस्त्रियो E

विद्यामात्रमपिश्चैव न प्राप्स्यन्ति महाधिपे ।
सरहस्यम्महादेवि ज्ञास्यन्ते सिद्धिभाजनाः॥११८॥
एतत्तन्त्रावतारन्तु श्रीकण्ठेन यथास्थितम् ।
कथितम्मम देवेशि तथापि कथितम्मया ॥११९॥
साम्प्रतं सरहस्यन्तु सर्व्वसन्दोहलक्षणम् ।
महाभैरवनामानं शृणुष्वेकाग्रमानसा ॥१२०॥
या सा शक्तिः परा ख्यातानन्ताद्यानन्तसम्भवा ।
तस्या भेदं महाभागे कथयामि यथाक्रमम् ॥१२१॥
यो ऽसौ अचिन्त्यमित्याहुः शि[→*f.4v*]वः परमकारणः।

120b = *BraYā* 1.14d **121a** = *BraYā* 58.1a, *BraYāSāra* 1.9c, 70.2: या सा शक्ति परा ख्याता; ≈ *BraYā* 90.138, *BraYāSāra* 71.2a, *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 365a: एषा शक्ति परा ख्याता **121** ≈ *BraYā* 86.2: या सा शक्तिः समाख्यातानन्त्याद्यानन्तसम्भवा । तस्या भेदम्प्रवक्ष्यामि सृणुष्वेकमना सती ॥ **121–22b** ≈ *BraYāSāra* 1.9c–10 (S_1): या सा शक्ति परा ख्यातानन्ताद्यानन्तसंभवाः ॥९॥ तस्या भेदं महाभागे शृणुष्वेकमना सती । यो सावचिन्त्यमित्याहुः शिवं परमकारणं ॥१०॥

118c अपिश्चैव] *conj.*; अपि चैव (*unmet.*) ABDE; अयि चैवC **118d** महाधिपे] ABDE; महाधिप C **118f** ज्ञास्यन्ते] A; ज्ञानान्ते BDE; ज्ञानन्तु C **119a** तन्त्रा°] BC; तत्रा° ADE **119b** °स्थितम्] AB^{pc}; °स्थित– B^{ac}; °स्थितः CD; °स्थितंः E **119c** कथितम्मम] ABC; कथितस्मेश D; कथितम्मेश E ◆ देवेशि] BCE; देवेसि AD **119d** कथितम्मया] ABC; कथितया D; कथि+त+म्मया E **120a** साम्प्रतं] ABC; सान्प्रतं DE ◆ स°] AB^{pc}DE; ?मे? B^{ac}; मे C **120b** °सन्दोह°] ADE; °संदेह° BC **120d** °शृणुष्वेकाग्र°] ADE; °शृणुष्वैकाग्र° B^{pc}; °शृणुष्वकाग्र° B^{ac}C **121a** शक्तिः] B^{ac}; शक्ति ADE; सक्ति B^{ac}C ◆ परा] *em.*; पुरा ABCDE **121b** °आनन्ताद्यानन्त°] ADE; °आनन्ताश्चानन्त° BC **121c** महाभागे] AB^{pc}; महाभाग B^{ac}C; महाभारो DE **121d** °क्रमम्] ADE; °क्रम– B; °क्रमः C **122a** अचिन्त्यम्] ABDE; अचित्यंम् C ◆ आहुः] AB^{pc}DE; आहु B^{ac}C **122b** शिवः] ABCD; शिव E ◆ °कारणः] AB^{pc}DE; °का–णः B^{ac}; °का–णः C

निःसंज्ञो निर्विकारश्च व्यापी शान्तस्तथैव च ॥१२२॥
निःस्वभावो महादेवि क्रियाकारणवर्जितः ।
निष्कलो निर्विकल्पस्तु अरूपो गुणवर्जितः ॥१२३॥
निर्ममो निरहङ्कार अद्वैतपदसंस्थितः ।
योगिनां ध्यानगम्यो ऽसौ ज्ञानरूपो महायशे ॥१२४॥
निराचारपदावस्थः संज्ञामात्रः प्रभुः परः ।
तस्यापराज्योतिरूपः सर्व्वानुग्रहकारकः ॥१२५॥
व्यापी ह्यव्यक्तरूपी च अमनस्को मनोन्मनः ।
तस्य शक्तिर्महादेवि स्वभावोत्था अकृत्त्रिमा ॥१२६॥

122ab, 127cd ≈ *Timirodghāṭanā* 4.4: यो ऽसौ अचिन्त्यमित्याहुः शिवः [*em.*; आहु शिवं MS.] परमकारणः । तस्येच्छा निर्गता शक्ति नादबिन्दुप्रबोधिनी [*conj.*; °प्रभेदिनी MS.] ॥; ≈ *Pārameśvarīmata* 33.8: यो ऽसौ अचिंत्यमित्याहुः शिवः परमकारणः । तस्येच्छा निर्गता शक्तिः प्रसुप्तभुजगोपमा ॥ **122–128** Cf. *Devīpañcaśatikā* 7.16–21; *Devīdvyardhaśatikā* 20c–22; *Jayadrathayāmala* II, 16.44–45b: यो ऽसावचिन्त्यमित्याहुः [*em.*; अचित्र्यमत्पाहु MS.] शिवः परमकारणः । विकल्परहितः शान्त द्वादशान्तान्तगोचरः ॥४४॥ तस्येच्छा निर्गता शक्तिरव्यक्तध्वनिविग्रहा । **126ab** ≈ *BraYā* 21.118cd: व्यापी ह्यव्यक्तरूपी च अमनस्कोन्मनोन्मनः ॥

122c निःसंज्ञो] AB[pc]DE; निःसंस्का B[ac]; निःसंष्का C **122d** व्यापी शान्तस्] AB[pc]; व्या꣡या–– ꣡स् B[ac]; व्यायासान्तुस् C; व्यापौ शान्तन् D; व्यायौ शान्त E **123a** निःस्वभावो] B[pc]; निस्वभावो AE; निश्वभावा B[ac]C; निम्बभावो D **123b** क्रिया°] ABC; क्रियो DE **123c** निष्कलो] B[pc]; निस्कलो ADE; निष्कला B[ac]C • °विकल्पस्] ABC; °विकल्पन् DE **123d** अरूपो गुण°] AB[pc]; अंका꣡ण्–स्ते꣡ण B[ac]; अंका⟨ण्या/ण्पा⟩त्रेण C; अ꣡ङ्का꣡पो गुण° D; अरूयो गुण° E **124b** अद्वैतपद°] AB[pc]DE; अद्वैत–द° B[ac]; अद्वैतद्भेद° C **124c** योगिनां] *em.*; योगिन्यां AB[pc]DE; योगिन्य B[ac]; योगिना C • °गम्यो ऽसौ] AB[pc]; ꣡मान्या–꣡ B[ac]; °मान्या꣡सौ꣡ C; °गम्यासौ DE **124d** ज्ञानरूपो] AB[pc]E; ज्ञानकाय° B[ac]C; ज्ञान⟨ङ्का⟩[err.]+रू+पो D • महायशे] *corr.*; महायसे A; महाय⟨से⟩[err.] B[pc]; महा–– B[ac]; महामय C; महायमे DE **125a** °वस्थः] AB[pc]; °व– B[ac]; °वस्थ C; °वस्थेः DE **125b** प्रभुः] ABCD; प्रभु E **125c** °ज्योतिरूपः] *corr.*; °ज्योतिरूप AB[pc]E; ꣡जो꣡तिभा⟨प/य⟩ B[ac]; °जोतिभाय C; °ष्कोतिरूप D **125d** सर्व्वानुग्रह°] AB[pc]DE; सच्वीन्तग्रह° B[ac]C **126a** ह्यवक्त°] AB[pc]E; हृवक्त° B[ac]C; ꣡ह्य꣡व्यक्त° D • °रूपी] AB[pc]DE; °का– B[ac]; °काषी C **126b** अमनस्को] A; अनवस्थो B; अननस्था C; अनेनस्को DE • मनोन्मनः] *conj.*; महात्मनः A; महा–– B[pc]; महा꣡श्रयः꣡ B[ac]C; महान्सनः D; महात्सनः E **126c** शक्तिर्] AB[pc]DE; शक्ति B[ac]; शक्ति꣡ः꣡ C **126d** स्वभावोत्था] AB[pc]DE; स्वभावास्था B[ac]C • अकृत्त्रिमा] B[pc]; अकृत्तिमा AB[ac]D; अकृर्त्तिमा C; आकृत्तिमा E

ज्योत्स्नारूपा स्वरूपेण स्फाटिकस्येव रश्मयः ।
तस्येच्छा निर्गता शक्ति ज्ञानरूपा मनोन्मनी ॥१२७॥
प्रवर्त्तते निराभासा अवधूतेति सा स्मृता ।
प्रबोधयति सानन्ता बिन्दुनादौ क्षणेन तु ॥१२८॥
कुण्डलाकृतिसंस्थाना स्वरादौ संव्यवस्थिता ।
चतुर्भागविभक्ता सा चतुर्भागविभाजिता ॥१२९॥
एवं कुण्डलिनी शक्तिः स्वरैः षोडशभिः स्थिता ।
चतुष्कपथकोपेता पञ्चव्योमअलंकृता ॥१३०॥

125–31 Cf. *Jayadrathayāmala* IV, 69.75–77b: यत्तत्परमनिर्व्वाणं भैरवं भवगोचरं । तस्येच्छाभरिता शक्ति निर्गता कुलकौलिनी ॥७५॥ तया व्याप्तमिदं सर्व्वं कुलस्थं भूमिगर्भगं । एकधा द्विविधा [*em.*; द्विधा MS.] त्रिस्था चतुःपञ्चनवाश्रिताः ॥७६॥ त्रितत्वक्रमयोगेन ज्ञात्वा तस्यागमागमं । **127c–33** Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.215–29; cf. *BraYāSāra* 1.11–13 (S_1): तस्येच्छा निर्गता शक्ति बिन्दुभेदप्रबोधिका [*em.*; °चोधिकाः S_1] । चतुर्भागविभागेन पञ्चव्योमैरलंकृता ॥११॥ एवं पञ्चविभागेन [*corr.*; 11d–12a *copied twice*] शक्तिराद्या मनोन्मनी । नवभागविभागेन पुनस् †संशय† तत्क्षणात् ॥१२॥ अत्र देव्यश्च दूत्यश्च [*corr.*; दूत्यश्च *copied twice*] योगिन्यो गुह्यमातरः । सर्वास्ता[ः] सृजते देवि शिवेच्छामनुवर्त्तिनी ॥१३॥ **129–32b** Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.124c–227 (as quoted in *Śivasūtravimarśinī* ad *Śivasūtra* 2.3; numbering as per Dyczkowski): एकैवेत्थं परा शक्तिस्त्रिधा सा तु प्रजायते ॥२२४॥ आभ्यो युक्तवियुक्ताभ्यः संजातो नववर्गकः ॥ नवधा च स्मृता सा तु नववर्गोपलक्षिता ॥२२६॥ पञ्चमन्त्रगता देवि सद्यआदिरनुक्रमात् । तेन पञ्चविधा प्रोक्ता ज्ञातव्या सुरनायिके ॥२२६॥ स्वरद्वादशगा देवि द्वादशस्था उदाहृता । अकारादिक्षकारान्ता स्थिता पञ्चाशता भिदा ॥२२७॥

127a ज्योत्स्नारूपा] AB^{pc}; शान्ताकायो B^{ac}; क्षान्ताकायो C; ⸢ष्को⸣त्स्नारूपो D; ज्योत्स्नारूपो E ◆ स्वरूपेण] AB^{pc}DE; स्वकोषेण B^{ac}C **127b** स्फाटिकस्येव] *em.*; स्फाटिकस्यैव] AB^{pc}DE; स्फाटिकस्यव B^{ac}C ◆ रश्मयः] B^{pc}; रस्मयः AED; र–मयः B^{ac}; रम्मयः C **127c** तस्येच्छा निर्गता] AB^{pc}; तस्य द्वार महा° B^{ac}C; तस्यच्छा निर्गता DE^{pc}; तस्य छार्गनिता E^{ac} **127d** °रूपा] B^{pc}; °रूपो ADE; °⸢काया⸣ B^{ac}; °काया C **128a** प्रवर्त्तते] AB^{pc}DE; प्रव⸢⟨न्/त्⟩–अ⸣ B^{ac}; प्रवत्तन C **128b** अवधूतेति सा] AB^{pc}DE; अवधू⸢त–मा⸣ B^{ac}; अवधूतभिमा C **128c** सानन्ता] *em.*; सानन्त AB^{pc}DE; सार⸢न्तु⸣ B^{ac}; सारन्तु C **128d** क्षणेन] AB^{pc}DE; क्ष–न B^{ac}; क्षरेण C **129a** °संस्थाना] AB^{pc}D; °संत्थाना B^{ac}; °मं⸢त्था⸣ना C **129b** स्वरादौ] ABCD; स्वनादौ E ◆ °स्थिता] *em.*; °स्थिताः ABDEC **129c** °विभक्ता सा] ADE; °विभ⸢–सा⸣ B^{ac}; °विभज्याना C **129d** °विभाजिता] AB^{pc}DE; °विभजिता B^{ac}; °विभंजिता C **130a** °शक्तिः] AB^{pc}CDE; °शक्ति B^{ac} **130b** स्थिता] E; स्थिताः ABCD **130c** चतुष्कपथकोपेता] AB^{pc}E; चतु–थको–ता B^{ac}; चतुष्टयथकोषता C; चतुष्कपथको⟨––⟩ (*erasure*) D

एवं पञ्चविधा सा तु शक्तिराद्या मनोन्मनी ।
नवाक्षरविधानेन पुनश्चैव प्रजायते ॥१३१॥
स्वरव्यञ्जनसंयुक्ता पञ्चाशाक्षरसंयुता ।
अवधूता महादेवि नवभेदैर्व्यवस्थिता ॥१३२॥
अत्र देव्यो ऽथ दूत्यश्च योगिन्योच्छुष्ममातरः ।
सर्व्वास्ताः सृजते देवि शिवेच्छामनुवर्त्तिनी ॥१३३॥

इति महाभैरवे तन्त्रे द्वादशसाहस्रके पिचुमते नवाक्षरविधाने सम्बन्धपटलः प्रथमः ॥❀॥

131b = *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 1.9; *Tantrasadbhāva* 6.94d, 15.61d; *Kulasāra, f.* 78*v*; *Kubjikāmata* 5.89, 6.109, 25.89, 25.165; *Matasāra, ff.* 32*r*, 66*r* **133b** = *BraYā* 91.244d

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131a पञ्च°] $AB^{pc}DE$; ⸤एण्प⸥° B^{ac}; प⸤ण्य⸥° C ◆ °विधा मा] AB; °विधानान् C; °विधा मा DE **131b** शक्तिराद्या] ABC; शन्क्तिगद्यो D; शक्तिनाद्यो E **131d** पुनश्चैव] $AB^{pc}DE$; पुन⸤–व⸥ B^{ac}; प्रनयैव C ◆ प्रजायते] $AB^{pc}DE$; प्रज–य– B^{ac}; प्रजमयत् C **132a** °संयुक्ता] ADE; °सं⟨पु/प्र⟩–⸤ा⸥ B^{pc}; °संप्रेक्ष्या $B^{ac}C$ **132b** पञ्चाशा°] *corr.*; पञ्चासा° ADE; पश्चा⟨सा⟩$^{err.}$ B; पश्चासा° C ◆ °संयुता] *conj.*; साम्प्रतं ABCDE **132d** °भेदैर्] AB; °भेदै C; °भेद्यैर् DE **133a** देव्यो ऽथ] AB^{pc}; देव्याथ $B^{ac}CDE$ ◆ दूत्यश्च] AB; दुत्यश्च C; ⸤द–⸥त्यश्च D **133b** योगिन्योच्छुष्म°] $AB^{pc}E$; योगिन्याच्छुष्म° $B^{ac}C$; यो⸤ि––⸥च्छुष्म° D ◆ °मातरः] A^{pc}; °मातराः $A^{ac}DE$; °मातरा B^{pc}; °मात⸤रः⸥ B^{ac}; °⸤सोभरा⸥ C **133c** सर्व्वास्ताः] *conj.*; समस्तां ADE; समस्ता+न्+ B; समस्ता C ◆ सृजते] *corr.*; शृजते ABCDE **133d** शिवेच्छामनुवर्त्तिनी] A; शिवे–ाम–वर्तिनी B^{pc}; शिवकामेन वर्त्तिनी $B^{ac}C$; शिवेच्छा स–वर्त्तिनी D; शिवेच्छामववर्त्तिनी E COLOPHON: भैरवे तन्त्रे] A; भैरवतंत्रे BCDE ◆ पिचुमते] $AB^{pc}DE$; पि–मते B^{ac}; बि⸤न्दु⸥मत C ◆ °विधाने] ADE; °विधान BC ◆ सम्बन्ध°] A; सम्बद्धः BC; सवत्त° D; सम्वत्त° E ◆ °पटलः प्रथमः] ACDE; पटलः ॥१॥ B

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ब्रह्मयामले मन्त्रोद्धारपटलो द्वितीयः

अथातः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि अघोर्याच्र्चनमुत्तमम् ।
निराचारो यदा मन्त्री अवधूततनुस्थितः ॥१॥
तदा तु कुरुते पूजां योगेशीनां शिवस्य च ।
अवधूता तु सा शक्ति निराचारपदः शिवः ॥२॥
एतेषान्तु विधिं ज्ञात्वा ततो मन्त्री प्रसिद्ध्यति ।
अतस्तेषाम्प्रवक्ष्यामि मन्त्रोद्धारमनुक्रमात् ॥३॥

CODICES: A: *ff.* 4*v*– 5*r* (NGMPP reel no. A42/6 exposures 5 upper–5 lower); B: *ff.* 6*r*–6*v*; D: *ff.* 4*r*–4*v*

1–3b ≈ *BraYāSāra* 1.14–15 (MS. S$_{1}$): अथातः साधनं वक्ष्ये देव्या⟨घोर्या परा⟩यणा । निराचारो यदा मन्त्री अवधूततनुस्थितः ॥१४॥ तदा तु कुरुते पूजां योगिनीनां शिवस्य च । अवधूता तु सा शक्ति निराचारः परः शिवः । एतेषां तु विधिं ज्ञात्वा ततो मन्त्री प्रसिद्ध्यति ॥१५॥ **1c–2b** Cf. *BraYā* 8.3–4b: ततो ह्येकमना भूत्वा अवधूततनुस्थितः [*corr.*; °तनुः A] । निराचारेण भावेन यदा पश्यति सर्वतः ॥३॥ तदा करोति कर्माणि विचित्राणि महीतले । **2** ≈ *BraYā* 62.98: अवधूता तु सा शक्ति निराचारपदः शिवः । एवं ज्ञात्वा विधिज्ञस्तु ततो मन्त्री प्रसिध्यति ॥

1b अघोर्याच्र्चनम्] AD; आ⟨घ––⟩च्र्चनम् B^{pc}; आ⟨घोर्यांच्च⟩न° B^{ac} ◆ उत्तमम्] AB^{pc}D; सुत्तमः B^{ac} **1d** °तनु°] AB^{ac}D; °तनुः B^{pc} **2a** तु] AD; तु$^{corr.?}$ B **2c** अवधूता] AB^{pc}D; अवधूत B^{ac} ◆ सा शक्ति] AB^{ac}D; सा शक्तिर् B^{pc} **2d** °पदः] *conj.*; °परः ABD **3c** तेषां] AD; तयोः B **3d** अनुक्रमात्] AB^{pc}D; अ–क्रमात् B^{ac}

शुक्लाम्बरधरो मन्त्री शुक्लगन्धानुलेपनः ।
भूप्रदेशे शुचौ दिव्ये दिव्यपुष्पैरलंकृते ॥४॥
तत्र देव्याश्च दूत्यश्च योगिन्यो मातरस्तथा ।
उद्धरेत महाप्राज्ञः कपालीशपुरःसराः ॥५॥
आदिमन्तु द्वितीयस्य प्रथमेन व्यवस्थितम् ।
एषा देवी स्मृता रक्ता बिन्दुमस्तकयोजिता ॥६॥
तृतीयस्य तृतीयन्तु स्वरैकादशभूषितम् ।
एषा देवी स्मृता घोरा करालीति च विश्रुता ॥७॥
आदिमन्तु द्वितीयेन ऊर्द्धनादेन योजितम् ।
एकविंशत्परा योनि द्वितीयस्वरयोजिता ॥८॥
अष्टाविंश तृ[→*f.5r*]तीयेन विंशमन्तु तथा पुनः ।
द्वात्रिंश कूनत्रिंशेन ऊर्द्धनादेन योजितम् ॥९॥

4ab ≈ *BraYā* 21.56ab: शुक्लाम्बरधरो मन्त्री शुक्लमाल्यानुलेपनः ।; *Matsyapurāṇa* 93.58ab: ततः शुक्लाम्बरधरः शुक्लगन्धानुलेपनः । **4cd** ≈ *BraYāSāra* 2.4cd: भूप्रदेशे शुभे रम्ये [*em.*; रम्य S$_1$] दिव्यपुष्पैरलंकृते ॥

4a °धरो] AD; °ध⟨रो⟩$^{corr.?}$ B **4b** °नुलेपनः] AB^{pc}D; °नुलेपनं B^{ac} **4c** भू°] AB^{pc}D; –° B^{ac} ◆ दिव्ये] *conj.*; दिव्यैर् ABD **5a** देव्याश्च] AB^{ac}D; देव्यश्च B^{pc} ◆ च दूत्यश्च] AB^{pc}D^{pc}; चतुस्त्रं च B^{ac}; शूद्र– D^{ac} **5c** महाप्राज्ञः] B^{pc}; सदा प्राज्ञः] A; महाप्राज्ञ B^{ac}; सदा प्राज्ञ D **5d** कपालीश°] AB; कपालींश° D ◆ °पुरःसराः] B^{pc}; °पुरःशराम् A; °⟨परपरां⟩ B^{ac}; °पुरःशराः D **6a** आदिमन्तु] AB^{pc}; आदिसंतु B^{ac}; आदिम⟨न्त्र⟩ D **6b** प्रथमेन] *conj.*; प्रथमन्तु ABD ◆ °स्थितम्] AB^{pc}; °स्थितः B^{ac}D^{pc}; °स्थिता D^{ac} **6c** एषा] AB^{pc}D; ⟨स⟩षा B^{ac} ◆ रक्ता] AB^{pc}D; रक्षा B^{ac} **6d** °मस्तक°] AB^{pc}D; °म⟨न्त⟩क° B^{ac} **7b** °भूषितम्] AB^{pc}; °भूषितः B^{ac}D **7c** एषा] AB^{pc}D; एषो B^{ac} ◆ घोरा] AD; ⟨घो⟩रा B **7d** करालीति] AB; करीति D **8a** आदिमन्तु] AB^{pc}D; आदिमंत्र B^{ac} **8b** °नादेन] AB; °नादे⟨न⟩ D ◆ योजितम्] AB^{pc}; योजितः B^{ac}; योजित D **8c** °विंशत्परा] *corr.*; °विन्स⟨त्प⟩रा A; विंशस्वरा B; °विंसत्पना D ◆ योनि] AB; यो⟨नि⟩ D **8d** द्वितीय°] A; द्वितीयं B; द्वितीये D ◆ °स्वर°] AB^{pc}D; पुर° B^{ac} **9a** अष्टाविंश] B^{pc}; अष्टाविन्स A; अष्टावि– B^{ac}; अष्टाविन्स D **9b** विंशमन्तु] *corr.*; विंसमन्तु A; विं––– B; विंसमन्त्र D **9c** द्वात्रिंश कूनत्रिंशेन] *conj.*; द्वात्रिंश कोनतृंशेन AD; द्वात्रिंश कोनत्रिंशेन B **9d** योजितम्] AB^{pc}; योजितः B^{ac}D

हंस एष द्वितीयेन प्रणवादिसमन्वितम् ।
एतद्गुह्यम्मया प्रोक्तं मन्त्रभेदव्यवस्थितम् ॥१०॥
अथातः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि योगेशीनान्तु लक्षणम् ।
प्रणवादिनमस्कारं विद्यां संयोज्य यत्नतः ॥११॥
एषा ते प्रथमा प्रोक्ता क्रोष्टुकी च महोदया ।
स्वाहाकारान्तसंयुक्तं द्वितीया योगिनी स्मृता ॥१२॥
हूंकारेण तृतीया तु वौषट्कारे चतुर्थका ।
पञ्चमी वषट्कारेण फट्कारे षष्ठिका भवेत् ॥१३॥
षड्योगिन्यः समाख्याता अघोर्याङ्गविनिसृताः ।
अथातो मातरां वक्ष्ये तन्त्रे उच्छुष्मसम्भवे ॥१४॥
प्रणवे तु स्थितो देव बिन्दुके तु महेश्वरी ।
एकारे तु स्थिता ब्रह्मी आकारे चैव वैष्णवी ॥१५॥

10a हंस] $AB^{pc}D$; हंसे B^{ac} 10b प्रणवादि°] $AB^{pc}D$; प्रण⟨वो हि⟩ B ◆ °समन्वितम्] AB^{pc}; °समन्वितः $B^{ac}D$ 10c एतद्गुह्यम्] AD; एतन्तु ह्न् B ◆ प्रोक्तं] *em.*; प्रोक्तां AD; प्रोक्ता B 10d मन्त्र°] AB; मे–तु° D ◆ °स्थितम्] AB^{pc}; °स्थितः $B^{ac}D$ 11a अथातः] AB^{pc}; अथातं B^{ac}; अथात D ◆ सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि] AB; मंप्रव⟨क्ष्य––⟩ D 11b लक्षणम्] AB^{pc}; लक्षणः B^{ac}; लक्ष⟨णं⟩ D 11c °नमस्कारं] AB; न संस्कारं D 11d विद्यां] B; विद्या AD ◆ संयोज्य यत्नतः] A; संयोजयेत्ततः B; मंयोक्षयेन्नतः D 12a एषा] *em.*; एष ABD 12b क्रोष्टुकी] AB^{pc}; क्रोष्ठुकी B^{ac}; क्रोष्ट्रेकी D 12c °कारान्त°] AB^{pc}; °कारात्र° B^{ac}; °कारा तु D ◆ °संयुक्तं] D; °संयु⟨क्तं⟩ A*(no tops)*; °सं⟨यु– B^{pc}; –य–– B^{ac} 13a हूं°] A; ⟨हूं⟩° B; हुं° D ◆ तृतीया] AB^{ac}; तृतीयां B^{ac}; तृतीयो D 13b वौषट्कारे] AB^{pc}; वौषट्कारः B^{ac}; वौ⟨ष–⟩कारे D ◆ चतुर्थका] AD; चतुर्थिका B^{pc}; चतु⟨र्थका⟩ B^{ac} 13c वषट्°] $AB^{pc}D$; च वषत्° B^{ac} 13d फट्कारे°] AB^{pc}; हुंकार° B^{ac}; हट्कारे D 14a षड्योगिन्यः] AD; ष–ोगिन्यः B^{pc}; ष––सिन्य B^{ac} 14b अघोर्याङ्ग°] A; अघोर्या– B^{pc}; अघा–र्द्ध° B^{ac}; अघोर्या⟨ट्च⟩ D ◆ विनिमृताः] *corr.*; विनिशृताः AB^{ac}; विनिःशृताः B^{ac}; विनिशृता D 14c अथातो] AD; अथा⟨त्ता⟩ B^{pc}; अथा–I B^{ac} ◆ मातरां] AD; मातरं B^{pc}; मो⟨न्त⟩रां B^{ac} 14d तन्त्रे] AD; तन्त्र B ◆ उच्छुष्म°] AB^{pc}; उ⟨च्छ⟩––° B^{ac}; उच्छुम्म° D 15a स्थितो] *em.*; स्थिता ABD 15b बिन्दुके] $AB^{pc}D$; बिन्दुकन् B^{ac} 15c एकारे] $AB^{pc}D$; एका⟨रन्⟩ B^{ac} ◆ ब्रह्मी] AD; ब्राह्मी B 15d आकारे] AD; ओङ्कारे B

अकारे चैव कौमारी ईकारे च विवस्वती ।
इकारे वासवी देवी स्वाकारे चैव चण्डिका ॥१६॥
हाकारेण परा शक्ति एता यस्या विनिर्ग्गताः ।
मातरस्ते मया प्रोक्ता यागे उच्छुष्मपूजिते ॥१७॥
या सा एव मया प्रोक्ता मातॄणाञ्चैव पूरणी ।
तस्येदं कथितं सर्व्वं यं ज्ञात्वा नावसीदति ॥१८॥

इति महाभैरवे मूलतन्त्रे द्वादशसाहस्रके पिचुमते नवाक्षरविधाने मन्त्रोद्धारपटलः द्वितीयः॥❀॥

15c–16 Cf. *BraYā* 10.198c–99: एकादशं स्वरं [*corr.*; श्वरं A] यत्तु ब्रह्माण्या मूलमन्त्रकम् ॥१९८॥ द्वितीयं चैव वैष्णव्या कौमार्याया तदेव हि । वैवस्वत्या तृतीयन्तु वासवत्या तदेव हि ॥१९९॥
17 Cf. *BraYā* 54.14ab: षड्योगिन्यो मयाख्याता यागे चोच्छुष्मपूजिते ।

16a अकारे] AB; अका–रे D 16b ईकारे] AB^{pc}; इकार B^{ac}; इकारे D ◆ विवस्वती] AB^{pc}D; वृकोदरी B^{ac} 16c इकारे] AD; ईकारे B 16d स्वाकारे] AB; स्वोकारे D 17b एता यस्या] *conj.*; एतयस्य AD; एते यस्य B^{pc}; ⟨ऐ⟩ते यस्य B^{ac} 17c मातरस्ते] AB^{pc}D; मात–– B^{ac} 17d यागे] A; योग B; योगे D ◆ °पूजिते] AB^{pc}D; °पूजिता B^{ac} 18a या सा] AB; यो ना D ◆ मया] AB; म⟨यो⟩$^{err.}$ D ◆ प्रोक्ता] AB^{pc}D; प्र B^{ac} 18b मातॄणाञ्] AB^{pc}; मा⟨त्तराश्⟩ B^{ac}; –तृणां D 18d यं] A; ⟨म+ज्+⟩ B; य D ◆ नावसीदति] B^{pc}; नावशीदति A; नव–दति B^{ac}; ना⟨वं⟩शीदति D Colophon: महाभैरवे] AD; महाभैरव° B ◆ °विधाने] AD; °विधानं B

३९

ब्रह्मयामले स्रोत्रनिर्ण्णयपटल एकूनचत्वारिंशतिमः

देव्युवाच ॥
यदुक्तं दक्षिणं स्रोत्रं वामं चैव तथापरम् ।
मध्यमञ्च तथा स्रोतं चोदितं पूर्व्वमेव हि ॥१॥
दक्षिणं केन कार्येण वामं कस्माच्च कारणात् ।
मध्यमञ्च तथा चैव एतद्ब्रूहि महेश्वर ॥२॥
यं यस्मि निर्ग्गतं स्रोत्रं तत्र जाता यथार्थतः ।
एतदाचक्ष्व देवेश मन्त्रभेदश्च किंकृतम् ॥३॥
देवोवाच ॥
साधु साधु महादेवि यत्त्वया पृच्छितो ह्यहम् ।
कथयामि समासेन तत्वभेदार्थकारणम् ॥४॥
शक्तित्रयं समाख्यातं मन्त्रमूर्त्तिस्तदासनम् ।

Codices: A: *ff.* 188*r*–190*v* (NGMPP reel no. A42/6 exposures 192 lower–195 upper); B: *ff.* 191*r*–193*v*; D: *ff.* 131*v*–133*v*

1a स्रोत्रं] AD; श्रोत्रं B **1d** चोदितं] *em.*; चोदितः ABD **2b** वामं] AB; वामं D **3a** महेश्वर] ABD*pc*; महेश्वरः D*ac* **3a** स्रोत्रं] AD; श्रोत्रं B **3d** °भेदश्च] A; °भेदश्च BD **4a** देवोवाच] A; देव उवाच B; दे⟨व्यो⟩*em.*वाच D **4b** यत्त्वया] B; यत्वया AD **5b** °तदासनम्] *em.*; तदासनः ABD

परापरस्य देवस्य सर्व्वकार्यार्थसाधनम् ॥५॥
ताभिर्व्याप्तमिदं सर्व्वं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
पशूनां पतयश्चैव ताभिर्व्याप्ता न संशयः ॥६॥
दक्षिणाधिष्टितः कश्चिद्वामयाधिष्टितो ऽपरः ।
मध्यमाधिष्टितः कश्चित्त्रिधा जन्तुर्व्यवस्थितः ॥७॥
सत्वाधिकस्तथा कश्चित्कश्चिच्चैव रजोधिकः ।
तमोधिकस्तथा कश्चिच्छक्तिभेदेन संस्थितः ॥८॥
दक्षिणाधिष्टितः शुद्ध मिश्रो वामाश्रयस्तथा ।
अशेषमलसन्दोहरञ्जितो मध्यमाश्रयः ॥९॥
अनेकजन्मकर्मा ये कोशिकार इवावृतः ।
तत्सिद्धिभाजनो यस्तु सर्व्वकामविवर्जितः ॥१०॥
मुक्तिमात्रं समाप्नोति शक्तिपाता प्रचोदितः ।
मध्यमा शोधितः शक्त्या नाद्यशक्ति कदाचन ॥११॥
बहिर्व्रीहितुषेणैव विश्लि[→*f.*188*v*]ष्टस्ताण्डुलो यथा ।
किञ्चिच्छेषमलावस्थो वामाश्रयसमुद्भवः ॥१२॥
तुषकाम्बूकरहितो निर्मलो क्षालनादिना ।
पाकमात्रक्रियापेक्षी विशुद्धो दक्षिणाश्रयः ॥१३॥
पृच्छकाश्रयभेदेन तन्त्राणां कीर्त्तनं कृतम् ।

6a ताभिर्] AB; ताभि D ◆ सर्व्वं] AB; सर्वं D 6c पतयश्] B; पतयस् A; पतयं D 6d व्याप्ता] *conj.*; व्याप्त A; व्याप्तं B; व्याप्ते D 7b °धिष्ठितो ऽपरः] AB^{ac}; °धिष्ठितः परः B^{pc}; °धिष्ठितापरः D 7d जन्तुर्] B; जन्तु AD ◆ व्यवस्थितः] AB^{pc}D; व्यवस्थितम् B^{ac} 8a सत्वा°] AB; सर्व्वा° D 8b कश्चिच्] B; कश्चिश् AD ◆ रजोधिकः] B; रजाधिकः AD 9b °श्रयस्] B^{pc}; °स्त्रयस् AD; °–यस् B^{ac} 9d रञ्जितो] B; रंजितो AD 11c शोधितः] B; सोधितः AD 11d नाद्यशक्ति] AB^{ac}D; नाशक्तिः B^{pc}; नाधो याति *conj.* (Sanderson) ◆ कदाचन] B; कदाचनः AD 12a बहिर्] B; बहि AD ◆ °तुषेणैव] B^{pc}; °तुसेनैव AD; °तुषेनैव B^{ac} 12b ताण्डुलो] AB; ताण्डुला D 13a तुष°] AD; तुषः B 13b निर्मलो] A; निर्मलः B; निर्मला D 14b तन्त्राणां] B; तन्त्रानां AD

शुद्धाशुद्धविमिश्रेभ्यः तृभिः स्रोत्रैर्यथाक्रमम् ।
विनिर्ग्गतानि तन्त्राणि ज्ञानोघाद्भाषितानि तु ॥१४॥
नो भिन्नं सर्व्वथा ज्ञानं क्रियाभेदे स्थितानि तु ।
शुद्धाशुद्धविमिश्रेषु तन्त्राणि वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥१५॥
ज्ञानोघः परमो यस्तु तृभिः स्रोत्रैर्विनिर्ग्गतः ।
वामदक्षिणमध्यस्थो नानाभेदव्यवस्थितः ॥१६॥
सप्त कोट्यास्तु मन्त्राणां दक्षिणाया विनिर्ग्गताः ।
तमाशृत्य क्रियाभेदे नानातन्त्रप्रविस्तरैः ॥१७॥
तत्रापि आश्रयो भिन्नः शुद्धाशुद्धविमिश्रितः ।
दक्षिणास्रोत्रमार्गेण क्रियाभेदव्यवस्थितम् ॥१८॥
चतुःपीठं समुत्पन्नं तन्त्रं भैरवसंज्ञितम् ।
दक्षिणास्रोत्रसंभूतं सर्व्वंमस्माद्विनिर्ग्गतम् ॥१९॥
वामस्रोता तथा चैव वामतन्त्रादिको गणः ।
सप्तकोटिस्तु मन्त्राणां तेषामधिपतिस्तु सः ।

14 Cf. *BraYā* 1.41: पृच्छकाश्रयभेदेन क्रियाभेदविभागशः । शुद्धाशुद्धेन मार्गेण असत्वेन च सुव्रते । विस्तारितानि तन्त्राणि ज्ञात्वा सदाशिवःपदात् ॥ 14–18 Cf. *BraYā* 31.63–64: एतज्ज्ञानं [*corr.*; एत ज्ञानं A] महादेवि ज्ञानोघात्सारपूजितम् [*em.*; ज्ञानोघोच्चार° A] । अशुद्धाश्रयभेदेन मुनिभि ज्ञानभावितैः ॥६३॥ विस्तारितानि शास्त्राणि [*corr.*; सास्त्राणि A] शिवरुद्रादिभेदतः । नानातन्त्रप्रविस्तारैः सिवज्ञानमहोदयम् ॥६४॥

14c °विमिश्रेभ्यः] B; °विमिस्रेभ्यः AD 14d तृभिः] AD; त्रिभिः B ◆ स्रोत्रैर्] *corr.*; स्रोत्रै AD; श्रोत्रैर् B 14f ज्ञानोघाद्°] AD; ज्ञानौघाद्° B ◆ भाषितानि] ABD*pc*; भासितानि D*ac* 15a नो भिन्नं] *conj.*; नाभिन्नं ABD 15b °भेदे] AD; °भेद° B 15c °विमिश्रेषु] B; °विमिस्रेषु AD 16a ज्ञानोघः] AD; ज्ञानौघः B ◆ परमो] AB; परमा D 16b तृभिः] AD; त्रिभिः B ◆ स्रोत्रैर्] A; श्रोत्रैर् B; स्रोत्रै D 16d °व्यवस्थितः] *em.*; व्यवस्थिताः ABD 17a कोट्यास्तु] AB*pc*; कोट्यस्तु B*ac*; कोट्या– D 17c आशृत्य] AD; आश्रित्य B 18c °स्रोत्र°] AD; °श्रोत्र° B 18d °भेद° AD; °भदं B ◆ °व्यवस्थितम्] B; °व्यवस्थितः AD 19c °स्रोत्र°] AB*ac*D; °श्रोत° B*pc* 19d सर्वंमस्माद्] AB; सर्वमस्माद्] D 20a °स्रोता] AD; °श्रोत्रा B 20b °दिको गणः] *conj.*; °दिके गुणः ABD

चतुष्कयागमार्ग्गेण क्रियाभेदप्रविस्तरः ॥२०॥
मध्यमस्रोत्रसम्भूतमेतन्मन्त्रगणन्तथा ।
†सा तत्र जगजानान्तु† अस्या एव विनिर्ग्गतम् ॥२१॥
सार्द्धकोटित्रयन्देवि मन्त्राणां परिसंख्यया ।
मध्यमस्रोत्रसम्भूतो एवं वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥२२॥
नवाष्टकं तथावाप्य सर्वसिद्धान्तजातकम् ।
क्रियामन्त्रप्रभेदेन संस्थितं वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥२३॥
अष्टाविंशतिभेदेन भेदितश्च तथा पुनः ।
शाखोपशाखभेदेन प्रभिन्नं विस्तरेण तु ॥२४॥
कथितानि कथिष्यन्ति श्रीकण्ठाद्या गुरूस्तथा ।
शिवभेदस्थितानि स्युः कामिकाद्वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥२५॥
रुद्रभेदेन चान्यानि संस्थितानि तथैव च ।
यत्र भेदे शिवो याज्यः शिवभेदस्तु सः स्मृतः ॥२६॥
अष्टाष्टकविभागेन यानि तन्त्राणि सुव्रते ।
स्थितानि रुद्रभेदेन तथा संपरिकीर्त्तितम् ॥२७॥
रौद्रया चोदितेनाथ श्रीकण्ठेन महायशे ।
दक्षिणेन तु वक्त्रेण दक्षिणास्रोत्रसंभवम् ॥२८॥
चतुःपीठप्रभेदेन शुद्धाशुद्धविभेदितं । [→*f.*189*r*]

20e चतुष्क°] D; चतुष्के AB 20f °प्रविस्तरः AD; °प्रविस्तरम् B 21a °स्रोत्र°] AB^{ac}D; °श्रोत° B^{pc} 21b एतन्] AB; एतत् D 21c सा] AB; मा D 22c मध्यम°] *em.*; मध्यमे ABD ◆ स्रोत्र°] AB^{ac}D; श्रोत° B^{pc} ◆ °सम्भूतो] *em.*; °सम्भूता ABD 23a नवाष्टकं] B; नवाष्टक AD ◆ °वाप्य] B^{pc}; °वाप्यः AB^{ac}D 24c शाखोपशाख°] B; साखोपसाख° A; माखोपसाख° D 25b गुरूस्] *conj.*; गुरुस् ABD 25c °भेद°] AB; °भदे D 25d कामिकाद्] AB; कामिका D 26c यत्र] *corr.*; य⟨त्र/न्त्र⟩ A; यंत्र°B; पन्त्र° D ◆ शिवो याज्यः] AB; शिवा यो?ज्यः? D 27b तन्त्राणि] B; तंत्रानि A; तंत्रा⟨नि⟩$^{err.}$D 28b महायशे] B; महायसे A; महायमे D 28d °स्रोत्र°] AD; °श्रोत्र° B ◆ °संभवम्] *em.*; °संभवः ABD 29a चतुः°] D; चतु° A; चतुष्° B

पृच्छकाश्रयभेदेन बहुधा संव्यवस्थितम् ॥२९॥
विद्याश्रितानि यानि स्यु विद्यापीठम्वरानने ।
मन्त्राशृतानि यानि स्यु मन्त्रपीठन्तथैव च ॥३०॥
मुद्राशृतानि यानि स्यु मुद्रापीठास्तु सुव्रते ।
मण्डलापीठकानि स्यु मण्डलं पीठ उच्यते ।
विनिर्ग्गतानि तन्त्राणि क्रियाभेदेन चैव हि ॥३१॥
स्वच्छन्दभैरवं देवि क्रोधभैरवमेव च ।
उन्मत्तभैरवं देवि तथा चैवोग्रभैरवम् ॥३२॥
कपालीभैरवं चैव तथा झङ्कारभैरवम् ।
शेखरश्च तथा चैव विजयभैरवमेव च ॥३३॥
रुद्रयामलमन्यश्च तथा वै स्कन्दयामलम् ।
ब्रह्मयामलकं चैव विष्णुयामलमेव च ॥३४॥
यमयामलकं चान्यं वायुयामलमेव च ।
कुबेरयामलं चैव इन्द्रयामलमेव च ॥३५॥
भैरवाष्टकमेतद्धि विद्यापीठाद्विनिर्ग्गतम् ।
यामलानि तथा चाष्टौ निर्ग्गतानि न संशयः ॥३६॥

34–42 Cf. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.15–19: अस्मात्तन्त्रवरामेता निर्गता योगिनीमुखात् । वीराख्यं सिद्धसारं च पञ्चामृतमतः परम् ॥१५॥ विश्वाद्यं योगिनीजालं कालाख्यं खेचरं तथा । साधनं सवरं चैव तिलकं हृदयं परम् ॥१६॥ विद्यापीठं शिरच्छेदं महासंमोहनं तथा । नयोत्तरं महारौद्रं रुद्रयामलमेव च ॥१७॥ ब्रह्मयामलमन्यं च तथान्यं विष्णुयामलम् । स्कन्दयामलमेवं च उमायामलमेव च ॥१८॥ एवमाद्यास्तु ये तन्त्राश्चतुःषष्टिविभेदिताः । निर्गता इह चण्डाक्षि सिद्धयोगेश्वरीमते ॥१९॥

30a स्यु] AD; स्युर् B 30c °शृतानि] AD; °श्रितानि B ◆ स्यु] AD; स्युर् B 30d °पीठन्] *conj.*; °पीठा A; °पीठास् B; °पी⟨ठे⟩ D 31a °शृतानि] AD; °श्रितानि B ◆ स्यु] AD; स्युर् B 31b °पीठास्] AB; °पीठस् D 31c स्यु] AD; स्युर् B 31e तन्त्राणि] B; तन्त्रानि AD 32d °भैग्वम्] *em.*; °भैरवः ABD 33b °भैरवम्] *em.*; °भैरवः ABD 33c शेखरश्च] B; सेखरश्च AD 34a °मन्यश्च] AB; °मन्यश्च D 34b स्कन्द°] *em.* (Sanderson); कन्द° ABD 36a °वाष्टकम्] *em.*; °वाष्टष्टम्° A; °वाष्टाष्टम्° B; °वाष्टेषु D 36b °पीठाद्] AB; °पीठ° D

चतुर्भेदविभिन्नानि शृणुष्वेकाग्रमानसा ।
चतुष्कषट्कभेदस्तु सप्तकं नवकं तथा ॥३७॥
प्रपञ्चयोगिनीजालं योगिनीजालमेव च ।
योगिनीहृदयश्चैव सिद्धा वै मन्त्रमालिनी ॥३८॥
अघोरेशी तथा चैव अघोरेश्वरिमेव च ।
क्रीडाघोरेश्वरी चैव लाकिनीकल्पमेव च ॥३९॥
मारी चैव महामारी उग्रविद्यागणस्तथा ।
बहुरूपौ द्विधा चैव अघोरास्त्रं तथैव च ॥४०॥
तन्त्राण्येतानि देवेशि विद्यापीठाद्विनिर्ग्गताः ।
वीरो ऽथ भैरवश्चैव तथा वै चण्डभैरवः ॥४१॥
गुडिकाभैरवश्चैव महावीरेशभैरवः ।
एतानि मन्त्रपीठानि निर्गतानि न संशयः ॥४२॥
यावन्मन्त्रगणो देवि भुक्तिमुक्तिफलप्रदः ।
ज्ञानोघा निर्ग्गतो ज्ञेयो क्रियाभेदे व्यवस्थितः ।
मन्त्रपीठाद्विनिष्क्रान्त एवम्वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥४३॥
मन्त्रमार्गानुसारेण मुद्राभेदसहस्रशः ।
सर्व्वस्रोत्रविभागेन मुद्रा मन्त्रविवर्जिताः ॥४४॥
मुद्रापीठे विनिष्क्रान्ताः शिवरुद्रादिभेदतः ।
मण्डलानि तु यानि स्युः सर्व्वतन्त्रेषु सुव्रते ॥४५॥
शिवभेदे तथा चैव रुद्रभेदे तथैव च ।

38d वै] AB; – D   40c बहु°] AB; ब्रह्म° D   41a तन्त्राण्य्] B; तन्त्रान्य् AD   41c भैरवश्] AB; भैरवंश् D   41d °भैरवः] ABD*pc*; °भैवरवः D*ac*   42a गुडिका°] *em.*; गुडका° ABD ◆ °भैरवश्] *em.*; °भैरवाश् ABD   42d संशयः] BD; शन्सयः A   43a यावन्] AB; यावत् D ◆ °गणो] B; °गणौ AD   43c ज्ञानोघा] AD; ज्ञानोघान् B ◆ निर्ग्गतो] *em.*; निर्ग्गता ABD ◆ ज्ञेयो] AD; ज्ञेया B   43d भेदे] AD; भेद° B   43e °पीठाद्] AB; °पीठेद् D   44b °सहस्रशः] B; °सहस्रसः AD*pc*; °सहस्रकसः D*ac*   44c °स्रोत्र°] AB*ac*D; °श्रोत° B*pc*

सर्वाण्णि म[→*f.*189*v*]ण्डलापीठा निर्गतानि न संशयः ॥४६॥
सर्व्वकामिकमाद्यन्तु तथा योगोद्भवं प्रिये ।
अचिन्त्यं कारणं चैव अजितश्च तथापरम् ॥४७॥
दीप्ताभं चैव सूक्षश्च साहस्रश्च तथैव च ।
अंशुमां सुप्रभं चैव शिवभेदाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥४८॥
मध्यमस्रोत्रसंभूता ऊर्द्धवक्त्राद्विनिर्गताः ।
विजयं चैव निश्वासं स्वायंभुवमतः परम् ॥४९॥
वाथुलं चन्द्रहासश्च रौरवं माकुटं तथा ।
वीरेशश्च तथाग्नेयं ततः ऊर्द्धं निबोधतः ॥५०॥
चन्द्रज्ञानश्च बिम्बश्च प्रोद्गीतं ललितन्तथा ।
सिद्धिं सन्तानकं चैव शर्व्वोद्गीतमतः परम् ॥५१॥
किरणश्च महादेवि पारमेश्वरमेव च ।
रुद्रभेदाः समाख्याताः शक्तिमच्छक्त्यधिष्ठिताः ॥५२॥

47–48 Cf. *Niśvāsakārikā, Dīkṣottara* 4.18–21b (text as constituted in appendix C): सार्वकामिकमित्येव प्रोवाच भगवान्शिवः । योगोद्भवेति रुद्रेण पुनरेव प्रकीर्तितम् ॥१८॥ †देव्यायणं यदा† ज्ञानमचिन्त्येति प्रकीर्तितम् । कारणं भगवान्ब्रह्मा अजितेति जनार्दनः ॥१९॥ दीप्ताभेति तथाग्निश्च वायुः सूक्ष्मेति वै पुनः । सहस्रांशेति धर्माय अंशुमानिति भास्करः ॥२०॥ सुप्रभश्चन्द्रमाः प्रोक्तो दशतन्त्रप्रकाशकः । 49c–52b Cf. *Niśvāsakārikā, Dīkṣottara* 4.26c–29b: विजयं प्रथमं तेषां निश्वासं तदनन्तरम् ॥२६॥ स्वायंभुवमतश्चैव वातुलं तदनन्तरम् । वीरभद्रमिति ख्यातं रौरवं माकुटं तथा ॥२७॥ विमलं चन्द्रभासश्च ज्ञानश्च मुखबिम्बकम् । प्रोद्गीतं ललितश्चैव सिद्धिं सन्तानमेव च ॥२८॥ शर्वोद्गीतश्च विज्ञेयं किरणं पारमेश्वरम् ।

47a °कामिकम्] AB; °कामिक D 48a शूक्ष्मश्च] AD; सूक्ष्मं च B 48c अंशुमां] *em.*; अंशुमा ABD ◆ सुप्रभं] *corr.*; शुप्रभं ABD 49a °स्रोत्र°] AD; °श्रोत्र° B 49c निश्वासं] *corr.*; निस्वासं A; निःश्वासं B; विश्वासं D 50a वाथुलं] *em.*; वाथुले] AB; वाधुले D 50c तथाग्नेयं] *conj.*; तथा चान्यं A 50d ततः] AD; तत] B ◆ निबोधतः] AD; निबोधत B 51a बिम्बं] AB; विस्वं D 51c सिद्धिं] *em.*; सिद्धि° ABD 51d शर्व्वोद्गीतम्] *em.*; सर्व्वोद्गीतम् AB; सर्वाङ्गीतम् D 52d शक्तिमच्छक्त्य°] *em.*; शक्तिमाच्छक्त्य° A; शक्तिमाञ्छक्त्य° B; शक्तिमाच्छ⌈क–⌉° D; मध्यमाशक्त्य° *conj.* (Sanderson)

मन्त्रान्तरे तथा प्रोक्ता विद्याष्टदश संख्यया ।
तत्वभेदा महादेवि शिवज्ञानस्य संशृताः ॥५३॥
स्वर्लोकश्च भुवर्लोकं भूर्लोकं तु भुविस्तथा ।
आगतस्य महादेवि एते भेदाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥५४॥
रिषिभिस्तु महाभागैस्तन्त्रकल्पविभावितैः ।
शिवज्ञानं समाख्यातं एभिर्देवैर्न संशयः ॥५५॥
ईश्वरश्च महादेवी आदावेव हि सुव्रते ।
ब्रह्मा वै वीरभद्रश्च कुमारश्च तथापरः ॥५६॥
नन्दीश्वरस्तथा चैव महाकालस्तथैव च ।
नन्दीश्वरपिता चैव उशना च बृहस्पतिः ॥५७॥
दधीचिश्च कचश्चैव लकुलीशस्तथापरः ।
चण्डश्च शातपर्ण्णश्च सनत्कुमारमेव च ॥५८॥
विष्णुश्चैव महादेवि परमेश्वरमेव च ।

52c–55 Cf. *Niśvāsakārikā, Dīkṣottara* 4.21c–26b: शिवशक्तिमधिष्ठाय विभिन्नं वै पुनः स्थितः ॥२१॥ दशधा नामभेदेन लोकानां हितकाम्यया । एवमेव सुराः मर्वे शिवज्ञानस्य पारगाः ॥२२॥ अवतारं पुनश्चैव बहुधा परिकीर्तितम् । अस्यैव ज्ञानमुख्यम्य शिवज्ञानस्य सांप्रतम् ॥२३॥ †भेदमष्टतरं† प्रोक्तं तथाष्टादशधा पुनः । अष्टादशविधैर्भेदैः तत्र भेदैः पुनः स्थितः ॥२४॥ आजगाम सुवर्लोकं भुवर्लोकं क्रमागतः । तस्य भेदा भवन्त्येते संज्ञा च परिकीर्त्यते ॥२५॥ ऋषिभिस्तन्त्रकल्पज्ञैः विदितं तन्त्रमुत्तमम् । 56–59b ≈ *Niśvāsakārikā, Dīkṣottara* 4.29c–32b: ईश्वरः प्रथमः प्रोक्तो देवी च तदनन्तरम् ॥२९॥ ब्रह्मा च षण्मुखश्चैव वीरभद्रस्तथैव च । नन्दीश्वरो महाकाल उशनाश्चन्द्रमास्तथा ॥३०॥ बृहस्पतिः ममाख्यातो दधीची कच एव च । ललिता चैव चण्डश्च शातपर्णी तथैव च ॥३१॥ सनत्कुमारो विष्णुश्च परमेश्वर एव च ।

53a मन्त्रा°] AD; मंन्त्रा° B 53d संशृताः] AD; संश्रिताः B 54a स्वर्लोकश्च] *em.*; स्वर्लोकश्च AD; स्वर्लोकंश्च B 55a रिषिभिस्] AD; ऋषिभिस् B 55b तन्त्र°] AD; तत्र B 56a ईश्वरश्च] AD; ईश्वरश्च B ◆ महादेवी] *em.*; महादेवि ABD 56b आदावेव] AB; आ––व D 56d कुमारश्च] *em.*; कुमारश्च ABD ◆ °परः] A; °परम् B; °परं D 57d उशना] B; उसना AD ◆ बृहस्पतिः] B; बृहस्पति AD 58a दधीचिश्] AB; दधीचिञ् D ◆ कचश्] AB; कचंश् D 58b °परः] AB[pc]D; °–– B[ac] 58c शात°] *corr.*; सात° AB; मात° D 58d °मेव च] AB; ⟨म–⟨व च D 59a विष्णुश्] BD; विष्णुस् A

ईश्वरो विजयोवाच देवी निश्वासमेव च ॥५९॥
ब्रह्मा स्वायम्भुवञ्चैव वीरभद्रस्तथैव च ।
वीरभद्रं महादेवि प्रोवाच विधिविस्तरम् ॥६०॥
आग्नेयश्च कुमारस्तु नन्दी रौरवमेव च ।
महाकालश्च माकोट्यं चन्द्रभासेति चन्द्रमाः ॥६१॥
वीरम्वैरुशना चैव ज्ञानं चाङ्गिरसस्तथा ।
मुखबिम्बं दधीचिश्च प्रोद्गीतं कच एव च ॥६२॥
ललितं ललिता चैव चण्डः सिद्धिं प्रभाषत ।
शातपर्णो च सन्तानं किरणं ब्रह्मणो ऽब्रवीत् ॥६३॥
शर्व्वोद्गीतं तथा चैव विष्णुः प्रोवाच सुव्रते ।
परमेश्वरस्तथा चैव पारमेश्वरमुक्तवान् ॥६४॥
एते तन्त्रप्रणेताराः शिवज्ञानस्य पारगाः ।
तथा चान्या महाभागाः कुमाराद्याः[→*f.* 190*r*] शचीपतिः॥६५॥
मन्त्रसिद्धास्तथा चैव ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः ।
मन्त्रकल्पविदो देवि शिवज्ञानस्य पारगाः ॥६६॥

65–68 ≈ *Niśvāsakārikā, Dīkṣottara* 4.37–39: एते तन्त्रप्रणेतारः शिवज्ञानस्य पारगाः । ते चाप्यन्ये महाभागाः कुमाराद्याश्शचीपतिः ॥३७॥ मन्त्रसिद्धास्तथा चान्ये ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः । मन्त्रभेदप्रणेतारो मन्त्रकल्पकरास्तथा ॥३८॥ एभिरेव शिवज्ञानं स्थापितं वसुधातले । नामभेदप्रसंख्यातमाराध्य पारमेश्वरम् ॥३९॥

59d निश्वासम्] *em.*; विम्वासम् A; विश्वासम् BD **60a** °भुवञ्] *em.*; °भुवश् AB; °भुवंश् D **61a** आग्नेयश्च] AB; आगेयश्च D **61c** महाकालश्च] *em.*; महाकालं च ABD **61d** चन्द्रमाः] *em.*; चन्द्रमा ABD **62a** वीरम्वैरुशना] *conj.*; वीरम्वौन्दुसना A; वीरं वौन्दुशना B; वीरम्वौन्दुमना D **62b** चाङ्गिरसम्] *corr.*; चाङ्गिरशस् AD; चाङ्गिरसं B **62c** °बिम्बं] *em.*; °बिम्ब AB; °विस्व D ◆ दधीचिश्च] AB; दधीतिश्च D **63b** चण्डः] *corr.*; चण्ड ABD ◆ सिद्धिं प्रभाषत] *conj.*; सिद्धिप्रभाषतः ABD **63c** शातपर्णो] *conj.*; सातपर्णा ABD **63d** ब्रह्मणो] *em.*; ब्रह्म यो ABD **64a** शर्व्वोद्गीतं] *corr.*; सर्व्वोद्गीतं AB; सर्वाङ्गीतं D **64b** विष्णुः] *corr.*; विष्णु ABD **64c** परमेश्वरस्] AB; परमेश्वर D **65c** °भागाः] *corr.*; °भागा ABD **65d** कुमाराद्याः] *corr.*; कुमाराद्या ABD ◆ शचीपतिः] B; ⟨सची⟩पति A; सरीपति D **66c** °विदो] AB; °विदा D

मन्त्रपीठात्समाकृष्य मन्त्रभेदैरनेकधा ।
शिवरुद्रविभागेन शिवज्ञानं प्रकाशितम् ॥६७॥
स्थापितश्च महादेवि एतैरेव महीतले ।
कोटिकोटिसहस्रैश्च मन्त्राणां परिसंख्यया ॥६८॥
प्रकाशितानि तन्त्राणि मण्डलैः संयुतानि तु ।
देवासुरास्तथा दैत्या विद्याधरगणास्तथा ॥६९॥
किन्नराप्सरसाश्चैव तथा किंपुरुषादपि ।
गन्धर्व्वयक्षरक्षाश्च पिशाचाः पन्नगास्तथा ॥७०॥
मनुष्या यातुधानाश्च ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः ।
सर्व्वे ते मन्त्रसिद्धास्तु तेषामायुस्तु मन्त्रजा ॥७१॥
मन्त्रजाप्यविधानेन सर्व्वे ते साधकाः स्मृताः ।
परतत्वं ततो ज्ञात्वा मुक्तिस्तेषां न संशयः ॥७२॥
मध्यया प्रेरितेनाथ ऊर्द्धवक्त्रेण सुव्रते ।
सर्व्वमेतत्समाख्यातं त्रिविधाश्रयभेदितम् ॥७३॥
वामया प्रेरितेनाथ वामवक्त्रेण चैव हि ।
शुद्धाशुद्धविमिश्रेषु चतुष्काशृतकानि तु ॥७४॥

68–72 Cf. *Niśvāsakārikā, Dīkṣottara* 4.78–82b: शिवप्रोक्ताः स्मृता ह्येते मन्त्रकल्पा बहु स्मृताः ॥७८॥ अनित्यानां च भूतानां दृष्ट्वा लोकानिमान्पुरा । †–तत्त्वं याति संज्ञाश्च† विद्यातत्त्वं शिवात्मकम् ॥७९॥ देवासुरमनुष्याश्च मन्त्रसिद्धाश्च ये स्मृताः । गन्धर्वयक्षरक्षाश्च पिशाचा ऋषयस्तथा ॥८०॥ सर्वे ते मन्त्रसिद्धास्तु तेषामायुस्तु मन्त्रजा । मन्त्रजापेन सिद्धास्तु सर्वे ते साधकाः स्मृताः ॥८१॥ तत्त्वं विज्ञाय मुक्तिस्तु सत्यमेतन्महेश्वरि ।

67b भेदैरनेकधा] *conj.*; °भेदारणेकधाः AD; °भेदाननेकधा B 68d °संख्यया] BD[ac]; °संख्ययाः AD[pc] 69a तन्त्राणि] B; तन्त्रानि AD 69c °सुरास्] *em.*; °सुरस् ABD 70a किन्नरा°] AB; किन्नरो° D 70b °पुरुषाद्] AB; °पुरुषोद् D 70d पिशाचाः] B; पिशाचा AD 71a मनुष्या यातु°] AB; मनुयातु° D 71d °आयुस्] AB; °आप्रस् D 72b साधकाः] B[pc]D; साधका AB[ac] 73a मध्यया] AD; मध्यमा° B 74b वामवक्त्रेण] BDA[pc]; वामक्त्रेण A[ac] 74c °विमिश्रेषु] B; °विमिस्रेषु AD 74d °शृतकानि] *corr.*; °सृतकानि AD; °श्रितकानि B

सन्मोहश्च तथा प्रोक्तं नयश्चैव नयोत्तरम् ।
शौक्रश्चैव तथा प्रोक्तं वामस्रोत्राद्विनिर्ग्गतम्
एतेषां बहवो भेदाः †संश्रिता निर्गमे† स्थिताः ॥७५॥
मध्यमाचोदितेनाथ ऊर्द्धवक्त्रेण चैव हि ।
प्रकाशितानि तन्त्राणि त्रिविधे ऽपि हि साधके ॥७६॥
वाममध्यमया चैव चोदितेन तथैव हि ।
पश्चिमेन तु वक्त्रेण भाषितानि तृधाश्रयाः ॥७७॥
वाममध्यमया चैव चोदितेन तथैव च ।
उक्तानि पूर्व्ववक्त्रेण वेदादीनि तथाश्रयाः ॥७८॥
त्रिविधाश्रयवशा देवि पृच्छकेच्छा यथाक्रमम् ।
पूर्व्ववक्त्रेण चोक्तानि पूर्व्वाग्नेयदिशाशृतम् ।
अष्टकं तु समाशृत्य रुद्रभेदस्थितानि तु ॥७९॥
दक्षिणेन तु वक्त्रेण दक्षनैरितके ऽष्टके ।
संस्थितानि हि तन्त्राणि रुद्रभेदे न संशयः ॥८०॥
पश्चिमेन तु वक्त्रेण पश्चिमानिलकाष्टके ।

75a–d Cf. *Jñānapañcāśikā* 22cd: नयं नयोत्तरं मूकं संमोहं मोहनामृतम्; cf. *Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya* 2.121: नयं नयोत्तरं मूकं मोहनं मोहनामृतम् । करपूजाविधानं तु वीणातन्त्रं तदुत्तरम् ॥; cf. *BraYā* 77.92 (see §1.9.2, n. 92): भैरवे तु नये चैव शौक्रे चैव तु †साधकः† । महासंमोहवीणे च गुह्यतन्त्रे सुदुर्लभम् ॥.

75b नयञ्] *conj.*; भवा ABD; तथा *conj.* (Sanderson) 75c शौक्रञ्] *em.*; सौक्रश् A; शौक्रश् B^{pc}; –क्रश् B^{ac}; सोक्रं D 75d °स्रोत्राद्] AD; °श्रोत्राद् B 75e एतेषां] AB; ए⟨–⟩ए⟨⟩षां D 75f संशृता] AD; संश्रिता B 76b °वक्त्रेण] BD; °वक्त्रेन A 76c प्रकाशितानि] B; प्रकासितानि AD 77c वक्त्रेण] AB; वक्त्रे⟨न⟩$^{err.}$ D 77d तृधाश्रयाः] *em.*; तृधाश्ध या AD; त्रिधाश्ध या B 78a °मया] AB; °मयां D 78d तथाश्रयाः] *em.*; तथाश्रया ABD 79a °श्रयवशा] *corr.*; °श्रयवसा AB; °श्रयसा D 79d °दिशाशृतम्] *conj.*; °दिसाशृतौ AD; °दिगाश्रितौ B 79e अष्टकं] *conj.*; अष्टकौ ABD ◆ समाशृत्य] AD; समाश्रित्य B 80b °नैरितके] AD; °नैर्ऋतके B 80c तन्त्राणि] B; तन्त्रानि AD 80d संशयः] BD; शंशयः A

आशृतानि च तन्त्राणि रुद्रभेदे न संशयः ॥८१॥
उत्तरेण तु वक्त्रेण उत्तरेशानकाष्टके ।
रुद्रभेदाशृतानि स्युरुक्तानि साधके[→f.190v]च्छया ॥८२॥
ऊर्द्धवक्त्रेण देवेशि त्रिविधाश्रयभेदतः ।
शिवभेदे स्थितानि स्युर्भाषितानि न संशयः ॥८३॥
चोदितेन तथा चैव वामदक्षिणमध्यया ।
अधस्रोतोस्थितानि स्युस्तन्त्राणि च तथा पुनः ॥८४॥
माकोटश्च विभूतिश्च अव्ययं च तथापरम् ।
रुद्रभेदस्थितानि स्युर्कालाग्न्ये ऽधिष्ठितानि तु ॥८५॥
तन्त्रत्रयमधस्रोतनिर्गतं वरवर्णिननि ।
माकोटे तन्त्रकानि स्यु यानि तानि शृणुष्व मे ॥८६॥
नारसिंहविधानन्तु निधानक्षेत्रकल्पकाः ।
विवरान्तर्गताः कल्पा वाराहस्य विधिस्तथा ॥८७॥
पञ्चरात्रविधानन्तु वैकुण्ठस्य विधिस्तथा ।
कुलाचारसमोपेता एवं वै भैरवो ऽब्रवीत् ॥८८॥
गरुडस्य विधानन्तु भूततन्त्रादिको गणः ।
ओषधीकल्पजातश्च रसायनविधिस्तथा ॥८९॥

81c आशृतानि] A; आश्रितानि B; आसृतानि D 81d न संशयः] *conj.*; न चाश्रया ABD 82b °शानका°] *corr.*; °सानका° A; ° शानको B; °मानका° D 82c °शृतानि] AD; °श्रितानि B 83b °श्रय°] BD; °स्रय° A 83c स्थितानि] AB; स्थि D 83d संशयः] B; शन्सयः AD 84b °मध्यया] AB; °मध्ययो D 84c अध°] AD; अधः° B • °स्रोतो°] *conj.*; °स्रोता ABD 84d तन्त्राणि] *corr.*; तंत्राणि ABD 85b अव्ययं] *conj.*; अध्ययं ABD 85c स्युर्] AD; स्युः] B 85d कालाग्न्ये] *corr.*; कालाग्ने ABD 86a °मधस्रोत°] *conj.*; °मथ स्रोत° AB; °मथस्रो– D 86c माकोटे] AB; माकोट° D • स्यु] AD; स्युर् B 87a °सिंह°] BD; °सिन्ह° A 87b निधानक्षेत्रकल्पकाः] *conj.*; विधानं क्षेत्रकल्पना ABD 89b गणः] *conj.*; गुणाः AD; गुणः B 89c ओषधी°] AD; औषधी° B 89d रसायनविधिस्°] B; रसायनविधिःस् A; रसायेन विधिःस् D

पञ्च मन्त्रशतानि स्युश्चतुर्मूर्त्तिस्थितानि तु ।
माकुटं तु समाख्यातं कालाग्न्ये संप्रचोदितम् ॥९०॥
आदिमो ज्ञानसन्दोहस्त्रिभिः स्रोत्रैर्विनिर्गतः ।
सदाशिवेन देवेन श्रीकण्ठाय प्रभाषितम् ॥९१॥
सपादज्ञानसन्दोहः श्रीकण्ठेन महायशे ।
दशस्रोत्रविभागेन भाषितं साधकेच्छया ॥९२॥
कोटिकोटिप्रविस्तारैः कल्पकल्पसहस्रकैः ।
प्रचोदितो महादेवि तद्विदैर्बहुधा पुनः ॥९३॥
इति ब्रह्मयामले स्रोत्रनिर्ण्णयपटलः एकूनचत्वारिंशतिमः ॥

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90 ≈ *Niśvāsakārikā, Dīkṣottara* 4.60c–61: पञ्च मन्त्रशता ज्ञेयाश्चतुर्मूर्तिव्यवस्थिताः ॥६०॥ मकुटेति समाख्यातो निधनक्षेत्रवादिभिः । बिलान्तर्गतकल्पैश्च [*conj.*] ऋषिभिः सेव्यते सदा ॥६१॥ 91–93 Cf. *BraYā* 33.320c–31 (quoted in §2.4 [n. 96]); cf. *BraYā* 1.39c–42: परापरेण देवेन श्रीकण्ठाय प्रभाषितम् ॥३९॥ अस्मा ज्ञाना महादेवि श्रीकण्ठेन हिताय वै । कोटिकोटिप्रविस्तारैर्लोकानां हितकाम्यया ॥४०॥ पृच्छकाश्रयभेदेन क्रियाभेदविभागशः । शुद्धाशुद्धेन मार्गेण असत्वेन च सुव्रते । विस्तारितानि तन्त्राणि ज्ञात्वा सदाशिवःपदात् ॥४१॥ अयन्तु ज्ञानसन्दोहं स्वरूपावस्थितं प्रिये । सपादलक्षसंख्यातं मया ज्ञातं यथार्थतः ॥४२॥

90d कालाग्न्ये] AD; कालाग्ने B 91a आदिमो] AB^{ac}; आदि(म–(B^{pc}; आदिमा D ◆ सन्दोहस्] *em.*; सन्देहम् ABD 91b स्रोत्रैर्] AD; श्रोत्रैर् B 92a सन्दोहः] *em.*; सन्देहः AD; सन्देह B 92b °यशे] B; °यसे A; °यमे D 92c °स्रोत्र°] AD; °श्रोत्र° B Colophon: °स्रोत्र°] AD; °श्रोत्र° B ◆ °पटलः एकून°] AD; °पटलैकोन° B ◆ °तिमः] AB; °तिसः D

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ब्रह्मयामले असिधारव्रतपटलश्चतुर्विंशतिमः

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि असिधारव्रतम्महान् ।
सर्व्वसिद्धिप्रदं प्रोक्तं सर्वयोगिनिपूजितम् ॥१॥
पूर्व्वलक्षणसंयुक्तां योषितां सुरतोच्छुकाम् ।
अतीवरूपसंपन्नां नवयौवनदर्प्पिताम् ॥२॥
हास्यलास्यविलासिन्यां विभ्रमादिविधानकाम् ।
वस्त्रालङ्कारसंपन्नां सर्व्वाभरणभूषिताम् ॥३॥
हारकेयूरमाणिक्यमुक्तावलिसुसंस्थिताम् ।

CODICES: A: *ff.* 190*v*–191*r* (NGMPP reel no. A42/6 exposures 195 upper–196 upper); B: *ff.* 193*v*–194*v*; D: *ff.* 193*v*–194*r*

2–7 Cf. *BraYā* 45.186c–89b: गुरुमादेशसम्प्राप्ता शोभना लक्षणान्विता ॥१८६॥ जितासना महासत्त्वा तन्त्रसद्भावभाविता । गुरुदेवपतिभक्ता क्षुत्पिपासाजितश्रमा ॥१८७॥ अद्वैतवासिता नित्यं निर्विकल्पा ह्यलोलुपा । समाधिज्ञाथ योगज्ञा ज्ञानज्ञा संशितव्रता [*em.*; शंसृत° A; संश्रित° Ed.] ॥१८८॥ तामवाप्य महाप्राज्ञो [*corr.*; °प्राज्ञोः A, Ed.] कल्पोक्तं तु समाचरेत् ।

1b असि°] B; अशि° AD ◆ महान्] AB^{ac}D; महत् B^{pc} **1d** °पूजितम्] *em.* (SANDERSON); °पूजनम् ABD **2b** °च्छुकाम्] AD; °त्सुकाम् B **2d** °दर्प्पिताम्] AB^{pc}D; °गर्विताम् B^{ac} **3a** °विलासिन्यां] *em.*; °विलाशिन्या ABD **3b** °विधानकाम्] *em.*; °विधानकम् ABD **4a** °माणिक्य°] AB; °माणिक्यं D

यथाविभवसंप्राप्तां स्वल्पभूषणकापि वा ॥४॥
सुगन्धमाल्यालक्ताक्ता गन्धपङ्काङ्किता सदा ।
पीनोन्नतस्तनोपेतामाभोग[→*f.*191*r*]परिमण्डलाम् ॥५॥
चूचुका स्रग्दामशोभा सघना तु पयोधरा ।
भक्ताञ्चैवानुरक्ताञ्च वलयामुत्तमोत्तमा ॥६॥
प्रकृत्या शीलसम्पन्नां विदग्धाञ्च विलासिनीम् ।
राजानयोषिताम्वापि अन्यवर्ण्णगतामपि ॥७॥
तादृग्विधोपभोगैश्च आत्मानं समलङ्करेत् ।
वामपार्श्वे स्थितायान्तु बहिन्यासन्तु कारयेत् ॥८॥
शरीरे हस्तयोर्वर्ज्यं स्वयागोत्थं विधानवित् ।
हृद्यागपूर्व्वकं न्यासं तथात्मनि विकल्पयेत् ॥९॥
चुम्बनालिङ्गनं कृत्वा बहिर्न्यासन्तु कारयेत् ।
शक्तिपीठे न्यासं कृत्वा आसने स्थापये तु ताम् ।

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4 Cf. *BraYā* 45.378: नानाभरणसंयुक्तौ माणिक्यादिभि भूषितौ । अलाभे मणिमुक्तानां यथासंभवभूषणैः ॥ 8c–10 Cf. *BraYā* 24.84: तस्या न्यासं महाप्राज्ञो तावत्कालम्विचक्षणः । हृद्यागमात्मनः कृत्वा क्षोभं तस्याः [*em.*; तस्य A] समाचरेत् ॥ 9cd Cf. *BraYā* 34.294cd: हृद्यागं पूर्व्ववत्कृत्वा बहिन्यासं तथैव च ॥

5a °माल्यालक्ताक्ता] *conj.*; °कालाकाला तु ABD 5b गन्ध°] AB; ‹गृंध›° D ◆ °पङ्काङ्किता सदा] ABD*pc*; °पङ्काङ्कितानि तु D*ac* 5d आभोग°] *conj.* (Acharya); आभाम° AB; मोभास° D ◆ °मण्डलाम्] B; °मण्डलाः AD 6a स्रग्दाम°] B; श्रद्दाम° AD ◆ °शोभा] B; °मोभा AD 6b सघना] A; सव्येन B; –घना D 6c भक्ताञ्] *em.*; भक्ताम् A; भक्ताश् BD ◆ °रक्ताञ्च] *em.*; °रक्ताश्च ABD 7b विदग्धाञ्च] *em.*; विदग्धा च ABD ◆ विलासिनीम्] *em.*; विलासिनी AD; विलाशिनी B 7c राजान°] *em.* (Sanderson); राजानं ABD ◆ °योषिताम्] AD; °योषितं B 8a °भोगैश्च] *em.*; °भोगश्च ABD 8b समलङ्करेत्] AB; मसलङ्करेत् D 8c °पार्श्वे] BD; °पार्स्वे A 8d बहि] AD; बहिर् B 9a वर्ज्यं] B; व‹र्ज्यं› A; व‹क्षं› D 9b °यागोत्थं] AB; °यागोस्थं D 9c हृद्याग°] *conj.*; गृहयाग° (*unmet.*) ABD 10a °लिङ्गनं] B; °लिङ्गना AD 10b बहिर्°] B; बर्हि° AD 10d स्थापये] AD; स्थापयेत् B

चुम्बनालिङ्गनं कृत्वा लिङ्गं तत्र विनिक्षिपेत्॥१०॥
नित्यनैमित्तिकं काम्यं जपं कुर्यादवग्रहे।
निराचारपदावस्थो व्योमार्ण्णवनिसेवकः ॥११॥
प्रमादाद्यदि क्षोभो स्यात्स्वयमेव अकारितः।
जपेद्दशसहस्राणि तत्वयुक्तस्तु साधकः ॥१२॥
चुम्बनालिङ्गनैश्चैव शीत्कारैः सविलासकैः।
परतत्वावलोकी च क्षोभं नैव समाचरेत् ॥१३॥
आह्निकानान्तरालन्तु क्रियायाः प्रेरयेद्बुधः।
पूर्व्वोक्तेन विधानेन आह्निकानि तु कारयेत् ॥१४॥
मध्याह्ने चाह्निकं तत्र कर्त्तव्यं साधकेन तु।
तृतीयसवनं कृत्वा भोजनञ्च समारभेत् ॥१५॥
निवेदितन्तु देवीनां आमिषं चैव भक्षयेत्।
अन्योन्यमुखदानेन भक्षयेत विधानतो ॥१६॥
भक्षं भक्षयतो प्राज्ञो मुखामुखे न संशयः।
तृषितस्तु पिबेद्वारि शौचं नैव समाचरेत् ॥१७॥

10cd ≈ *BraYā* 45.262ab: चुम्बनालिङ्गनं कृत्वा लिङ्गन्तत्र प्रवेशयेत् 10c–12 Cf. *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, Guhyasūtra* 3.39c–40: चुम्बनालिङ्गनं कुर्याल्लिङ्गं स्थाप्य भगोपरि ॥३९॥ जपध्यानपरो भूत्वा अमिधागाव्रतं चरेत्। यदि कामवशं गच्छेत्पतते नरके ध्रुवम् ॥४०॥ 11ab Cf. *BraYā* 45.289: नित्यनैमित्तिकं कृत्वा आह्निकाद् [*conj.*; आह्निको A] आह्निकं बुधः। अवग्रहे जपं कार्यं मिध्यते शक्तिसंयुतः॥ 11cd ≈ *BraYā* 28.36ab, 28.42cd: अवधूतनिराचारो व्योमार्ण्णवनिसेवकः।

10f विनिक्षिपेत्] AD; विनिःक्षिपेत् B 11a नित्य°] AB[pc]D; नित्यं B[ac] 11c °वस्थो] AB; °वस्था D 11d °निसेवकः] AD; °निषेवकः B 12a क्षोभो] AD; क्षोभः B 12b एव अकारितः] AB; एवत्सुकारितः D 12d °युक्तस्तु] *em.*; °युक्तिस्तु ABD 13a °लिङ्गनैश्चैव] D; °लिङ्गनैस्चैव A; °लिङ्गनैश्च B 13d क्षोभं] *em.*; क्षोभो ABD 14a °न्तरालन्तु] AB; °न्तरालस्तु D 14b क्रियायाः] *corr.*; क्रियाया AD; क्रियायां B 15a मध्याह्ने] BD; मध्याने A ◆ चाह्निकं] BD; चांह्निकं A 15c °सवनं] AB; °सेवनं D 16d विधानतो] *em.*; विधानता AD; विधानतः B 17a भक्षयतो] AB[ac]D; भक्षयता B[pc] ◆ प्राज्ञो] *em.*; प्राज्ञ A; प्रोक्तं B; प्रोज्ञ D 17b संशयः] BD; शंशयः A 17d शौचं] B; सौचं AD

अभिषेकं तथा शक्ति बहि निष्क्रम्य कारयेत् ।
नित्यव्रतं तु निष्क्रम्य तया सार्द्धं समाचरेत् ॥१८॥
सखायैर्दूरसंस्थैस्तु वेष्टितः स्वायुधोद्यतैः ।
ध्यानं जपन्तथा कृत्वा देवागारं ततो व्रजेत् ॥१९॥
मौनी ध्यानपरो मन्त्री शक्तिवर्जं समाचरेत् ।
तया सह स्वपेन्मन्त्री एकत्रैवाश्रितो भुवि ॥२०॥
अन्योन्यालिङ्गनैर्नित्यं विलासादिभि चेष्टितैः ।
ताम्बूलं भक्षयेन्नित्यंमन्योन्यादानमाचरेत् ॥२१॥
सन्मुखौ तु स्वपेन्नित्यं न कदाचित्पराङ्मुखौ ।
क्षोभन्तु रक्षयेन्नित्यं निराचारपदे स्थितः ॥२२॥
स्वयं द्रुतो जपं कुर्या[→191v]द्दशसाहस्रकं बुधः ।
कामतो क्षोभमायाति प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् ॥२३॥
एकाहेनामैथुनेन मासेन वरवर्ण्णिनि ।
असिधारं पुनः कुर्यादसिधारव्रते विधौ ॥२४॥
मासमेकं चरेन्मन्त्री संयतो ध्यानतत्परः ।
मासेन खेचरास्तस्य आत्मानं दर्शयन्ति हि ॥२५॥
एवं मासन्तु सञ्चारी यः पुनः क्षोभमाचरेत् ।

18a अभिषेकं] *conj.*; अभिषेकस् AB; अभिषेकंस् D ◆ शक्ति] AD; शक्तिर् B 18b बहि] AD; बहिर् B ◆ कारयेत्] *conj.*; धारयेत् ABD 19a तया] AB; त⟨यां⟩ D 19a सखायैर्] *em.*; सखायै ABD 19c ध्यानं जपन्] AB; ध्यानरूपं D 20a मौनी] AB; सौरी D 20b शक्ति°] B; सक्ति° AD ◆ °वर्जं] AD; °वर्ज्यं B 20c स्वपेन्] AB; स्वपेत् D 20d °आश्रितो] *conj.* (Sanderson); °आसिते ABD 21b विलासादिभि] B[pc]D; विलासा⟨दि⟩भि A; वि−−दिभि B[ac] ◆ चेष्टितः] AB[pc]; −ष्टितः B[ac]; वेष्टितः D 21c नित्यंम्] AD; नित्यम् B 22c रक्षयेन्] A; भक्षयेन् B; रक्षयेत् D 22d स्थितः] *em.*; स्थितम् ABD 23b दश°] B; दस° AD 23c कामतो AD; कामतः B 25a चरेन्] AB; चरेत् D 25d आत्मानं] B; आत्मान (*unmet.*) AD 26a एवं मासन्] B; एव मासं AD

इच्छया दर्प्पसामर्थ्यात् पुनर्मासं व्रतं चरेत् ॥२६॥
अनेन क्रमयोगेन अव्रतघ्नस्तु साधकः ।
मासद्वयं त्रिमासम्वा चातुर्मास्यमथापि वा ॥२७॥
पञ्चषट्मासिकं याव चरे ध्यानपरायणः ।
प्रतिमासा भवेत्तस्य उत्तमा दिव्यगोचरा ॥२८॥
षट्मासेन प्रजायेत अणिमादिगुणान्वितो ।
समागमं सहैवात्र खेचरीणां समागमम् ॥२९॥
एतन्मन्त्री सदा कुर्या सिद्धिहेतौ न संशयः ।
सिद्धिकल्पोक्ततो वा तु कर्मकल्पोक्ततो ऽथ वा ॥३०॥
असिधारं चरेन्मन्त्री तालको मिश्रको ऽपि वा ।
चरुभोजी चरे ह्येतत्तद्विशेषविधिस्थितः ॥३१॥
रात्रौ वापि शयेन्मन्त्री क्षिप्त्वा लिङ्गं भगे ऽथ वा ।
क्षोभं न कारयेत्तत्र ध्यानयुक्तस्सदा भवेत् ॥३२॥
एतच्च असिधारन्तु दुश्चरंस्तृदशैरपि ।

27c–28 Cf. *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Guhyasūtra* 3.41–42b: अब्दं षण्मासमात्रं वा यश्चरेद् व्रतमुत्तमम् ॥४१॥ तस्य सिद्धिः प्रजायेत अधमा मध्यमोत्तमा । 33ab Cf. *BraYā* 21.108cd: एतन्महाव्रतन्नामं दुश्चरं तृदशैरपि ॥

26c °सामर्थ्यात्] *conj.*; °मामर्थ्य AD; °सामर्थ्यं B 26d पुनर्] B; पुनः AD 28a °षट्°] AD; °षण्°] B ◆ याव] AD; यावच् B 28b चरे] AD; चरेद्] B 28c प्रतिमासा] AB; प्रतिमासो D 28d °गोचरा] *conj.* (Isaacson); °गोचरः ABD 29a षट्° AD; षण्°] B 29b °न्वितो] *em.*; °न्वितौ ABD 30a एतन्] AB; एतत् D ◆ कुर्या] AD; कुर्यात् B 30b °हेतौ] *em.*; °हेतो AD; °हेतोर् B ◆ संशयः] BD; सन्सयः A 30c °कल्पोक्ततो वा तु°] *conj.* (Isaacson); °कल्पोक्तको⟨र्द्धे/र्द्वे⟩ तु A; °कल्पोक्तकोर्ध्वे तु] B; °कल्पोक्तकोर्द्वे तु D 31a असिधारं] B; अमिधार AD ◆ चरेन्] AB; चरेत् D 31b तालको] AB^{pc}D; तांलको B^{ac} 31c चरे ह्येतत्] AB^{ac}D; चरेद्धोतत् B^{pc} 31d °विशेष°] B; °विसेष° AD ◆ °विधि°] *em.*; °विधिः ABD 32a शयेन्] B; सयेन् A; सयेत् D 32b भगे] B^{pc}; भगो AB^{ac}D 32d °युक्तस्] AD; °युक्तं B 33a च असि°] B^{pc}; चाशि° (*unmet.*) AB^{ac}D 33b दुश्चरंस्] B^{pc}; दुस्चरंस् AB^{ac}D ◆ तृदशैर्] AD; त्रिदशैर्] B

नानेन रहिता सिद्धिः सर्व्वकल्पेषु गीयते ।
तस्मात्सर्व्वप्रयत्नेन असिधारं चरेद्बुधः ॥३३॥
इति ब्रह्मयामले असिधारव्रतपटलश्चत्वारिंशतिमः ॥❀॥

33c नानेन] *em.* (Isaacson); नान्येन ABD ◆ रहिता] AB; ⟨ह⟩[err.]रहिता D ◆ सिद्धिः] B; सिद्धि AD 33d सर्व°] AB[pc]D; संर्व° B[ac] Colophon: असि°] BD; अशि° A ◆ °पटलश्] BD; °पटलस् A ◆ चत्वारिंशतिमः] AB; चत्वारिंशतिसः D

८३

ब्रह्मयामले कपालखट्वाङ्गोत्पत्तिस्त्र्यशीतिमः पटलः

⟨……⟩
तद्दक्षिणे तथा वह्निं हुत्वा †स्वांसिद्धिसंख्यया† ।
उभयोत्तरसंस्थन्तु पूर्व्वामुखमथारभेत् ॥१॥
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – स्य तु ।
तथा सिद्धार्थकं तालं रोचना समनच्छिला ॥२॥
गैरिका चैव कासीसं – – – – – – – – ।

CODICES: A: *ff.* 300*r*–305*r* (NGMPP reel no. A42/6 exposures 364 lower–365 upper, & 304 lower–308 lower); B: *ff.* 299*v*–304*v*; *BraYāSāra* MS. S_1 (NGMPP reel no. E1527/6): *ff.* 79*r*–84*v* (for a diplomatic edition, see appendix D). The chapter begins on a folio missing from A, continuing on to *f.* 300*r*, which is damaged, most of its right third being broken off. None of the missing text is supplied by B or by MSS. not here reported (see chapter §1.5). In B, the text begins on *f.* 299*v*; the scribe has written only on the lower portion of the folio face, and has left blank the preceding three (298*r*–299*r*), drawing attention to folia missing from his exemplar.

1–29 Apparently paraphrased loosely by *BraYāSāra* 68.1–3 (S_1): अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि कपालिभैरवं परं । येन सिध्यन्ति कामानि साधके नित्यजापिनः ॥१॥ भक्ष्यभोज्यान्नपानानां फलानि विविधानि च । दिव्यसिद्धि[ः] प्रवर्त्तन्ते अणिमादिगुणाष्टकं ॥२॥ अधमध्योत्तमैः [*em.*; °र्त्तमै S_1^{pc}; °न्नमै S_1^{ac}] पात्रैस्सिद्धिस्तु तृविधा भवेत् । दिव्यभौमान्तरिक्षश्च साधकस्य भवन्ति वै ॥३॥

2d समनच्छिला] A; समनःशिला B 3a कामीसं] *em.*; कामी⟨स⟩ A; कामीसा B

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ॥३॥
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ।
– – – – – – – – – – – †टलाङ्गल†सारिका ॥४॥
कुमारी सिङ्घिका व्याघ्री तथा च सुरमञ्जरी ।
सुरसा सुमना कृष्णा कुङ्कुमा सप्तपर्ण्णिका ॥५॥
रिद्धिवृद्धि च भूधात्री भूकदम्बं सतालकम् ।
खर्ज्जूरकेसरं श्यामा अमृता च विदारिका ॥६॥
स्वेष्टयागोपरि यष्ट्वा जपं चास्त्रादिकं भवेत् ।
प – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ॥७॥
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ।
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ॥८॥
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – तथा ।
संगृह्य चारभेत्पश्चात्साधनन्तु वरानने ॥९॥
चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणेन कृत्वा मण्डलकं शुभम् ।

7a–c ≈ 83.13a–c; written in the bottom margin of A (*f.* 300*r*) in another, probably later hand. B does not write the inserted text.

2–7c Cf. *BraYā* 66.3–10 (*f.* 261*v*, lines 1–3): यागं कृत्वा तु पूर्वोक्तमुपहारसमन्वितम् ॥३॥ कृतयत्नः सुधीरात्मा पत्रैरश्वत्थसंभवैः । त्रिभिस्तु रोचनालिप्तैर्विस्तृतै रुग्विवर्जितैः ॥४॥ संस्थाप्य गुडिकां तत्र च्छादये तु ततः पुनः । चतुर्भिरुपरिष्टा तु रोचनाम्बुयुतैस्तथा ॥५॥ औषध्यो विविधाः पार्श्वे स्थापयेद् गुडिकानुगाः [*em.*; गुडिकानगा A] । सहदेवा निशाकान्ता तथा कुञ्चितपत्रिकाः ॥६॥ दसना मोहना सूर्या लक्षणा [श्वे]तपुष्पिता । शंखपुष्पी अधोपुष्पी सुमुखा सुरसाजिता [*em.*; स्वरसा° A] ॥७॥ अग्निपिच्छाञ्जली कृष्णा वर्षा भूधात्र्यलम्बुषा [*conj.*; भूगृह्य?लंबु?षा A] । हरितालन्तु कुनटी रोचना वत्सरोचना ॥८॥ गोजिह्वा माक्षिकं धातुं स्रोताञ्जन रसाञ्जनं । सौवीरं वानरी रौ?द्ब्रं? ब्राह्मणी ब्राह्मणन्तथा ॥९॥ एता दिव्या महुषध्यस्तथान्याश्च महात्मने । संस्थाप्य गन्धपुष्पाढ्यैः प्रपूज्य च जपेत्पुनः ॥१०॥

5a सिङ्घिका] A; सिंहिका B 5d कुङ्कुमा सप्तपर्ण्णिका] *conj.*; ?कुकु…र्ण्णिका? A(*no tops*); कु …र्णिका B 6b °कदम्बं] *em.*; °कदम्ब° AB 6c खर्ज्जूरकेसरं] *corr.*; खज्जूरकेशरं A; *corr.*; खर्जूरकेसरं B 6d विदारिका] B; विदारि?का? A • 7 स्वेषु …भवेत्] A (*marginal insertion*); *absent from* B 9b तथा] *conj.*; –था AB 10b मण्डलकं] A; मण्ड+ल+कं B

गोमूत्रगोमयेनैव रोचनागन्धवारिणा ॥१०॥
कृत्वास्तार्य ततो मन्त्री पटम्प्रेतगृहोद्भतम् ।
तस्योपरि ततो न्यस्य वृद्धिपत्रां सुविस्त्रिताम् ॥११॥
– ।
– ॥१२॥
स्वेष्टयागोपरि यष्ट्वा जपश्चास्त्रादिकम्भवेत् ।
पश्चान्मूलगुणं योज्य ऊर्द्धदृष्टिस्तु साधकः ॥१३॥
यावत्क्षपार्द्धमूलम्वा तावदूष्मा प्रवर्त्तते ।
धूमश्चात्रस्ततो ज्वाला हस्तमात्रा प्रजायते ॥१४॥
यावद्दशदिशाभोगं रवाकुलितभीषणम् ।
देवी – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ॥१५॥
– ।
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ह समाचरेत् ॥१६॥
न च सम्भाषणं कुर्याद्याव सारन्न संस्थितं ।
उपविष्टे ततस्तस्मिं समन्ताद्भैरवार्च्चिते ॥१७॥
अर्घपात्रं गृहीत्वा तु सुरासवसुपूरितं ।
अर्घन्दत्वा नमस्कृत्वा कपालन्तु निवेदयेत् ॥१८॥
सिद्धमेतन्महापात्रं प्रसादात्तव भैरव ।
– ॥१९॥

10c गोमूत्र°] *conj.*; गो– – AB ◆ °गोमयेनैव] *conj.*; –⟨ा/ ि/ ो⟩म≀येनै≀व A*(no tops)*; गोम– – – B 11a कृत्वास्तार्य] A; कृत्वा तार्य B 11d वृद्धिपत्रां सुविस्त्रिताम्] *conj.*; विधिपत्रा सुवि≀–रि–ं≀ A; विधिपत्रा सुवि– – – B 13a स्वेषु यागोपरि°] *conj.* (= 7a); – – – –परि AB 13c मूलगुणं योज्य] A (मूल≀गुणं≀ योज्य); मूले तु मंयोज्य B 14c चात्रम्] A; चात्र B 15a °भोगं] *em.*; °भोग° AB 15b रवाकुलित°] B; रवाकु≀वि≀त° A 15c देवी] *conj.*; दे⟨वी/वा⟩ A; देवा B 17b याव सारन्न] B; याव ≀सा≀रन्न A*(no bottoms)* 17c उपविष्टे ततम्] *conj.*; उ≀पव–≀ष्टेनतस् A; उपविष्टेन तत् B 19b प्रसादा] A; प्रमादा B ◆ तव भैरव] *conj.*; तु भवा⟨भ/न्म⟩– A*(no tops)*; तु भवा– – B

– ।
– – – – [→*f.*300*v*]ततो नाथ भैरवेशोल्बणाननः ।
उवाच साधु साध्वीति सत्वेनानेन सुव्रत ॥२०॥
नाप्तं यद्देवगन्धर्वैः सिद्धरुद्रदिवाकरैः ।
तदिदन्दातुमुद्यातो न त्वया सदृशो ऽखिले ॥२१॥
जगत्यस्मिं महासत्व योग्यो वा भैरवीपदम् ।
मत्प्रसादान्महासत्व योगिनीकुलनन्दनः ॥२२॥
– ।
– बलदर्प्पिताः ।
त्वत्तेजानलसंदग्धा ध्वन्सं यास्यन्ति निश्चितं ॥२३॥
भैरव्या च तथाप्येवं कृतो मातृगणाधिपः ।
कपालसाधनेनायं द्वितीय इव भैरवः ॥२४॥
भयदाता च कर्त्ता च देवासुरमहोरगां ।
द्रव्याणि सुसहायेभ्यो दत्वोत्पतति खेतले ॥२५॥
– ।
– ॥२६॥
धूमायिते ऽपि देवेशि सिद्धविद्याधराधिपः ।
कृतान्तर्द्धानसिद्धिस्तु विचरेत्मायगोचरं ॥२७॥
ऊष्मायिते ऽपि देवेशि लवणाम्भोधरं क्षणात् ।

20c–21d Cf. *BraYā* 21.113c–14: माधु माधु महामत्व व्रतेनानेन सुव्रत ॥ दुश्चरं देवगन्धर्वैस्त्वया चीर्णं महाव्रतम् । वरं वरेप्सितं वत्स उद्यतं तु ब्रवीहि मे ॥

20d °ल्बणाननः] A*pc*B; °ल्ब〈–〉ाननः A*ac* 20f सत्वेनानेन] B; स〈त्व–ना–〉न A*(no tops)* 20f सुव्रत] B; सुव्रतः A 22a अस्मिं] A; अस्मिन् B 22c महासत्व] *conj.*; महासत्– A*(no bottoms)*; महास– B 22d योगिनीकुलनन्दनः] *conj.* (= 14.208d, 14.263b); 〈योगि〉 … A*(no bottoms)*; … B 24a °प्येवं] A; °प्येव B 25d दत्वोत्पतति खेतले] *conj.*; दत्वो〈त्प〉… A*(no tops)*; दत्वो … B 27a धूमायिते] *conj.*; –––ते AB 27b °राधिपः] A; °राधिपम् B 27d विचरेत्] A; विचरेन् B 28a पि देवेशि] B; 〈पि देवेसि〉 A 28b लवणांभो°] B; –〈व〉णाम्भो° A

भ्रमते सप्तद्वीपांश्च न मज्जन्त्युदकादिषु ॥२८॥
नास्य रोधयिता कश्चिद्देवासुरमहोरगाम् ।
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ।
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ॥२९॥

देव्युवाच ॥
कस्मिं कपालमुत्पन्नङ्खट्वाङ्गञ्च महेश्वर ।
येन धारयसे नित्यङ्गणमातृनिषेवितः ॥३०॥
प्रमाणश्चैव मुद्राणां कस्यैव च कथं विधिः ।
अधिदेवः फलश्चैव येन विन्दन्ति साधकाः ॥३१॥

29–30 One chapter (82) might end and a new one (83) begin in the gap in A, which spans 38 to 42 *akṣaras* between what is printed here as 29b and 30a. More likely, four pādas of chapter 83 have been lost, plus the heading देव्युवाच. See §1.5.

24–29 Cf. *BraYā* 66.11–18b (*f.* 261*v*, lines 3–5): लक्षमावर्त्तयेद्याव तावत्सिद्धि भवेत सा । सहस्रदशसाहस्रै लक्षै चिह्नं [*corr.*; चिंह्नं A] त्रिधा भवेत् ॥११॥ ऊष्मा धूमो ऽथ ज्वलनं त्रिधा सिद्धेस्तु कार[ण]म् । सोष्मायिते तु जायेत गतिमत्त्वन्तु [*em.*; गतिम⟨न्ध/त्व⟩न्तु A] साधके ॥१२॥ लवनाम्भोदधिं यावत्क्षणार्द्धार्द्धेन सुव्रते । धूमायिते तथा सिद्धिरन्तर्द्धानात्मिका भवेत् ॥१३॥ तदा न दृश्यते देवैः [*em.*; दैवै A] सिद्धैश्च ऋषिसत्तमैः । षट्भागहारको देवि सिद्धीनां साधकोत्तमः ॥१४॥ सर्व्वपूज्यश्च जायन्ते सर्व्वसौभाग्यसंपदः । तथा च ज्वलिते तस्मिं खेचरत्वमवाप्नुयात् ॥१५॥ महाभैरवरूपस्तु देवदानवदर्प्पहा । अजरो ह्यमरः [शा]न्तो गुणाष्टकसमन्वितः ॥१६॥ मातृमण्डलदेहस्थो यदा देवो महेश्वरः । प्रप[श्य] दृष्टचिह्नात्मा सर्व्व⟨सं⟩कुरि⟨⟩तौषधम् ॥१७॥ द्रव्याणि सुसहायेभ्यो दत्वा याति नभस्तलम् । **30–31** ≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.4–5 (S_1): देव्युवाच ॥ कस्मिं कपालमुत्पन्नं खट्वाङ्गञ्च महेश्वर [*em.*; महेश्वरः A] । येन धार्यसे नित्यं गणमातृनिषेवितम् [*em.*; °रभि⟨ष्ण⟩तं A] ॥४॥ प्रमानं चैव मुद्राणां कस्यैव च कथं विधिः । अधिदेवफलं चैव येन विन्दन्ति साधकाः ॥३०॥ **30ab** Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.12d–13 (appendix E): तथा ते कथयाम्यहम् ॥ व्रतोत्तमं महापुण्यं यन्न ज्ञातं सुरैरपि । सम्भवन्तु कपालस्य खट्वाङ्गस्य च सुव्रत ॥

28d मज्जन्त्यु°] A; मज्जत्यु° B **29a** कश्चिद्] B; कस्चिद् A **29b** °महोरगाम्] *em.*; °महोर– A; महोरगान् B **30a** देव्युवाच] S_1 (*BraYāSāra* 68.4a); –––– AB **30a** कस्मिं कपालम्] S_1 (*BraYāSāra* 68.4a); –––पालम् AB **30d** °निषेवितः] *em.*; °निषेवितम् AB **31a** चैव मुद्राणां] S_1 (*BraYāSāra* 68.5a); चैव ⟨म–⟩–– A; चैव स–– B **31b** कस्यैव च कथं विधिः] S_1 (*BraYāSāra* 68.5b); … AB **31c** अधिदेवः] S_1 (*BraYāSāra* 68.5c); –धिदेव° AB

भैरव उवाच ॥

शृणु देवि परं गुह्यं सर्व्वसिद्धिप्रवर्त्तकं ।
संभवं तु कपालस्य खट्वाङ्गस्य तथैव च ॥३२॥
– ।
– – – – – – – – –दनाद्येव जगत्स्थितम् ॥३३॥
रुद्रैश्च शक्तिसंघैस्तु चितं सर्व्वं महात्मने ।
तदिच्छानुकरश्चाहम् – – – – – – – – – ॥३४॥
सेयं क्रियात्मिका शक्तिस्सा चेच्छा त्वं विराजसे ।
माया शृष्टि तथा कान्ति धृतिर्बुद्धिर्वरानने ॥३५॥
– ।
– ॥३६॥
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – [→*f.*301*r*]वपुषा त्वया।
प्रेरयित्वा नियुंक्षामि सृष्टिसंहारवर्त्मनि ॥३७॥
संहारे ऽपि परार्द्धान्ते व्यतिक्रान्ते हुताशनः ।
कालरूपो ऽध्वसंस्थानङ्क्रमाददहमुद्यतः ॥३८॥
अनेकतुटिपर्यायैः स्वतत्वकृतसंख्यया ।
नरकादिकमायान्तन्ददाह प्रभुरिच्छया ॥३९॥
सृष्टं सृष्टम्पुनस्तस्मै महाप्रलयतां यदा ।

34ab Cf. *BraYā* 63.28ab: अशेषतत्वरुद्रैस्तु शक्तिसंघैः समावृतं । 34–36 Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.15–17b (≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.8–10b): तस्य देवातिदेवस्य कारणस्यामितद्युतेः । इच्छाधिकारणश्चाहं इच्छा त्वं तस्य भाविनि ॥१५॥ माया ते जगतः स्रष्टा त्वं च सृष्टिर्वरानने । क्रियाख्या पठ्यसे तेन येन सृजसि वाङ्मयम् ॥१६॥ मूलप्रकृतिरूपेण सृष्टिस्त्वं पद्मजन्मनः ।

◆ 32b–d सर्व्वसिद्धि° … तथैव च] S_1 (*BraYāSāra* 68.6b–d); … AB 34a रुद्रैश्च शक्ति°] *conj.*; रुद्राणुशक्ति° AB 34b सर्व्वं] *em.*; सर्व्वं° AB 35a सेयं क्रियात्मिका शक्तिस्] *conj.*; –––ात्मिका शक्तिस् A; ––––त्मिका शक्तिः B 35c शृष्टि] A; सृष्टिस् B 35d बुद्धिर्] A; बुद्धि– B ◆ वरानने] *conj.*; –––– AB 37d °वर्त्मनि] B; °वत्मनि A 38a संहारे] *conj.*; संभारो AB 38b हुताशनः] *corr.*; हुतासनः AB 40a सृष्टं सृष्टम्] *corr.*; सृष्टं शृष्टम् A; सृष्टं सृष्टं B 40b महा°] AB^{pc}; महां B^{ac} ◆ °प्रलयतां] *em.*; °प्रलयता AB

गतम्मायोदरे देवि तमोभूतं जगत्तदा ॥४०॥
एवं देहभृतां सर्व्वाङ्कपालानि जग्राह ताम् ।
कपालमालिनं रूपं कृत्वा क्रीडामि चेच्छया ॥४१॥
यानि नाराण्यनेकानि तदध्वाननिवासिनां ।
कटकेयूरसूत्राणि कटिदेशे च तानि तु ॥४२॥
मच्छरीरगतन्दृष्ट्वा सूक्ष्मेण वपुषाध्वनम् ।
लीनं लिङ्गाकृतित्वेन प्रख्यातो भुवनेश्वरैः ॥४३॥
कपालमालिनं दृष्ट्वा कालान्ते भुवनाधिपैः ।
कालेश्वरं कपालीशम्पर्यायेन तु भाषितम् ॥४४॥
संहारन्तं स्वकालेन दृष्ट्वा रौद्रं महेश्वरि ।
भैरवं भैरवाकारं सर्व्वाध्वविहितेरितम् ॥४५॥
अनामो ऽपि हि देवेशे नामकोटिभिरीश्वरैः ।
यैर्यैरिव यदा दृष्टस्तैस्तैस्तद्वदुदाहृतः ।
त्वञ्च तेनैव रूपेण तदा तज्ज्ञैरुदाहृता ॥४६॥
तमोमये ततस्तस्मिम्प्रलीने सकलाध्वनि ।

40bc Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 20cd (= *BraYāSāra* 68.13ab): यदा मायोदरं सर्वं कालेन प्रलयं गतम् ।
40–41 Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.18 (= *BraYāSāra* 68.11): स्थित्वा विनाशमायाति पुनस्तत्रैव लीयते । कपालं तस्य चादाय क्रीडामि विपुले ऽध्वनि ॥

41a सर्व्वाङ] *corr.*; सर्व्वा A; सर्वांङ B 41b जग्राह ताम्] *conj.*; जिग्राहतम् AB 42b तदध्वान°] *em.*; तदध्वनि AB 42d च तानि] *conj.*; जनानि] AB 43b सूक्ष्मेण] *conj.*; सूक्ष्मा च AB 43c °ङ्गाकृतित्वेन] *conj.*; °ङ्गाकृतिस्त्वेन AB 46c यदा] *conj.*; सदा AB 46d °उदाहृतः] *em.*; °उदाहृतम् AB 46f तज्ज्ञैर्°] B; तज्ञैर्° A 47a ततस्] B; ‹ततस्› A • तस्मिम्] A; तस्मिं B

कृताधारो निराधारः स्वशक्तिविहितासनः ॥४७॥
तत्वे सदेश्वरे देवि योगक्रीडासुलालसः ।
समाधौ तु परे तत्वे सति ज्ञाने समर्प्पिते ॥४८॥
तमसा व्यापितन्तूर्ण्णं शरीरं यज्जगाश्रयम् ।
योगनिद्रेव सा भाति वृत्तिस्तु मम सुव्रते ॥४९॥
गते परार्द्धकालान्ते शिवेच्छा बोधिते पुनः ।
मच्छरीरे विनिर्यातं यत्तत्वं यत्र संहृतम् ॥५०॥
भावभूतमयं विश्वम्मायाद्यवनिगोचरम् ।
विसृष्टङ्कारणेच्छातो विचित्रन्तु यथा तथा ॥५१॥
परमाणुसमूहन्तु पार्थिवं तदसङ्गतम् ।
योगेन स्वेदमुत्पाद्य संगृहीतं वरानने ॥५२॥
कृत्वा करतले तन्तु मथितं शक्तियोजनात् ।
अत्युष्णतां समायातं दृशा तच्च निरीक्षणे ॥५३॥

47–57b Cf. *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* I, 2.1ab, 3c–9b: पुरा त्वेकार्णवे प्राप्ते नष्टे स्थावरजङ्गमे । … सर्व्वमेव तमोभूतं न प्राज्ञायत किञ्चन ॥३॥ तदैको हि महाकालो लोकानुग्रहकारणात् । तस्थौ स्थानान्यशेषाणि काष्ठास्वालोकयन्प्रभुः ॥४॥ सृष्ट्यर्थं स महाकालः करे कामं प्रतिष्ठितम् । दक्षिणस्य तु तर्ज्जन्यां स ममन्थाविशोषितम् ॥५॥ कललं बुद्बुदं भूत्वा तीव्रवेगविवर्द्धितम् । जज्ञे तदण्डं सुदृढं सुष्ठु वृत्तं हिरण्मयम् ॥६॥ करेण ताडितं तद्धि बभूव द्विदलं महत् । अधःखण्डं स्मृता भूमिरूर्ध्वं द्यौस्तारकान्वितम् ॥७॥ मध्ये ऽभवत्तदा ब्रह्मा पञ्चवक्त्रश्चतुर्भुजः । महेश्वरो ऽनुमान्यैव तमयोजदनन्तरम् ॥८॥ कुरु सृष्टिं महाबाहो विचित्रां मदनुग्रहात् । 47–51 Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.20–27 (≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.13–20; see table 5.2) 52c–54 Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.29–31 (≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.22–24): स्वकायात्स्वेदमुत्पाद्य कृत्वा तु करमध्यतः । सुशुद्धश्चामृतमयः शीतलांभः स्वतेजसः ॥२९॥ मयांगुष्ठेन मथितो यावदत्युष्णताङ्गतः । बुद्बुदाकारसदृशं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥३०॥ विभाति करमध्यस्थं मम तस्मिन्महात्मने । तेजेन कठिनीभूतं हैमभानुशतप्रभम् ॥३१॥

47c निराधारः] *corr.*; निराधार AB 49a व्यापितन्] *conj.*; व्याप्तितन् AB 49c सा] A; शो B 50a °कालान्ते] *em.*; °काले त्ये A; °कालेभ्यः B ◆ असङ्गतम्] A (अस⟨ङ्ग/द्ग⟩तम्); असद्गतं B 52c स्वेदम्] *em.* (Granoff); स्वेनम् AB 53c अत्युष्णतां] *em.*; अत्युष्णता AB 53d दृशा] *conj.*; दिशा AB ◆ तच्च] A; तत्व° B ◆ निरीक्षणे] *conj.*; निरीक्षणम् AB

तत्तेजसा विपक्वं हि कठिनं काञ्चनामयम् ।
विभाति करमध्यस्थं भाणुकोटिसमप्रभम् ॥५४॥
त्रिगुणं त्रितयाधारं लोकपालनिकेतनम् ।
चतुर्द्दशकुलावासं तन्निधिर्भोगमोक्ष[→301v]योः ॥५५॥
तत्रान्ते सत्वजन्मा वै ब्रह्मा क्षिप्तो गुरुत्वया ।
सृष्टौ तु प्राक्कृतः सो वै बुद्धौ व्यक्तिगतस्तु यः ॥५६॥
प्रजाणां कारणं सो वै विवेकान्संप्रकाशकः ।
द्वितीयो ऽपि ततो देवि तमसा सत्वयोजनात् ॥५७॥
उभाभ्यान्तु रजोमूर्त्तिः निर्मितः कारणेच्छया ।
सो ऽधिपालनयोगाय तदण्डे सन्निवेशितः ॥५८॥
स्वस्वभावस्थितौ तौ तु कर्त्तृत्वे तमसा हितौ ।
प्रेरितौ तु मया देवि तमसा सृष्टिहेतुना ॥५९॥
तद्रजोभावसम्पन्नं रूपं यद्ध्यभिलाषजम् ।
सत्वं संक्षोभयामास ब्रह्मजं रजसा महान् ॥६०॥
विक्षोभितं यदा तन्तु मुक्त्वा सत्वात्मतां पुनः ।
मम द्विषति को ऽन्यो ऽस्ति मत्समो ऽत्र महीतले ॥६१॥

60–61b Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.35c–37b (≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.28c–30b): यच्छेषाम्भं करस्थं मे रजसालिङ्गितन्तु यत् ॥३५॥ विष्णुस्तत्रास्ति सुव्यक्तो अतिवीर्यो रजात्मकः । रजेन उदयामास तत्सत्त्वं ब्रह्मजं प्रिये ॥३६॥ विक्षुब्धस्तु ततो ब्रह्मा ज्वलितः स्वेन तेजसा । 61cd Cf. *Skandapurāṇa* 5.24cd: अमन्यत न मे ऽन्यो ऽस्ति समो लोके न चाधिकः ॥

54d भाणु°] *corr.*; भानु° A; भाव° B 56a तन्त्रान्ते] A; तन्त्रान्ते B; तत्राण्डे *conj.* (Yokochi) 56c सृष्टौ तु] *conj.*; वृन्यो नु AB • प्राक्कृतः] *conj.* (Törzsök); प्राकृतः AB • सो वै] *em.*; स्त्रो वै AB 57b विवेकान्] A; विवेकात् B 58a °मूर्त्तिः] A; °मूर्तिर् B 58b निर्मितः] B; नि⸢र्मि⸣तः A 58d °निवेशितः] A; °निवेशितम् B 59a तु] B; ⸢तु⸣ A 59b कर्त्तृत्वे तमसा हितौ] *conj.*; क⟨त्तु/त्तृ⟩–तम⟨सो/सा⟩ हितैः A; क– –तमसो हितैः B 60b यद्ध्य°] *conj.*; यद्य° AB 60c सत्वं संक्षोभयामास] *em.*; तत्वसंक्षोभमायास AB 60d रजसा] A; रजसो B 61b °त्मतां] *em.*; °त्मता AB 61d ऽत्र] *corr.*; ⸢त्र⸣ A; तु B

ददृशुश्चाग्रतो विष्णुमतिकान्तवपुष्मतम् ।
कस्त्वम्भो इति संज्ञाय तमसा योजितो मया ॥६२॥
सङ्क्रुद्धस्तु ततोपेन्द्रो जगत्यस्मिं प्रभुर्वरः ।
अहङ्कर्त्ता इति सो ऽपि ऊचुर्विश्वात्मनम्प्रति ॥६३॥
मनोबुद्धीभवौ द्वौ तु तयो ऽहं हङकृतात्मवान् ।
प्रेरको ऽहमिति स्वेन ममत्वेनातिमोहिताः ॥६४॥
विवादानन्तरं युद्धं तयोर्जातं परस्परम् ।
दृष्ट्या वाचा भुजाभ्यां तु मुष्टिभिश्च ततो ऽयुधैः ॥६५॥
आजङ्घ्नन्तौ महावीर्यौ कृतवन्तौ परस्परम् ।
दोर्द्दण्डशब्दनिर्घातं शस्त्रसङ्घपदाहता ॥६६॥
भूर्नर्नर्द्द दिशः सर्व्वाः स्फुटन्तीव महायशे ।
द्युधरित्री उभे यद्वत्मिलितुन्तु समिच्छते ॥६७॥
गृध्रसञ्छन्नगगनं शिवाविप्लावितन्तथा ।
घनस्तनितनिर्घोषज्वलदग्निप्रवर्षणम् ॥६८॥
भ्रमद्भिर्भ्रमते ऽत्यर्थं मण्डलञ्चक्रचोदितम् ।

62–63 Cf. *Vāmanapurāṇa* 2.25–27; *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.2c–3: विवादः सुमहानासीद् ब्रह्मविष्णवोः परस्परम् ॥२॥ अहं कर्त्ता ह्यहं कर्त्ता न मदन्यो जगत्पतिः । एवमाह हरिं ब्रह्मा ब्रह्माणञ्च हरिस्तथा ॥३॥ **65–66b** Cf. *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 34.31–32b: एवमेव विवादो ऽभूद् ब्रह्मविष्णवोः परस्परम् । अभवच्च महायुद्धं भैरवं रोमहर्षणम् ॥ मुष्टिभिर्निघ्नतोस्तीव्रं रजसा बद्धवैरयोः । **68** Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.48 (= *BraYāSāra* 68.41): क्षये चाग्निमुखैर्घोरैः शिवाभिर्विप्लुतं जगत् । कल्पान्तगृध्रनिचितं दिविभूमिदिगन्तरम् ॥

62b °वपुष्मतम्] *em.*; °वपुष्मताम् AB **62c** संज्ञाय] *em.*; संज्ञाया A; संज्ञेया B **63a** ततोपेन्द्रो] A; ततेश्चेन्द्रो B^pc; त⌇तो– – ⌇ B^ac **63d** विश्वात्मनम्प्रति] *conj.*; विश्वात्मनामिति AB **64b** °कृतात्मवान्] B; °कृतात्मवाम् A **64c** प्रेरको ऽहम्] *conj.* (Harimoto); प्रेरको मद् AB ◆ इति स्वेन] *em.*; इतिस्त्वेन AB **65c** दृष्ट्या] *conj.*; दृष्ट्वा AB ◆ भुजाभ्यां] B; भुजास्वान् A **66a** आजङ्घ्नन्तौ] *conj.* (Bisschop); आजघानौ AB **66c** °शब्द°] A; °शब्दं B **67a** भूर्नर्नर्द्द°] *em.*; भून्ननर्द्द° AB ◆ सर्व्वाः] *corr.*; सर्व्वा AB **67b** °यशे] *corr.*; °यसे AB **67c** यद्वत्] A; यद्वन् B **67d** मिलितुन्] A; मिलितन् B **68a** °गगनं] *em.* (Törzsök); °गमनं AB **69a** °भिर्भ्रमते ऽत्यर्थं] *em.*; °भि भ्रमते त्यर्थ A; °भि भ्रमतेत्पर्थ B

पतन्त्यन्त्रकपालोग्राः सुनिर्घातमहास्वनाः ॥६९॥
प्रचण्डवातवलिता गिरिशृङ्गा दिशो दिशः ।
महाप्रलयमायान्तं दृष्ट्वा युद्धे तयोस्त्विदं ॥७०॥
महार्ण्णवसुकल्लोलवीचिसङ्घट्टसंकुलम् ।
अत्यन्ततमसा लब्धं युद्धं दृष्ट्वा सुदारुणम् ॥७१॥
चिन्तयित्वा विना देवि विनाशमुपगच्छतम् ।
दर्प्पोपशमनन्ताभ्याङ्कृतं स्वेनैव देहिना ॥७२॥
एकार्ण्णवे महाघोरे लिङ्गरूपातितेजसम् ।
कृत्वा ताभ्यान्तरस्थन्तु विनिवार्य परस्परम् ॥७३॥ [→f.302r]
संलग्नबाहुयुद्धन्तु गतरोषं महात्मने ।
क्षणादमेयरूपो ऽहमधोर्द्धन्तु व्यवस्थितः ॥७४॥
महाकालाग्निरोचीभि त्रासयित्वा उभौ प्रिये ।

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69 Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.45 (≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.38): दुर्लक्षं भ्रमते ऽतीव चक्रवद्दण्डचोदितम् । पतन्त्यभ्रकपालानि दर्पणाद्भ्रान्ति कोटिशः ॥ 70ab Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.41cd (≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.34cd): प्रचण्डमारुतहता धराः पतितुमुद्यताः ॥ 71b–72b Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.52cd (= *BraYāSāra* 68.45cd): विनाशमुपगच्छन्तं दृष्ट्वा एतच्चराचरम् ॥ 72c Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.54cd (= *BraYāSāra* 68.57ab): दर्पोपशमनोपाय इति सञ्चिन्तितो मया ॥

69c पतन्त्यन्त्र°] A; पतन्त्य तु B ◆ °कपालोग्राः] *em.*; °कपालोग्रां AB **69d** °स्वनाः] *em.*; °स्वनाम् AB **70a** °वलिता] *em.* (Yokochi); °वलिन AB **70b** °शृङ्गा] *em.*; °शृङ्ग AB ◆ दिशो दिशः] *em.*; दिशो दिशम् AB **72b** विनाशम्] B; विनासम् A **72c** दर्प्पो°] *em.*; दर्घो° A; द⟨⟩र्घ्यो⟨⟩° B **72d** देहिना] *em.* (Dezső); देहिनाम् AB **74d** °स्थितः] A; °स्थितम् B **75a** °रोचीभि] A; °रोचीभिस् B

मूर्च्छाकुलीकृतौ तौ तु यथा स्युर्दीनताङ्गतौ ॥७५॥
विस्मितौ च वरारोहे लिङ्गन्दृष्ट्वा सुज्वालनम् ।
नैवाश्मकाञ्चनन्तारं नारकूटन्न लोहजं ॥७६॥
त्रपुताम्रसीसजातिं वा नैव कान्सं न चान्यजम् ।
तेजरूपं महातेजं दृग्मुषन्तं दिवौकसोः ॥७७॥
तौ समेत्य गतौ द्वौ तु अधोर्द्धं पुरुषोत्तमौ ।
अदृष्ट्वान्तङ्गतौ भीतौ स्तोतुमारब्धमीश्वरम् ॥७८॥
नमः कालानलोग्राय शिवायाशिवहारिणे ।
अव्यक्तव्यक्तरूपाय स्थूलसूक्ष्माय शम्भवे ॥७९॥
ज्ञानात्मवृत्तिचेताय नमो भूतकृयात्मने ।

73–78 Cf. *Vāyupurāṇa* 55.17–22; *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 34.32c–36b; *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.2–10: पूर्वमेकार्णवे घोरे नष्टे स्थावरजङ्गमे । विवादः सुमहानासीद् ब्रह्मविष्ण्वोः परस्परम् ॥२॥ अहं कर्ता त्वहं कर्ता न मदन्यो जगत्पतिः । एवमाह हरिं ब्रह्मा ब्रह्माणं च हरिस्तथा ॥३॥ तयोर्दर्प्पापहाराय प्रबोधार्थञ्च देवयोः । मध्ये समुत्थितं लिङ्गमैश्वर्यन्तेजसः परम् ॥४॥ ज्वामामालावृतन्दिव्यमप्रमेयगुणोदितम् । योजनायुतविस्तीर्ण्णं स्थितं तद्विमले ऽम्भसि ॥५॥ ज्वालाभिर्मोहितौ तस्य लिङ्गस्य सुरसत्तमौ । तदा विस्मयमापन्नौ पश्यन्तावमराधिपम् ॥६॥ गतावूर्ध्वं अधस्तस्य संप्रधार्य परस्परम् । अधो ऽवलम्बयद्विष्णुरगादूर्ध्वं पितामहः ॥७॥ अदृष्ट्वा तदधश्चोर्ध्वं तौ समेत्य परस्परम् । कृताञ्जलिपुटौ भूत्वा लिङ्गन्तुष्टवतुस्तदा ॥८॥ लिङ्गमध्ये ऽपरं लिङ्गं स्थितं प्रादेशमात्रकम् । समाधिस्तोत्रसम्पन्नौ दृष्टवन्तौ शिवात्मकम् ॥९ ॥ नैव तत्काञ्चनं रौप्यं ताम्रं स्फाटिकमौक्तिकम् । लक्ष्यमात्रं स्थितं शान्तं केवलन्तच्छिवात्मकम् ॥१०॥
77c–78 Cf. *Niśvāsamukha* 1.169c–72 (≈ *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* 5.137–40b): तेजोमध्ये स्थितं लिङ्गम्पर्व्वाङ्गुष्ठप्रमाणतः ॥१६९॥ उभौ तौ विस्मितौ तत्र किमेतच्चाद्भुतम्भवेत् । उभौ तौ द्रष्टुमारब्धौ ततो लिङ्गं विवर्द्धितम् ॥१७०॥ आश्चर्यमिति सञ्चिन्त्य अधश्चोर्ध्वङ्गतावुभौ । अधो गतस्ततो विष्णुरूर्ध्वम्ब्रह्मा ततो गतः ॥१७१॥ अन्तं चास्य न पश्यन्तौ खिन्नावेतावुभावपि । पुनश्चैव समागम्य स्तोत्रेण तुष्टुवे हरम् ॥१७२॥

75c °आकुली°] A; °आ⟨कु⟩ली° B 76b सुज्वालनम्] B; सुजाल्वनम् A 76c तारं] B; तारंन् A 76d °कूटन्न] *em.*; °कूटान्न AB 77a °सीस°] B; °शीस° A 77b कान्सं] A; कांशं B 77c तेज°] AB[ac]; तेजो° B[pc] 77d दृग्मुषन्तं दिवौकसोः] *conj.*; दृग्मुषन्त दिवौकसो A; दृग्मुषन्त दिवौकसा B 78b अधोर्द्धं] *em.*; अधोर्द्ध A; अधोर्ध्व B 78c अदृष्ट्वान्तङ] *em.*; अदृष्ट्वान्तर्° AB 78d स्तोतुम्] A; स्तोत्रम् B 79d शम्भवे] B; सम्भवे A 80a °चेताय] B; °चोताय A

अनन्ताय अमूर्त्ताय अनाथानाशृताय च ॥८०॥
तेजस्विनां महातेज दीप्तज्वालाधराय च ।
भूर्भुवःस्वःस्वरूपाय खरूपाय महात्मने ।
महासाम्य महालिङ्ग महादेवाय वै नमः ॥८१॥
एवं याव स्तुतो देवि तयोर्देवात्मिका गिरा ।
आविर्भूतस्तु वै ताभ्यां स्वरूपेण गणाम्बिके ॥८२॥
कृत्वा तु भैरवं रूपं कालन्द्वादशलोचनम् ।
कपालमालिनं भीमं विस्फुरच्छूलपाणिनम् ॥८३॥
महोरगोपवीतन्तु विस्फुलिङ्गं हविर्मुखम् ।
खट्वाङ्गधारिणन्त्र्यक्षङ्कपालकरभासुरम् ॥८४॥
घोणशब्दकृतोत्त्रासं देवासुरमहोरगाम् ।
द्रंष्ट्राकरालवदनं विद्युलोलाविलोकितम् ॥८५॥
दृष्ट्वा तु भयमापन्नौ स्थितौ सन्मीलितेक्षणौ ।

82–85 Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.60c–63b (≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.53c–56b): ततः स्तुवन्ति मां भीता भक्तिमास्थाय निश्चिताः ॥६०॥ दिव्यं वर्षमहस्रन्तु ऋक्सामयजुषैः स्तवैः । ततस्तुष्टस्तु वीरेशि स्वरूपं दर्शितं मया ॥६१॥ कपालमालिनं भीमं खट्वाङ्गकरभास्वरम् । सर्पैर्ल्ललन्तलम्बन्तैः कोटिवक्त्रं करालिनम् ॥६२॥ पश्यन्ति त्रस्तमनसो दंष्ट्रांशुच्छुरितं मुखम् । **86ab** Cf. *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.6cd: तदा विस्मयमापन्नौ पश्यन्तावमराधिपौ ॥ **86–87ab** Cf. *Niśvāsamukha* 1.170ab (≈ *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* 5.138cd): उभौ तौ विस्मितौ तत्र किमेतच्चाद्भुतम्भवेत् ।

80d अनाथा°] A; ⟨अ⟩नाथा° B **81c** °भुवः°] B; °भुव° A ◆ °रूपाय] B; °रूपाया A **81e** °साम्य] B; °मा⟨म्प/म्य⟩ A ◆ °लिङ्ग] *em.*; °लिङ्गम् A; °लिङ्गं B **82a** याव] A; यावत् B **82c** ताभ्यां] B; ताभ्या A **83d** °पाणिनम्] B; °पानिनम् A **85b** °महोरगाम्] A; °महोरगान् B **85c** द्रंष्ट्रा°] *corr.*; द्रष्ट्रा° A; दंष्ट्रा° B **85d** विद्युलोला°] A; विद्युन्माला° B ◆ °विलोकितम्] *conj.*; °विलोलितम् AB

प्रश्वासितौ महादेवौ पृच्छतो व्रतमुत्तमम् ॥८६॥
किमेतदद्भुतं रूपं किमेतद्भूषणं विभो ।
किमेतद्भ्राजते व्योम्नि त्रिशिखं शूलमुज्वलम् ॥८७॥
उत्तमाङ्गं शुभं कस्य यत्ते करतलस्थितम् ।
महास्थिभूषणश्चैतत्कंतनूत्थं विराजते ॥८८॥
ततो ऽहं प्रत्युवाचेदं तयोः संबोधकं वचः ।
अनेकमुण्डकोटीभिर्येयम्माला विभाति मे ॥८९॥
असङ्ख्यभुवनी[→*f.*302*v*]शानाम्प्रलये तनुजैस्तथा ।
विनिबद्धा तु हे ब्रह्म विनष्टानां पुनः पुनः ॥९०॥
यानि नाराण्यशेषाणि ग्रीवाबाहुकटिस्थितां ।
नारायण त्वदीयानि भुवनीशाश्च संक्षये ॥९१॥
⟨……⟩
मायया मांसमावृत्य तल्लक्ष्यात्क्षोभ्यमुद्यतः ।
मयापि सो त्वनायासा हूंकारेण नियामितः ॥९२॥

86–94 Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.63c–70 (≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.56c–63): मा भीष्टैवं मया चोक्तं पृच्छन्ति व्रतमुत्तमम् ॥६३॥ किमेतदद्भुतं रूपं किमेतद्भूषणं विभो । किमेतद्भ्राजते व्योम्नि त्रिशिखं शूलमुज्ज्वलम् ॥६४॥ उत्तमाङ्गं शुभं कस्य यत्ते करतले स्थितम् । ततो ऽहं प्रत्युवाचेदं तयोर्दर्पहरं वचः ॥६५॥ अनेकमुण्डकोटीभिर्येयं माला विभाति मे । त्वदीयैस्तनुभिर्ब्रह्म विनष्टस्य पुनः पुनः ॥६६॥ यानि नाराण्यनेकानि ग्रीवाहस्तकटिस्थिताः । नारायणस्य तनवो विनष्टस्य पुनः पुनः ॥६७॥ यदेतद्दक्षिणे हस्ते खट्वाङ्गं नाम विश्रुतम् । अस्योत्पत्तिं विधास्यामि शृणुष्वेकमनावुभौ ॥६८॥ अतीते युगकोट्यन्ते अहं योगमुपागतः । चिन्तयामि शिवं देवं यत्तत्परमकारणम् ॥६९॥ यावत्तस्मिन्समुत्पन्नो योगविघ्नो ऽतिदारुणः । ततो मया सुरुष्टेन हुंकारेण निपातितः ॥७०॥
89c–90b Cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.19 (= *BraYāSāra* 68.12): एवं कपालकोटीभिर्माला येयं विभाति मे । तस्य गात्रैरसंख्येयैर्धृता तु वरवर्णिनि ॥

86d पृच्छतो] *em.*; पृच्छतौ AB 87a एतद्] B; एतन्म् A ◆ रूपं] B; रूप A 87d उज्वलम्] A; उज्ज्वलम् B 88a कस्य] A; कंप B 89b वचः] B; वच A 90a असङ्ख्य°] B; अस⟨ङ्ख्य⟩° A ◆ °ईशानाम्] *em.*; °ईशानम् AB 90b प्रलये तनुजैस्] *conj.*; प्रलयैस्तु त्वजैस् AB 90c °बद्धा] B; °ब⟨द्धा/ध्वा⟩ A 91b °स्थितां] A; °स्थिताः B 91c नारायण] *em.*; नारायन AB 92b तल्लक्ष्यात्] *conj.* (Törzsök); तल्लक्षात् AB

खट्वासुरेति विख्यातो असुरो देवकण्टकः ।
तदन्ते लीलया देवि शक्त्याविष्टेन चेतसा ।
घातितो हि क्षणाद्दुष्टो विध्वंस्य बलदर्प्पितः ॥९३॥
तस्याङ्गं शीघ्रमादाय दिव्यवज्रमयम्महां ।
धृतं महायुधं यस्मात्खट्वाङ्गन्तु ततस्त्विदं ॥९४॥
एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु तौ देवौ प्रणिपत्य पुनः पुनः ।
जन्ममृत्युभयत्रस्तौ पुनश्चाश्वासितौ मया ॥९५॥
दत्वा वरसहस्राणि बुद्धिकामानुसारतः ।
सृष्टिङ्कुरुष्व हे ब्रह्म त्वम्पालय जनार्द्दन ॥९६॥
अजितस्त्रिषु लोकेषु सुभगश्च भविष्यसि ।
मम तुल्यबलो वत्स मच्छरीरे भविष्यसि ॥९७॥
प्रजानाङ्कारणं ब्रह्म विवेक्ता वेदवादिनाम्।
सत्वमर्थप्रवृत्तानां त्वं तु बोद्धा भविष्यसि ।
एवमुक्त्वा पुनश्चाहंमन्तर्द्धानमुपागतः ॥९८॥

94ff From here onwards the text is parallel to the *BraYāSāra*: *BraYā* 83.94–186 ≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.65–158. Readings of the complete *BraYāSāra* MS. (NGMPP reel no. E1527/6) are recorded in the main apparatus below with siglum S_1, excluding orthographic variants (for a diplomatic edition of *BraYāSāra* 68, see appendix D). **98a–d** Absent from S_1

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93 Cf. *BraYāSāra* 68.64–65b: खट्वा नाम महावीर्यो असुरो देवकण्ठकः । ततो मया सुरुष्टेन क्रोधाविष्टेन चेतमा ॥ निहतन्तु मया तस्य विध्वंस्य बलदर्प्पितः ।

93a विख्यातो] A; विख्या⁽त⁾ B^{pc}; विख्या⁽त–⁾ B^{ac} **93b** °कण्टकः] B; °कण्ठकः A **94b** महां] A; महान् B; महत् S_1 **94d** खट्वाङ्गन्] AS_1; बट्वाङ्गन् B • ततस्त्विदं] S_1; ततस्त्वितं AB **95d** °श्वासितौ] S_1; °स्वामितो A; °श्वामितो B **96c** कुरुष्व] AB; कुरुष्वे S_1 • ब्रह्म] AS_1; ब्रह्मन् B **96d** जनार्द्दन] $A^{pc}B$; जनार्द्दनः $A^{ac}S_1$ **97b** सुभगश्च] AB; अजितश्च S_1 **97c** °बलो] S_1; °बलौ AB **97d** भविष्यसि] A; भविष्यति B; वसिष्यसि S_1 **98d** बोद्धा] B; बो⟨द्धा/ध्वा⟩ A • भविष्यसि] A; भविष्यति B **98e** चाहंम्] A; चाहं B; चाहम्] S_1 **98f** उपागतः] AB; उपस्थितं S_1

खट्वाङ्गस्य समुत्पत्तिः कपालस्य तु भैरवि ।
कथिता तु समासेन अधिदेवामतः शृणु ॥९९॥
तस्याङ्गं शीघ्रमादाय सर्व्वदेवमयं कृतम् ।
तत्केशाङ्गृह्य तत्रैव मया देवि निवेशिताः ॥१००॥
तस्य वस्त्राणि रक्तेन चर्च्चयित्वा शुभेक्षणे ।
निर्मितानि विचित्राणि देवाङ्गानि ध्वजानि तु ॥१०१॥
मयूरहंसपत्राणि विनिबद्धानि तत्र तु ।
त्रिगुणेन तु सूत्रेण मायातन्तुमयेन तु ॥१०२॥
ततः खट्वाङ्गमूलेन अनन्तं सन्निवेशितम् ।
शूलरूपस्तु बोद्धव्यो कालाग्निः काश्चिदेशतः ॥१०३॥
तस्योपरिष्टा नरका अङ्गुलान्तरितास्त्रयः ।
पातालाश्चैव लोकाश्च उपर्युपरि संस्थिताः ॥१०४॥
सूत्रग्रन्थेरधस्ता तु ब्रह्मा तत्र व्यवस्थितः ।
तस्योपरि स्थितो विष्णुर्मूर्ध्निश्चाहं वरानने ॥१०५॥
सितसूत्रे स्थितः सत्वो ब्रह्मा तत्राधि[→*f.* 303*r*]देवतम् ।
रक्ते रजस्तु विज्ञेयो विष्णुस्तत्राधिदेवतं ॥१०६॥

99a खट्वाङ्गस्य] AB; कपालस्य S_1 ◆ °उत्पत्तिः] B^{pc}; °उत्पत्ति $AB^{ac}S_1$ 99b कपालस्य] AB; खट्वाङ्गस्य S_1 100a तस्याङ्गं शीघ्रमादाय] AB; खट्वास्याङ्गं गृहीत्वा तु S_1 100c तत्केशाङ्गृह्य तत्रैव] AB; तस्य केशां समादाय S_1 100d मया देवि निवेशिताः] *em.*; मया देवि निवेशिता AB; निबद्धानि शुभानि तु S_1 101c निर्मितानि] AB; लम्बितानि S_1 101d देवाङ्गानि] AB; देवागानि S_1 103a °मूलेन] AB; °मूले तु S_1 103b संनिवेशितम्] *corr.*; संनिवेसितम् AB; तु निवेशितं S_1 103c बोद्धव्यो] BS_1; बोधव्यो A 103d कालाग्निः] B; कालाग्नि (*unmet.*) AS_1 ◆ काश्चि°] AB; कंचि° S_1 104a °परिष्टा नरका] A; °परिष्टान्नरकाद् B; °परिष्टान्नरका S_1 104c पातालाश्चैव लोकाश्च] AB; पातालांश्चैव लोकांश्च S_1 104d °उपरि] AB; °अपरि° S_1 105a सूत्र°] S_1; शूल° AB 105a अधस्ता] A; अधस्तात् B; अध॥स्ना॥ S_1 105b तत्र व्यवस्थितः] AB; °ण्डमुत्र कल्पितः S_1 105c विष्णुर्] A; विष्णु BS_1 105d मूर्ध्निश्] B; म्मूर्ध्निश् AS_1 106b ब्रह्मा] AB; ब्रह्मस् S_1 ◆ °देवतम्] *corr.*; °दैवतं AB; °दैवतः S_1 106c रक्ते रजस्तु विज्ञेयो] AB; रक्तसूत्रे रजश्चैव S_1 106d °देवतं] A; °दैवतम् B; °दैवतः S_1

तमः कृष्णे विजानीयादहन्तत्राधिदेवतं ।
मिश्रे चाव्यक्तमित्युक्तं रजसत्वतमोमयं ॥१०७॥
एवं पुन्नियतिः कालो माया च वरवर्ण्णिनि ।
पिञ्छानामुपरिष्टा तु संस्थितानि यथाक्रमं ॥१०८॥
उपरिष्टा तु या काञ्ची ग्रन्थिस्तत्र व्यवस्थिता ।
यत्त्रिशूलोपरिष्टा तु तत्त्र शक्तित्त्रयम्विदुः ॥१०९॥
वामा जेष्ठा च रौद्री च वामदक्षिणमध्यगाः ।
उपरिष्टा शिवं शान्तं स्थितं सर्व्वस्य मूर्धनि ॥११०॥
कला विद्या च रागश्च पादके संव्यवस्थिताः ।
वायु ध्वजे स्थितो देवि सर्व्वासुपरिवारितः ॥१११॥
केशैर्नागकुलान्यष्टौ ज्ञातव्यानि विपश्चितैः ।
भूतप्रेतपिशाचाश्च यक्षकिन्नरचारणाः ॥११२॥
राक्षसाश्चापि वेताला पिञ्छकेषु व्यवस्थिताः ।
घण्ठिकायां स्थिता रुद्रा गणाश्च वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥११३॥
शब्दे सरस्वती देवी स्फोटे बिन्दुर्ध्वनिर्ध्वनौ ।

107a तमः] *em.*; मम AB; नम S_1 107b °देवतं] A; °दैवतम् B; °दैवत S_1 107c चाव्यक्तम्] AB; च व्यक्तम् S_1 107d रज°] A; रजो° B; रजः° S_1 108a एवं पुन्नियतिः] S_1; एवन्तु नियतिः AB 108c पिञ्छानाम्] AB; पिच्छानाम् S_1 109a उपरिष्टा] AS_1; उपरिष्टात् B ◆ काञ्ची] AB; कञ्चि S_1 109b व्यवम्थिता] *em.*; व्यवस्थिताः A^{pc}; व्यवस्थितः A^{ac}; व्यवस्थितैः B; प्रतिष्ठिताः S_1 109c यत्] A; य B; यम् S_1 ◆ °परिष्टा तु] AB; °परिस्तम्य S_1 109d तत्त्र A; तत्र] BS_1 ◆ °त्त्रयम्] AB; °त्रयम् S_1 110b वाम°] *em.*; वामा° ABS_1 ◆ °मध्यगाः] *em.*; °मध्यगां AB; °मध्यगा S_1 110c उपरिष्टा शिवं] A; उपरिष्टाच्छिवं BS_1 111a कला] BS_1; ⟨का⟩ला A (*probably corrected to* कला) 111b पादके सं°] AB; पादके तु S_1 ◆ °स्थिताः] S_1; °स्थिता AB 111c वायु] AB; वायूं S_1 111d सर्व्वासुपरिवारितः] AB; ज्ञातव्यं साधकेन तु S_1 112a केशैर्] B; केशै A; कैशैर् S_1 112c भूतप्रेतपिशाचाश्च] AB; भूता प्रेता पिशाचास्तु S_1 112d °किन्नरचारणाः] *em.*; °किन्नरचारिणां AB; गान्धर्व्वकिन्नराः S_1 113a °श्चापि वेताला] A; °श्चापि वेतालाः B; विघ्नवेताला S_1 113b °केषु व्यवम्थिताः] *em.*; °के संव्यवस्थिताः AB; °केषु प्रकीर्त्तिताः S_1 113c घण्ठिकायां] A; घण्टिकायां B; घण्ठिकाया S_1 114b स्फोटे] AB; स्फोट° S_1 ◆ ध्वनिर्] S_1; ⟨द्ध/द्ध⟩नि A; ध्वनि B

योगिन्यो मातरो लामा भगिन्यः पूतनास्तथा ॥११४॥
स्कन्दाद्यास्तु ग्रहाः सर्व्वे तथा सेहारिकादयः ।
जटाभिः संस्थिता ह्येते अस्त्राणि विविधानि च ॥११५॥
वेदाङ्गानि तथा विद्यास्थानान्येव चतुर्द्दश ।
ग्रहणे संस्थिता ह्येते गायत्री चैव मोक्षणे ॥११६॥
उद्धृते तु स्थितोङ्कारः सावित्री स्थापिते विदुः ।
सर्व्वदेवमयं ह्येवं खट्वाङ्गं वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥११७॥
मया कृतन्तु तत्काले पवित्रं परमं हितम् ।
ततः खट्वासुरः शान्तम्पदं प्राप्तो वरानने ॥११८॥
एषा खट्वाङ्गउत्पत्तिर्यो विजानाति तत्वतः ।
स याति ब्रह्मलोकन्तु भिन्ने देहे न संशयः ॥११९॥
यो पुनर्दीक्षितात्मानो धारयेद्युक्तचेतसः ।
स वीरेशपदे लीनो नावर्त्ततिरधोमुखः ॥१२०॥
षट्मासमब्दमात्रं वा मन्त्रयुक्तस्तु यो नरः ।
खट्वाङ्गन्धारयेद्देवि दिव्यसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥१२१॥
प्रमाणं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि शृणुष्वेकमना सती ।

114c योगिन्यो] AB; भगिन्यो S_1 114d भगिन्यः पूतनास्तथा] A; भगिन्यः पूतना तथा B; योगिन्यो पूतनादयः S_1 115a ग्रहाः सर्व्वे] AB; ग्रहाश्चैव S_1 115c जटाभिः] B; जटाभि A; पिंच्छके S_1 ◆ ह्येते] AB; ह्येतो S_1 116a विद्या°] S_1; वेदा AB 116b चतुर्द्दश] B (चतुर्दश); चतुर्द्दशः AS_1 116c ह्येते] AB; वेदा S_1 116d गायत्री] BS_1; गायत्री A 117b सावित्री स्थापिते विदुः] AB; स्थापिते सावित्रि संस्थिताः (*unmet.*) S_1 117d खट्वाङ्गं] AB; खट्वाङ्ग S_1 118b हितम्] AB; महत् S_1 118d पदम्] *em.*; पद° AB; परं S_1 ◆ वरानने] BS_1; वराने A 119a एषा] AB; एष S_1 ◆ °ङ्गउत्पत्तिर्] AB; °ङ्गमुत्पन्ति S_1 119c °लोकन्तु] AS_1; °लोकस्तु B 119d भिन्ने] AS_1; भिन्न° B 120a यो पुनर्] *em.*; यः पुनः AB; यो पुर्न S_1 ◆ °आत्मानो] *em.*; °आत्मा वै AB; °आन्मानो S_1 120b युक्त°] $A^{pc}BS_1$; युक्तं A^{ac} ◆ °चेतसः] S_1; °चेतसा AB 120d नावर्त्ततिर्] S_1; न चागच्छत्व् AB ◆ °मुखः] AS_1; °मुखम् B 121a षट्°] A; षण्° B; षड्° S_1 ◆ अब्द°] AB; चाब्द° S_1 121c खट्वाङ्गन्] AB; खट्वाङ्ग S_1 121d दिव्य°] S_1; विद्या° AB 122b सती] AB; सनी S_1

स्वशरीरप्रमाणेन कर्त्तव्यमधिकं पि वा ॥१२२॥
चतुर्हस्तोर्द्ध्वतो देवि न मर्त्ये[→f.303v]षु सुखावहं ।
त्रिहस्तन्तु शुभं विद्धि मन्त्रसिद्धिकरं हितं ॥१२३॥
अङ्गुष्ठपर्व्वमानेन कुर्यात्पञ्चाशदङ्गुलम् ।
चतुरङ्गुलमानेन परिणाहो वरानने ॥१२४॥
त्रिहस्तं पञ्चपर्व्वाणि परिणाहेण कीर्त्तितम् ।
अष्टाङ्गुलपरीणाहश्चतुर्हस्तस्य सुव्रते ॥१२५॥
चतुरङ्गुला भवेत्काञ्ची कीलको द्वादशाङ्गुलः ।
चतुरङ्गुलप्रवेशन्तु अधस्ताष्टाङ्गुलो भवेत् ॥१२६॥
एतत्प्रमाणमाख्यातं न्यूनङ्किञ्चिन्न कारयेत् ।
पादको हस्तमात्रस्तु प्रकुर्याच्छास्त्रवित्तमः ॥१२७॥
द्वादशाङ्गुलमानन्तु तृशूलं तस्य चोपरि ।
नवाङ्गुलन्त्रिहस्ते तु इतरेषु षडङ्गुलम् ॥१२८॥
पादन्तद्वत्प्रकर्त्तव्यं ध्वजन्कुर्याद्यथेप्सितम् ।
द्वादशाङ्गुलमारभ्य चतुर्विंशतिकन्नरैः ॥१२९॥

122–34 Cf. *BraYā* 21.73c–75b: खट्वाङ्गं धारयेन्मन्त्री सचक्रध्वजखेटकम् ॥७३॥ पुष्पलोहमयं दिव्यं अथवा मानुषास्थिषु । वज्रदग्धे द्रुमे वापि श्मशाने खादिरे ऽपि वा ॥७४॥ प्रादेशमात्रं कुर्वीत अथवा स्वप्रमाणकम् ।

122d पि वा] S_1; तथा AB **123a** °हस्तोर्द्धतो] AS_1; °हस्तोद्ध्र्वतो B **123b** न मर्त्येषु] S_1 मर्त्त्यजेष्ट° AB **123d** हितम्] AB; स्मृतं S_1 **124b** पञ्चाशदङ्गुलम्] *conj.*; पञ्चादशाङ्गुलं AS_1; पञ्चदशाङ्गुलं B **124d** परिणाहो] AB; परिणाहं S_1 **125a** त्रिहस्तं] AB; तृहस्त S_1 **125b** °णाहेन] AB; °णाहे प्र° S_1 **125c** °परीणाहश्] *em.*; °परीणाह A; °परीणाहं B; °प्रमाणं तु S_1 **125d** °हस्तस्य सुव्रते] AB; °हस्तंस्य कीर्त्तितम् S_1 **126a** °ङ्गुला] AS_1; °ङ्गुलाद् S_1 ◆ काञ्ची] S_1; कञ्ची AB **126b** °आङ्गुलः] AS_1; °आङ्गुलम् B **126c** °प्रवेशन्तु] AB; °प्रवेशश्च S_1 **126d** °ङ्गुलो] AB; °ङ्गुलं S_1 **127a** प्रमाणमाख्यातं] AB; °प्रमाण शूलस्य S_1 **127b** न्यूनङ] *em.*; शून्यङ AB; न्युनं S_1 ◆ किञ्चिन्न] AB; तन्तु S_1 **127c** पादको हस्तमात्रस्तु] AB; पादकस्त्वत्प्रमानश्च S_1 **128a** °मानन्तु] AB; °मानञ्च S_1 **128b** तृशूलं] AS_1; त्रिशूलन् B **128c** °ङ्गुलन्] AB; °ङ्गुल S_1 **129a** पादन्] AB; पाद S_1 **129b** कुर्याद्] AB; कुर्या S_1 **129d** °विंशतिकन्नरैः] *corr.*; °विन्सतिकन्नरैः AB; °व्विङःशङ्गुलैर्न्नरैः S_1

गृहस्थैरपि कर्त्तव्यं यथा गुप्तं प्रजायते ।
लक्षणेन विहीनं हि यदा कुर्व्वीत साधकः ॥१३०॥
विभ्रमोद्वेगविद्वेषसिद्धिहानिकरम्भवेत् ।
न्यग्रोधपादपे रिज्वे अथ वंशमयं शुभम् ॥१३१॥
सरलं देवदारुञ्च करवीरार्क्कजन्तथा ।
बुकश्चाशोकखदिरो बिल्वपिप्पलशिंशपाः ॥१३२॥
सप्तपर्ण्णमयं वाथ श्रीखण्डे रक्तचन्दने ।
कार्यं श्मशानकाष्ठे वा तारकाञ्चनजन्तथा ॥१३३॥
ताम्रजं वा महेशानि पुष्पलोहमयन्तथा ।
यथालाभेन कर्त्तव्यं साधकेन महात्मना ॥१३४॥
तमाराध्यम्प्रयत्नेन यथायुक्तेन मन्त्रिणा ।
खट्वाङ्गं पूजितं येन त्रैलोक्यं तेन पूजितं ॥१३५॥
खट्वाङ्गं धारितं येन धृतन्तेन चराचरं ।
मन्त्रचर्याविहीनो ऽपि ग्रामासक्तो ऽपि यो नरः ॥१३६॥
खट्वाङ्गं धारयेद्यस्तु नासौ लिप्यति पातकैः ।

136b–37a In place of these four pādas, S_1 writes त्रैलोक्यं तेन अर्ञ्चितं । खट्वाङ्गपूजिते नित्यं (109bc)

135c–36b Cf. *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.20: तस्माल्लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सर्वदेवभवोद्भवं । स्थापितन्तेन सर्वं स्यात्पूजितञ्च न संशयः ॥

130a गृहस्थैरपि] *conj.*; गृहस्थेनापि] AB; गृहस्थैः ⟨सं⟩प्र° S_1 130b यथा गुप्तं प्रजायते] AB; अप्रकाश्य यथा भवेत् S_1 130c लक्षणेन] AB; लक्षतो न S_1 • हि] AB; तु S_1 130d कुर्व्वीत साधकः] AB; कुर्या तु मन्त्रवित् S_1 131a °ओद्वेग°] AS_1; °ओद्वेगं B • °विद्वेष° AB; °संताप° S_1 131b °हानिकरम्] AB; °हानिस्तदा S_1 131c °पादपे] AB; °पादये S_1 • रिज्वे] A; ऋज्वे B; रिक्षे S_1 132c बुकश्चाशोक°] A; बुकश्चासोक° B; सुवासोक° (*unmet.*) S_1 132d °पिप्पल°] AB; °पिप्पले (*unmet.*) S_1 • °शिंशपाः] AB; शिंशपा S_1 133a °पर्ण्ण°] AB; °च्छद° S_1 133b °खण्डे] AB; °खण्डा° S_1 133d °काञ्चनजन्तथा] AB; °काजनजो थवा S_1 134b °मयन्तथा] AB; °मये थवा S_1 135a आराध्यम्] A; आराध्य BS_1 135b मन्त्रिणा] AB; रेतसा S_1 136a खट्वाङ्गं] AB; खट्वाङ्ग S_1 136d °आसक्तो] *corr.*; °आशक्तो AB

ब्रह्माधिदेवतन्देवि कपालं परिकीर्त्तितं ॥१३७॥
पवित्रम्परमं दिव्यमाग्नेयं ब्रह्मसम्भवं ।
यस्तु धारयते नित्यम्मत्परो नियमस्थितः ॥१३८॥
पापहा सर्व्वमर्त्यानान्दर्शनादेव पार्व्वति ।
ब्रह्महा पितृहन्तारो भ्रातृहा मातृघातकः ॥१३९॥
द्वादशाब्दानि भिक्षाशी कपालव्रतमाचरेत् ।
मन्त्रदीक्षाविहीनो ऽपि शुध्यत्येव न संशयः ॥१४०॥
दीक्षितो यस्तु मन्त्रज्ञः शिवभक्तिसमन्वितः ।
ब्रह्महत्यासहस्रे ऽपि सद्य[→*f.*304*r*]हाद्विमलो भवेत् ॥१४१॥
अपापी मन्त्रयुक्तस्तु षट्मासा सिद्धिभाग्भवेत् ।
रक्षयक्षपिशाचानाम्भूतवेतालगुह्यकाम् ॥१४२॥
अप्रधृष्यो प्रजायेत षट्मासाभ्यन्तरान्नरः ।
जायते च महेशानि मत्पुत्रो ऽतीववल्लभः ॥१४३॥
यक्षिणीगुह्यकानाञ्च योगिनीनां प्रियो भवेत् ।
किन्तु तास्तत्र सानैध्यम्मया पूर्व्वं प्रकल्पितं ॥१४४॥

169ab ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.69: पापहा मर्वमर्त्यानां दर्शनस्पर्शनादपि ।

138c यम्तु] AB; यम्तं S_1 **138d** नियमस्थितः] AB; नियतव्रतः S_1 **139b** दर्शनादेव] AB; दर्शनांदेव S_1 **139c** ब्रह्महा] AB; भ्रातृह S_1^{ac}; भ्रातृहा S_1^{pc} **139d** भ्रातृहा] B; भातृहा A; मातृहा S_1 **139d** मातृघातकः] A; मातृघातकम् B; ब्रह्मघातकः S_1 **140d** शुध्यत्येव न] *em.*; शुध्यत्येवं न A; शुद्ध्यत्येवं न B; शुध्यते नात्र S_1 **141c** °हत्या°] BS_1; °हत्य° A ◆ °महस्रे ऽपि] AB; °महस्रापि S_1 **142b** षट्मासा] A; षण्मासात् B; षड्मासान् S_1 **142c** रक्षयक्ष°] AB; यक्षरक्ष° S_1 **142d** °वेताल°] AB; °व्यताल° S_1 ◆ °गुह्यकाम्] S_1; °गुह्यकान् AB **143a** अप्रधृष्यो] *em.*; अप्रधृष्या AB; अप्रधृष्य S_1 ◆ प्रजायेत] AB; प्रजायेन S_1 **143b** षट्मासाभ्यन्तरान्नरः] *conj.*; षट्मामाच्छ्रङ्भुन्नरः A; षण्मासाच्छ्रङ्भुङःनरः B; षण्मासा⟨द्र/ङ्ग⟩ङ्मतु⟨द्र/ङ्ग⟩रः S_1 **144a** यक्षिणी°] AB; मातृणां S_1 ◆ °गुह्यकानाञ्च] AB; गुह्यकानां (*unmet.*) S_1 **144c** तास्तत्र] AB; ता तन्त्र° S_1 ◆ मानैध्यम्] A; सान्नैध्यं B; °सानैध्या S_1 **144d** °कल्पितं] S_1; °कल्पिताः AB

ब्रह्मणस्योत्तमाङ्गन्तु अतीवात्युल्बणम्महत् ।
पञ्चमन्तु समुद्भूतन्तेन संच्छादितं जगत् ॥१४५॥
आदित्यश्च ग्रहाश्चैव नक्षत्त्राणि च चन्द्रमाः ।
तेजसा न स्वयं भान्ति ताराः सूर्योदये यथा ॥१४६॥
ततो ऽहं संस्तुतस्तैस्तु देवैः सरिषिपुङ्गवैः ।
ततो योगेन विज्ञाय कार्यमेतद्दिवौकसाम् ॥१४७॥
गन्धवत्यातटे रम्ये स्वरूपन्दर्शितम्मया ।
महाकालं महारौद्रं प्रज्वलं स्वमरीचिभिः ।
छादितः स मया तूर्ण्णं स्वप्रभाभिः पितामहः ॥१४८॥
नखेन वामहस्तस्य च्छिन्नमत्युल्बणाननम् ।
तद्गृह्य नृत्यमानो ऽहं गतो यत्र जनार्द्दनः ॥१४९॥

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146 Cf. *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14.96 (≈ *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* 2.40): तस्यासुरसुराः सर्वे वक्त्रस्याद्भुतवर्चसः । तेजसा न प्रकाशंते दीपाः सूर्योदये यथा ॥ **149ab** Cf. *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14.111; *Matsyapurāṇa* 183.86cd: वामाङ्गुष्ठनखाग्रेण च्छिन्नं तस्य शिरो मया ॥; *Brahmāṇḍapurana* III, 40.56ab: मूर्धानमेकं चिच्छेद नखेनैव तदा विधेः ।; *Skandapurāṇa* 5.43: हस्ताङ्गुष्ठनखेनाशु वामेनावज्ञयैव हि । चकर्त तन्महद्घोरं ब्रह्मणः पञ्चमं शिरः ॥

145b अतीवात्युल्बणम्] *em.*; अतीवास्युल्बणम् AB; अतीवात्युन्वनं S_1 ◆ महत्] AB; पुरा S_1 **145c** पञ्चमन्तु] S_1; पञ्चमन्त्र° AB **145d** जगत्] S_1 (also *em.* GRANOFF 2009); जपेत् AB **146a** आदित्यश्च] *em.*; आदित्याश्च AB; आदित्या च S_1 ◆ ग्रहाश्] AB; ग्रहा S_1 **146b** नक्षत्त्राणि च] AB; नक्षत्राग्निश्च S_1 **146c** भान्ति] S_1; यान्ति AB **146d** ताराः सूर्यो°] *corr.*; तारा शूर्यो° A; तारा सूर्यो° BS_1 **147a** संस्तुतस्] B; संस्तुतःस् A; संस्तुतं S_1 **147b** सरिषि°] AS_1; सर्षि° (*unmet.*) B **147c** ततो योगेन] AB; मया योग न S_1 **147d** कार्यमेतद्] AB; कार्येमतद् S_1 **148a** °वत्या°] BS_1; °वत्यो A **148b** स्वरूपन्] AB; स्वतेज S_1 **148c** °रौद्रं] AB; °घोरं S_1 **148d** प्रज्वलं] AB; ज्वलन्त S_1 **148e** स मया] S_1; समयो A; समयस् B ◆ तूर्ण्णं] A; तूर्ण B; तूर्ण्ण S_1 **148f** स्वप्रभाभिः पिता°] $A^{pc}B$; स्वभाभिः पिता° A^{ac}; स्वप्रभादीपितं S_1 ◆ °महः] B; °महम् A; महत् S_1 **149a** नखेन] *conj.*; नखरा AB; नखरान् S_1 ◆ वामहस्तस्य] AB; सव्यहस्तेन S_1 **149b** °उल्बणाननम्] B; °उल्बनाननम् A; °उद्भूतांननं (*unmet.*) S_1 **149d** यत्र जना°] AB; यन्त्रर्ज्जना° S_1

तिष्ठते योगमासीनः पुराणपुरुषोत्तमः ।
ज्वलन्तं तेजसा स्वेन सुरासुरनमस्कृतः ॥१५०॥
प्रार्थितः स मया देवि भिक्षान्देहि महातपः ।
कपालमालिनं दृष्ट्वा ज्ञात्वा च पुरुषोत्तमः ॥१५१॥
स्वभुजन्दर्शयामास महासत्वो महाबलः ।
ततो मया त्रिशूलेन हतस्तु शुभलोचने ॥१५२॥
श्रोणितस्यातिवेगेन ततो धारा विनिर्गता ।
महाघोषेण पतिता कपाले चातिभास्वरे ॥१५३॥
तस्याः शब्देन महता कम्पिता तु वसुन्धरा ।
वामहस्तेन तत्पात्रं ततो संघट्टितम्मया ॥१५४॥
अहन्यहनि विक्षोभ्य नारायणि रमाम्यहम् ।
स्वच्छायान्तत्र पश्यामि तेजसातीव चोल्बणाम् ॥१५५॥
विचित्रा तत्र मे सृष्टिर्जाता चातिभयङ्करा ।

149c–53 Cf. *Skandapurāṇa* 6.1–6; *Kūrmapurāṇa* II, 31.89–91; *Padmapurāṇa* I, 14.12–18; *Matsyapurāṇa* 183.88–91b: ततो ऽहं गतवान्देवि हिमवन्तं शिलोच्चयम् । तत्र नारायणः श्रीमान्मया भिक्षां प्रयाचितः ॥८८॥ ततस्तेन स्वकं पार्श्वं नखाग्रेण विदारितम् । स्रवतो महती धारा तस्य रक्तस्य निःसृता ॥८९॥ प्रयाता सातिविस्तीर्णा योजनार्धशतं तदा । न संपूर्णं कपालं तु घोरमद्भुतदर्शनम् ॥९०॥ दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं तु सा च धारा प्रवाहिता ।

150a आसीनः] *corr.*; आशीन A; आ?सी?नं B^{pc}; ?ईशा?नं B^{ac}; आसीनो S_1 150c तेजसा स्वेन] B; तेजसा श्वेन A; स्वेतवीर्येन S_1 150d °कृतः] AB; °कृतं S_1 152b °सत्वो महाबलः] AB; °वीर्यो पराजितः S_1 153a श्रोणितस्या°] A^{pc}; श्रोणिस्या° A^{ac}; श्रोणिस्तस्या° B; शोणितस्या° S_1 153b विनिर्गता] AB; प्रवर्त्तिता S_1 153d चाति°] AB; तीव° S_1 154a तस्याः] B; तस्या A; तस्य S_1 154b तु] AB; च S_1 154c °हस्तेन] AS_1; °हस्ते तु B   154d ततो] A; ततः B; मया S_1 154d संघट्टितम्मया] AB; संपुटितं पुनः S_1 155a विक्षोभ्य] S_1; विक्षेभ्य A; विक्षेभ्यो B   155b रमाम्यहम्] AB; नमाम्यहं S_1 155d तेजसातीव] AB; अतितेजेन S_1 ◆ चोल्बणाम्] A; चोल्बणा BS_1 156a विचित्रा] AS_1; विचित्र B ◆ सृष्टिर्] B; शृष्टिर् A; सृष्टि S_1 156b जाता] B; ज्जाता A; व्यक्ता° S_1 ◆ चातिभयङ्करा] AB; °तीवभयंकरः S_1

वामहस्ते प्रपश्यामि योगिन्यो वीरसंयुताः ॥१५६॥
विद्येश्वरी महाचण्डा रक्ता चैव करालिनी ।
गुह्यकाञ्चेश्वरन्देवि तत्प्रपश्यामि भैरवम् ॥१५७॥
षड्योगिन्यः प्रपश्यामि मातरो भीमविक्रमाः ।
असंख्याता महादेव्य[→*f*.304*v*]स्तत्रोत्पन्नास्तु सुव्रते ॥१५८॥
किङ्कर्यः किङ्कराश्चैव द्वादशादित्यवर्च्चसः ।
मन्थानभैरवस्तेन गीतः स परमेश्वरः ॥१५९॥
दिव्येनाब्दसहस्रेण तत्पूर्ण्णं वीरवन्दिते ।
देव्यस्तत्र समुत्पन्नाः शोणितासवलोलुपाः ॥१६०॥
कपाले संस्थिता देव्यो दृष्ट्वा संपूजिता मया ।
विष्णुनापि च तत्रस्था देव्यः सम्पूजिताः सदा ॥१६१॥
एवञ्च ब्रह्मणेनापि भावमाशृत्य पूजिताः ।
ब्रह्मणस्योत्तमाङ्गे तु विष्णुशोणितपूरिते ॥१६२॥

155–60 Cf. *BraYā* 53.184–88b: रुद्रस्य क्रीडतो पूर्व्वं कपाले ब्रह्मण[:] स्वके । विष्णुस्त्रोणितसंपूर्ण्णे [*em.*; °पूर्ण्ण A] रुद्रदृष्टिनिपातिते ॥१८४॥ शिवशक्तिकृताटोपे तेजसातीवभास्वती । अघोरे[शी] प्र[शा]न्ता या परा योगे[शि]पूजिता ॥१८५॥ तत्र सा रक्तसंपूर्ण्णे अव्यक्ता तु महेश्वरि [*em.*; महेश्वरी A] । गुह्यकादूतियोगीभिर्मातृचण्डादिसंयुता ॥१८६॥ यागक्षेत्रेशरुद्रान्ता [*conj.*; °क्षेत्रसरुद्रोन्ता A] योगिरक्षादिसाधिपा । लोकपालास्त्रसंयुक्ता सर्व्वा व्याप्य व्यवस्थिता ॥१८७॥ एषा भगवती [*em.*; °भवती A] देवी रक्ता नामेन वि[श्रु]ता ।

156c °हस्ते] AB; °हस्त S_1 156d योगिन्यो वीर°] AB; भगिन्यो दूति° S_1 ◆ °संयुताः] *em.*; °संयुता ABS_1 157a °चण्डा] AB; °चण्डो S_1 157b रक्ता] AB; रौद्री S_1 157c गुह्यकाञ्] *conj.*; गुह्यकञ् ABS_1 157d तत्प्रपश्यामि] AB; तत्र पश्यामि S_1 158a योगिन्यः] BS_1; योगिन्य A 158c महादेव्यस्] AB; महादेवि S_1 158d तत्रोत्पन्नास्तु] AB; तत्रोत्पद्यन्ति S_1 159b °वर्च्चसः] AB; °वर्च्चसाः S_1 159d परमेश्वरः] AB; परमः शिवः S_1 160a दिव्येनाब्द°] AB; दिव्यनाब्द° S_1 160b तत्पूर्ण्णं] *em.*; तत्पूर्ण्णा AB; तन्पूर्ण्ण S_1 ◆ वीरवन्दिते] AB; तत्र भैरवि S_1 160c समुत्पन्नाः] *corr.*; समुत्पन्ना AB; समुद्भूता S_1 160d °लोलुपाः] AB; °लोलुपा S_1 161a देव्यो] AB; देव्यः S_1 161b संपूजिता मया] AB; मे संप्रपूजिताः S_1 161d °पूजिताः] *corr.*; °पूजिता ABS_1 ◆ सदा] AB; शुभाः S_1 162b भावम्] AB; भाव्यम् S_1 ◆ आशृत्य] AS_1; आश्रित्य B ◆ पूजिताः] *em.*; पूजिता ABS_1 162d विष्णु°] AS_1; विष्णुः B ◆ °शोणित°] AB; °रक्तस्य S_1

मम दृष्टिनिपातेन उत्थिता चात्र रश्मयः ।
कपाले तेन सानैध्यङ्कल्पयन्ति वरानने ॥१६३॥
कपालं पूजितं येन देव्यस्तेन प्रपूजिताः ।
कपालं पूरितं येन तृप्तास्तस्य गभस्तयः ।
कपालं धारितं येन धृतन्तेन चराचरं ॥१६४॥
वन्दिते वन्दितं सर्व्वं लङ्घिते लङ्घितं जगत् ।
कपालं लङ्घितं येन पापात्मा वाथ निन्दितम् ॥१६५॥
लङ्घिताः समयास्तेन निन्दिता गुरवस्तथा ।
तस्मान्न लङ्घयेत्प्राज्ञः कपालं त्रिदशार्च्चितम् ॥१६६॥
गायत्र्योंकारसावित्त्रीसर्व्वशास्त्रसमन्विताः ।
कपाले चतुरो वेदा द्रष्टव्या वीरवन्दिते ॥१६७॥
तेन तत्रैव यत्किञ्चित्पतितम्भिक्षभोजने ।
पावनन्तत्पवित्रश्च कुत्सितान्नमपिर्भवेत् ॥१६८॥
पापाचाररतेनापि स्त्रिया वा पुरुषेण वा ।
सद्यो मान्सासवन्दत्तन्तत्पवित्रं न संशयः ॥१६९॥

165–66b In place of these six pādas, S_1 writes निन्दिते निन्दितं येन लघितं नापि लंघितं ॥ (136cd)

163a मम] $AB^{pc}S_1$; सम° B^{ac} **163b** चात्र] AB; तन्त्र S_1 ◆ रश्मयः] BS_1; रस्मयः A **163c** सानैध्यङ] AS_1; मान्नैध्यं B **163d** वगनने] AB; गभस्तयः S_1 **164a** कपालं S_1; कपाल° AB **164b** देव्यस्तेन] AB; तेन देव्यः S_1 **164c** कपालं] S_1; कपाल° AB **164d** तृप्तास्तस्य गभस्तयः] AB; तम्य तृमा मगीचयः S_1 **164e** कपालं धारितं] *em.*; कपालधारितं AB; कपालमुद्धृतं S_1 **165d** वाथ] A; चाथ B **166c** लङ्घयेत्] AB; लंघयेन् S_1 **166d** त्रिदशा°] AB; तृदशा° S_1 **167a** गायत्र्यों°] A; गायत्र्यों° B; गायत्र्याङ S_1 ◆ °सावित्त्री°] *em.*; °सावित्त्रिं A; °सावित्रिं] B; °सावित्र्या S_1 **167b** सर्व्वशास्त्रसमन्विताः] *em.*; सर्व्वशास्त्रसमन्विता] AB; षडङ्गेन समन्वितं S_1 **167c** वेदा] S_1; वर्ण्णा AB **168b** भिक्षभोजने] *em.*; भिक्षभाजने AB; भक्षभोजने S_1 **168c** पावनन्] AS_1; याचनन् B ◆ पवित्रश्च] B; यवित्रश्च A; पवित्रं तु S_1 **168d** कुत्सितान्नमपिर्] *em.*; कुत्मितान्नमपि] AB; कुप्मितां न तु यद् S_1 **169b** स्त्रिया वा] AB; स्त्रियाया S_1 **169c** सद्यो] AB; मद्य° S_1 ◆ मान्मा°] A; मांसा° B; °मान्स° S_1 ◆ °सवन्दत्तन्] AB; मधुन्द?त्वा? S_1

एकान्नमपि भुञ्जानो प्रतिग्रहभयोज्झितः ।
किम्पुनर्भक्षयेत्तुष्टो विशेषान्मन्त्रमाशृतः ॥१७०॥
ब्रह्माधिदेवतन्देवि कपालं वरवर्ण्णिनि ।
सर्व्वदेवमयञ्चैव सर्व्वतत्वमयं हि तत् ॥१७१॥
चूडामणि कपालेन शिखायां यो निवेशितः ।
ईश्वरस्तत्र विज्ञेयो अधिदेवो वरानने ॥१७२॥
ज्ञानशक्तिः क्रियाख्या च कर्ण्णिके परिकीर्त्तिते ।
कण्ठस्थिता तु या मुद्रा अहन्तत्राधिदेवतम् ॥१७३॥
रुद्रो मातृगणैस्सार्धं ज्ञातव्यस्तु वरानने ।
अनन्तो ह्युपवीते तु शक्तिस्सर्व्वोर्द्धगा परा ॥१७४॥
हस्तबाहुकटिस्थैश्च विष्णु ज्ञेयो ऽधिदेवतं ।

171cd Cf. *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.42ab: सर्वो लिङ्गमयो लोकः सर्वं लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठितम् । 172–75 Cf. *BraYā* 21.103–107; *BraYā* 63.6–8: शिखाग्रेदीश्वरं दद्या ज्ञानशक्ति कृया तथा । कर्ण्णिके गलके रुद्रा महामायान्तगावधि ॥६॥ तदधो कटकेयूरउपवीतकटिसराः । नूपुरान्तास्तु भुवना न्यस्तव्या चेश्वरान्विताः ॥७॥ न्यस्तव्या तु महादेवि मुद्रायुक्ता व्रतात्मकाः । विन्यसेत ततो मन्त्री कङ्कालं भैरवं परम् ॥८॥ (see §6.2, note 20).

170a एकान्नम्] AB; एकान्तम् S_1 170b प्रति°] S_1; परि° AB ◆ °भयोज्झितः] A; °भयोज्झितम् BS_1 170c भक्षयेत्तुष्टो] *em.*; भक्षयेत्तुष्ट AB; भैक्षसंतुष्टो S_1 170d विशेषान्] BS_1; विशेषात् A ◆ आशृतः] AS_1; आश्रितम् B 171a देवि] AB; ज्ञेयं S_1 171b कपालं] AB; कपाल S_1 171c °मयश्चैव] A; °मयश्चैव B 171d °तत्वमयं हि तत्] AB; °तीर्थमयं हितं S_1 172b शिखायां यो निवेशितः] A^{pc}B; शिखायां------ A^{ac}; शिखा य विनिवेशितः S_1 172c विज्ञेयो] A; विज्ञेय B; विज्ञेयाम् S_1 172d अधिदेवो] AB; अधिदेवं S_1 173a °शक्तिः] *corr.*; °शक्ति ABS_1 173b कर्ण्णिके परि°] A; कर्ण्णिकोपरि S_1 173c कण्ठ°] BS_1; कण्ट° A ◆ °स्थिता तु या मुद्रा] AB; °स्थितान्तु मुद्रायान् S_1 173d अहन्तत्राधि°] AB; तत्राहमधि° S_1 ◆ °देवतम्] A; °दैवतम् B; °देवतां S_1 174a रुद्रो] AB; रुद्र° S_1 ◆ °गणैस्सार्धं] A; °गणैः सार्धं B; °गणैश्चैव S_1 174b °व्यस्तु वरानने] AB; °व्यो गणसंस्तुते S_1 174c अनन्तो ह्युप°] *em.*; अनन्ता ह्युप° AB; अनन्ताद्यो° S_1 174d शक्तिस्] A; शक्तिः B; ना?श? S_1 ◆ सर्व्वोर्द्धगा परा] *em.*; सर्व्वार्द्धगा परा AB; ?ना?जाधिदेवतां S_1 175a °कटिस्थैश्च] B; °कटि⟨न्थै/त्थै⟩श्च A; °कटिश्चैव S_1 175b ज्ञेयो] AB; ज्ञेया° S_1

शिवः शुद्धः सुनिर्वाण्ण ज्ञेयो भस्माधिदैवतं ।
शक्तयो विविधाकारा जटानामधिदेवताः ॥१७५॥
एतन्महार्थदन्देवि यो विजानाति तत्वतः ।
शिववत्स तु बोद्धव्यो [→*f.*305*r*]विरुद्धाचरणो ऽपि यः ॥१७६॥
यद्यपिः स विकर्म्मस्थः कुरुते ऽतीवसाहसं ।
तथापि प्रेतराजानो भवते शिवभावितः ॥१७७॥
स्थित्वा शिवेच्छया तत्र यावत्तत्कर्मसंक्षयः ।
ततो याति परं स्थानं यत्तत्पदमनामयम् ॥१७८॥
एतत्पुरा महादेवि देवैश्चीर्ण्णम्महाव्रतम् ।
ततो मृत्युजरान्त्यक्त्वा मन्त्रसिद्धिपराङ्गताः ॥१७९॥
शक्रेणापि पुरा चीर्ण्णं महेन्द्रेण महाव्रतं ।
ततो दितेरपत्यानां मर्दिता तु वरूथिनी ॥१८०॥
विष्णुनापि पुरा चीर्ण्णं चक्रस्यार्थे महाव्रतं ।

175cd These two pādas are transmitted by S_1 alone, but may nonetheless be original. **180c–81d** are written in the lower margin of A in another hand, with an insertion marker after **180b**; **181a** is badly damaged. **181cd** appears in both the main text and in the lower margin, with no variants. B and S_1 write the full passage in the main text with no repetition.

175c शिवः] *corr.*; शिव S_1 ◆ सुनिर्वाण्ण] *em.*; स निर्व्वाण S_1 **175f** °देवताः] *em.*; °देवतं AB; °देवता S_1 **176a** महार्थदन्] AB; महाव्रतन् S_1 **176d** °चरणो] AB; °चरणे S_1 **177a** अपिः] S_1; अपि (*unmet.*) AB ◆ स विकर्म्मस्थः] S_1; सुचिकर्मस्थ A; शुचिकर्मस्थं B **177d** शिव°] AB; ऽतीव° S_1 **178a** शिवेच्छया] AB; शिवेच्छाया (*unmet.*) S_1 **178b** तत्कर्म°] AB; कर्म्मस्य] S_1 **178c** ततो याति] AB; याति चैव S_1 **178d** यत्तत्पदमनामयम्] AB; यत्र देवो महेश्वरः S_1 **179a** एतत्] AB; एतन् S_1 **179c** °जरान्] A; °जरांम् B; °जरा S_1 **179d** °सिद्धि°] A; °सिद्धिं B; °सिद्ध° S_1 ◆ °गताः] S_1; °गता AB **180a** शक्रेणापि] S_1; शुक्रेणापि AB **180b** महेन्द्रेण] AB; महेन्द्रे तु S_1 **180c** दितेरपत्यानां] A; दितेन पत्यानां B; दित्यारपत्यानां S_1 **180d** वरूथिनी] BS_1; व≀रूथिनी≀ A **181a** विष्णुनापि पुरा चीर्ण्णं] BS_1; ≀विष्≀––⟨गि/पि/यि⟩–––≀ीर्ण्णं≀ A*(no bottoms)* **181b** चक्रस्यार्थे] BS_1; ≀चक्रस्यार्थे≀ A

तमवाप्याजितो लोके जातो देवारिसूदनः ॥१८१॥
ब्रह्मणेनापि वेदेषु प्रनष्टेषु महाव्रतम् ।
चरित्वाराधितो पूर्व्वमहं सुरवरार्च्चिते ।
मया तुष्टेन तस्याशु पुनर्वेदाः प्रकाशिताः ॥१८२॥
मातृभिर्योगिनीभिश्च ग्रहवेतालराक्षसैः ।
मम रूपन्तु विज्ञाय चीर्ण्णमेतन्महाव्रतम् ॥१८३॥
मासपक्षायनञ्चाब्दम्मन्त्रयुक्तश्चरेद्यदि ।
जायते सर्व्वयोगीनां सन्मतः साधकोत्तमः ॥१८४॥
तस्माद्यः सिद्धिमन्विच्छेत्परापरगुणात्मिकाम् ।
तन्त्रं भैरवमाशृत्य तेन कार्यं महाव्रतं ॥१८५॥
वेलाव्रतं समाशृत्य सिध्यते गृहमेधिनः ।
मर्त्त्यभोगाविरक्तात्मा न चोत्पतति खेतले ।
पशोरभावतो देवि न मेलकविवर्जितः ॥१८६॥
इति पिचुमते द्वादशसाहस्रके कपालखट्वाङ्गोत्पत्ति[स्त्र्य]शीतिमः पटलः ॥❀॥

184cd Cf. 59.7: समुद्धृतेषु मन्त्रेषु योगिनीनां सभैरवाम् । भवते सम्मतो मन्त्री कुलसामान्यगोचरः ॥

181c अवाप्याजितो] AB; आवाप्य जितो S_1 181d जातो] AB; यातो S_1 ◆ °सूदनः] B; °शूदनः AS_1 182a वेदेषु] S_1; देवेषु AB 182c °राधितो] S_1; °धारितः AB 182d °वरार्च्चिते] AB; °वरार्च्चितः S_1 182e °आशु] *em.*; °आसुः A; °आसु B; °आशुः S_1 183a मातृभिर्योगिनीभिश्च] AB; मातृयोगिभगिन्यैश्च° S_1 183b ग्रह°] AB; ग्रहा S_1 ◆ °राक्षसैः] AB; °राक्षसा S_1 183c रूपन्] A; रूपस् B; रूप S_1 ◆ तु विज्ञाय] AB; विदित्वा तु S_1 184a मासपक्षायनञ्] AB; पक्षं मासरितुश् S_1 184b °युक्तश्] *em.*; °युक्तञ् AB; °युक्ताश् S_1 184d सन्मतः] *em.*; समन्तः AB; सन्मतं S_1 ◆ °कोत्तमः] B; °कोत्तममः A; °केश्वरः S_1 185a यः] AB; यन् S_1 ◆ अन्विच्छेत्] S_1; अन्विच्छत् AB 185b °गुणात्मिकाम्] *em.*; °गुणात्मिका AB; °गुणात्मकीं S_1 185c तन्त्रं] S_1; त⟨त्र/न्त्र⟩ A; तत्र B ◆ आशृत्य] AS_1; आश्रित्य B 185d कार्यं] AB; कार्य S_1 186a वेला°] AB; ⟨वेलो⟩° S_1 ◆ °आशृत्य] AS_1; °आश्रित्य B 186b सिध्यते] S_1; सिध्यन्ते A; सिद्ध्यन्ते B 186d चोत्पतति] AB; चोत्पतनि S_1 Colophon: °त्पत्तिस्त्र्यशीतिमः] *conj.*; °त्पत्ति अशीतिमः AB

I

Chapter of the Connections

OṂ
Homage to the gurus, who begin with Śiva;
[homage] to the *yoginīs*.[1]

1 That ontic principle (*tattva*) which, consisting of Śiva-with-differentiation (*sakalaśiva*), is the source of mantras, (¿) the [supreme] cause, [the state of] liberation, and omnipresent (?); which bears the form of the lingam sporting with unequalled pleasure in the lotuses of the Consorts (*dūtī*), (¿) [a lotus garland] whose segments are bound together by the [cord of] Śakti, with various sites for yogic absorption (*layapada*) that are abodes of manifold supernatural experiences (?); may that Bhairava-principle, [HŪṂ,] which renders asunder the mountain of *saṃsāra*, sanctify you.[2]

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[1]A is damaged beyond reconstruction until *śv*, although the *akṣara* bottoms visible agree with the readings of **D** and **E** from *guru*° or perhaps °*bhyo* in *śivādibhyo*. A final anusvāra may have been lost. A's poor state of preservation here probably accounts for the fact that **B** has the generic ŚRĪGAṆEŚĀYA NAMAḤ as its opening benediction. C's heavily rubricated benediction is difficult to make out, but probably reads OṂ ŚRĪGAṆEŚĀYA NAMAḤ. In **A**, the character following *śv*, the top of which is broken off, could be either *rā* or *rī*, but probably the latter. It seems highly likely that **D** and **E** preserve something close to **A**'s original reading, given the appropriate number of missing *akṣaras* in **A**, and their shared endings. The genitive *yogīśvarīṇām* stands for the dative *yogīśvarībhyaḥ*; cf., e.g., 6b and 7a below. I have understood this as a second object of *namaḥ*, despite the absence of *ca*.

[2]This verse presents several difficulties of text and interpretation. Its meter is *sragdharā*, and **A** writes daṇḍas after each pāda. Particularly obstruse are what **A** transmits as *hetunirvāṇavisv⟨aṃ⟩* (in 1a) and *śaktirāvarddhakāṇḍe* (in 1c). The verse appears with minor

variations in the opening of both MSS. of the **Brahmayāmalasāra* (*BraYāSāra*; quoted as testimonia). This benediction also inspired the opening verses of two texts entitled *Yoginīvijayastava*, both of which ascribe themselves to the *BraYā*. One of these survives in a great number of Nepalese manuscripts, including a palm-leaf MS. dated Nepal samvat 626 (NGMPP microfilm reel C48/10). Its opening *sragdharā* benediction ends, *sakalaśivamayaṃ bhairavo vaḥ punātu*. The other *Yoginīvijayastava* opens with *BraYā* 1.1, followed by a long series of *sragdharā* verses. This unfortunately seems to survive complete in only a single late and corrupt manuscript, NGMPP reel E212/7 (private collection).

Though veiled, the guiding image of this verse is that of the *BraYā*'s distinctive *padmamālāvidhi*, "method of the lotus garlands," a detailed account of which is provided in *BraYā* 4.497ff. This is a meditational process of self-divinization via the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, whose syllables comprise three sets of goddesses (the Four Devīs and Four Dūtīs, the Six Yoginīs, and the Eight Mātṛs) placed in three series of lotuses at various positions in the body, linked together by the Cord of Power (*śaktitantu*/*śaktisūtra*). Lotuses of the principal eight goddesses—the Devīs and Dūtīs—and Bhairava form a vertical axis in the body, from feet to crest, somewhat like the well-known cakra systems of *kuṇḍalinīyoga*. Bhairava simultaneously appears in each lotus in the form of his root mantra, HŪṂ. It is this mantric essence of Bhairava, I conjecture, which the present verse refers to as the *bhairavaṃ tattvaṃ* (1.1d) and as the lingam "sporting in the lotuses of the Dūtīs" (1.1b). Though normally referring to a set of four goddesses, here *dūtī* ("consort") seems broader in sense, for all of the goddesses of the pantheon "consort" with, i.e. are paired with, the male deity. On *tattva* in the sense of "root mantra," see s.v. *tattva* (definition 4) in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. Concerning the mantras of the goddesses who comprise the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, see paṭala 2, and §2.3 (especially table 2.1); and for a study of the *padmamālāvidhi*, see HATLEY (*forthcoming* b).

Regarding **A**'s *hetunirvāṇavisva[ṃ]*, the final lexical element could as readily be *bimba* as *viśva*, given the fluidity of *s* and *ś* in **A**, the conflation of *b* and *v*, and the similarity of *s* and *m* in old Newārī manuscripts. **B**'s hesitation over the ending likely derives from the fact that **A** is no longer fully legible here; an anusvāra is just faintly visible. **D** and **E** read *viśvaṃ*. Perhaps the closest parallel to this pāda is *BraYā* 86.3, quoted as testimonia, which describes "Śiva with parts" (*kalātmakaṃ śivaṃ*, i.e. Sakalaśiva) as both *kāraṇam* (i.e. *hetu*) and *sunirvāṇam*. Once elsewhere, the *BraYā* may describe Śiva as both *viśva* and *kāraṇa*: *śivaṃ śāntamm ajaṃ viśvaṃ kāraṇaṃ vibhur avyayam* (72.58ab). This might however be corrupt for *viśvakāraṇam*. If the reading *hetunirvāṇaviśvaṃ* is retained, this could be understood as a dvandva: "[Sakalaśiva is] the [supreme] cause, liberation, and omnipresent/universal." Though an adjectival interpretation of *viśvaṃ* is unsatisfying, this has been tentatively adapted. Another vaguely plausible reading might be *hetu nirvāṇabimbaṃ*: "[Sakalaśiva] is the [supreme] cause, and the embodiment of liberation." However, no parallels for the expression *nirvāṇabimba* (in the sense of *mokṣarūpa*) are known to me. One could also consider the possibility, though remote, of reading *hetu nirvāṇaviśve*: "the cause of both liberation and the universe [perhaps =*siddhi?*]." Cf. the compound *bhoganirvāṇahetuṃ* in the Śaiva *paddhati Vimalāvatī*, in 6.1d (*f.* 103*v*; also a *sragdharā* verse, incidentally). Cf. also *viśvanirmāṇahetur* in the commentary ad *Paramārthasāra* 27 (reference courtesy of Csaba KISS). Another potential line of interpretation comes to mind as well: that *hetunirvāṇaviśvaṃ* (or perhaps *hetunirvāṇabinduṃ*?) might in fact be a code for the syllable HŪṂ, root mantra of Bhairava. Cf. use of the term *hetubhūta* as a code for HA in

the *Guhyasūtra* (Goodall et al. 2015: 75). This does not seem demonstrable on the basis of the *BraYā*'s own code-words for mantra, however. In favour of a mantric interpretation, the *smaraṇa*, that is, hūṃ, is described as *kāraṇa* (i.e. *hetu*) in 11.132c–33b (*hansa eva na sandehaḥ ṣaṣṭhasvarasamanvitaṃ* [em.; °*śvaraḥ* A] || *sabindu[ṃ] nātra sandehaḥ kāraṇeti ca kīrttitaṃ* |).

In pāda b, as the subject is neuter, one need not read °*vilasal*° in compound with °*liṅgarūpaṃ*, although it seems preferable to do so. In the same pāda, B and C have the variant *liṅgakāyam* for °*rūpam*. This seems to be mere paleographic confusion, for we find the same variation in 41b, with B and C reading *svakāyāvasthitaṃ* where A reads *svarūpāvasthitaṃ*. The mss.' *sama*° could be interpreted in three manners: *śama*°, *sama*°, or *'sama*° (i.e. *asama*°). In the first case, this compound could mean "sporting with the pleasure of tranquility" (*śama*). Cf. the description of Vajravārāhī as *praśamasukhasamṛddhā* in the so-called *Sādhanamālā* (vol. II, p. 426). It might be possible to interpret *sama* similarly, in the sense of "equanimity." But if the latter reading is correct, the more natural interpretation would be "[sporting] simultaneously/equally [in the many lotuses of the consorts]." The third possibility, *'sama*°, suggested by Alexis Sanderson (personal communication, January 2006), is probably to be preferred: "[sporting] with unequalled pleasure." Cf. pāda four of the benediction to chapter 16 in Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Netratantra*: *stumaḥ śārvaṃ netraṃ tadasamasukhollāsasarasam*.

Interpreting what A transmits as *śaktirāvarddhakāṇḍe* (1.1c) remains difficult. Here alone for the verse does the *BraYāSāra* preserve significant variants: S_1 reads °*śaktirāva*⟨*dva/ddha*⟩*kāṇḍaṃ* for A's *śaktirāvarddhakāṇḍe*, while S_2 reads *śaktirāvarddhakāṇḍaṃ*. (S_2 also reads °*haranaṃ*, i.e. *haraṇaṃ*, for °*dalanaṃ* in pāda d, but this is clearly secondary, reflecting confusion between *h* and *d* in later Newārī.) If the locative *-kāṇḍe* is correct, then the compound might modify *padmaṣaṇḍe* (1.1b). If one instead follows the *BraYāSāra* in reading °*kāṇḍaṃ*, this would modify *tatvaṃ* (1.1d), and the following interpretation might be possible: "[the Bhairava-*tattva*,] in which is present [or which has] a flourishing (*ṛddha*) multitude (*kāṇḍa*) of sounds (*rāva*) of the *śakti*." While this reading is unconvincing, the passage might allude to a series of subtle sounds (*rāvamārga*) associated with the yogic ascent of the *śakti*, a subject treated in *BraYā* 99 and 100. This possibility is reinforced by the potential mention of "resting points" (*layapada*) for the *śakti* in the compound which precedes this. I am more inclined to another possibility, however: reading *śakti-r-ābaddhakāṇḍe*. This requires emending *-rddha-* to *-ddha* (cf. *BraYāSāra* ms. S_1) and understanding *-r-* as a hiatus-breaker in compound, which, though inelegant, is exceedingly common in the *BraYā* (cf. *śakti-r-ājñayā* in 1.26d, and see the discussion thereon). Modifying *padmaṣaṇḍe*, this could mean "[lotuses of the Consorts] whose portions/segments (*kāṇḍa*) are bound together (*ābaddha*) by the Śakti." This would allude to the idea that a series of bodily lotuses serve as loci of the goddesses, bound together by the *śaktitantu* or *śaktisūtra*, the "thread/cord of Śakti," thus forming a garland (*padmamālā*). It seems fitting that a practice so integral to the *BraYā*'s ritual system—taking on a body of *śakti*, the *avadhūtatanu*, through the "method of the lotus garlands" (*padmamālāvidhi*)—would be alluded to in the benedictory verse. On the *avadhūtatanu*, see the annotation ad *BraYā* 2.1c–2; on the *padmamālāvidhi*, see Hatley (*forthcoming* b).

The interpretation of A's *nānābhogādhivāsair vividhanayapadaiḥ* (1c) is also uncertain, depending as it seems to upon the uncertain compound which this precedes. Potentially, *pada* could refer to the word-elements of mantras, leading to the following interpretation: "[lotuses?] with mantra words (*padaiḥ*) having various applications (*vividhanaya*), in which reside

2–3 Of old, the Goddess listened to the scripture, the glorious Root Tantra,[3] containing a great multitude of *mudrās*, maṇḍalas, and mantras,[4] characterized as a corpus (*pīṭha*) of *vidyās*,[5] having twelve-thousand [verses], a *Bhairava[tantra]* containing [all] four divisions,[6] which came forth from the *Vimala[tantra]*.[7] Afterwards, the fiercely brave Aghorī replied to the Mahādeva, Bhairava, who possesses a body of mantra:

4 O god, of old [you] had revealed the *tantra* arising from Ucchuṣmabhairava, called by the name *Vimala*, a great mass of scriptural wisdom,[8] preceded by the Śakti;[9]

(*adhivāsa*) manifold supernatural powers/experiences (*nānābhoga*)." However, the emendation of °*nayapadaiḥ* to °*layapadaiḥ* ("points/places of yogic absorption") proposed by SANDERSON (personal communication, January 2006) is also intriguing. Adopted in the text and translation, this seems compatible with the lines of interpretation proposed above for *śaktirāvarddhakāṇḍe*/*śakti-r-ābaddhakāṇḍe*. Finally, it should be mentioned that one might consider emending both compounds to the locative, viz. °*ādhivāse* and °*laya[/naya]pade*, taking both as describing *padmaṣaṇḍe*.

[3] 2ab is largely illegible in **A**. This surely accounts for the spurious readings of **B** and **C**, as well as the lacuna in **E**, illustrating the dependence of the extant Nepalese MSS. on **A**. Given that *mū* or *sū* is clearly visible as the first *akṣara* of 2b in **A**, it seems reasonable to follow **D** and **E**, but reading instead the accusative *mūlatantraṃ mahodayam*.

[4] In 2c, **A**'s spelling of °*mantroghaṃ* (i.e. *mantra+ogha*) is likely original; cf. *jñānoghaṃ* in 4d below, and see the discussion thereon.

[5] Consistent with other passages, including 3b, 2cd implies that the Root Tantra belongs to the Vidyāpīṭha in particular, but contains within itself the other three divisions or corpora (*pīṭhas*) of the *Bhairavatantras* as well—viz., those of *mudrā*, maṇḍala, and mantras. See the discussion in §2.4.

[6] On the designation *Catuṣpīṭhabhairava* ("Bhairavatantra of Four Divisions"), cf. 39.19cd, quoted as testimonia, and see the discussion in §2.4. I have followed **A**'s orthography in reading *catuḥpīṭha* here and elsewhere (but note also *catuspīṭha* once, in 30.1a).

[7] *vimalā*, as reads **A** in 3c, is ablative in sense, and the elision of its final consonant may well be original; cf. EDGERTON §8.46–48. Elision of the final *-t*, especially in the ablative singular of masculine *a*-stems, and in third-person singular optative verbs, is frequent in the *BraYā*. Although scribal negligence must account for some instances, a great many must be original, as confirmed by expressions such as *kuryātha* (=*kuryād atha*) in 21.33b and 45.293c.

[8] As with °*mantroghaṃ* above (2c), the spelling *jñānogha* is likely original; see OBERLIES §1.1.2.4. In **A**, *jñānogha* occurs fourteen times, and *jñānaugha* thrice (1.18c, 1.35b, 30.58d). Note also, for instance, *raktogha* (five times, e.g. in 3.199d), *śaktyogha* (89.151a, 99.4b, 99.21a), and *amṛtogha* (53.40b, 93.50c), the "correct" sandhi only infrequently occurring (e.g. *raktaugha* in 85.110a). On the *Vimalatantra*, *Ucchuṣmatantra*, and Ucchuṣmabhairava, which the *BraYā* connects intrinsically to each other, see §2.6.

[9] *śaktipūrvvakam* in 4d perhaps conveys the idea that the "flood" or mass of scripture (*jñānogha*), in its prelinguistic form, emerges from the *śakti*—for the *śakti* "awakens" *bindu*,

5 in which was present this *Bhairava[tantra]* with four divisions, and from which all of the glorious Mantra-division emerged;[10]

6 which you had revealed to me concerning the four divisions [of scripture], together with the narrative of its revelation;[11] [and] which is the primordial cause for *siddhi*.[12]

7–8b Together with its secrets, teach me that which is revered (¿) as the essence of the great mass of scripture (?);[13] and [teach] the divisions of *śiva* and *śakti*, and likewise the divisions of primordial resonance (*bindu*), the division of the nine *śakti*s, and the division of creation, in detail.[14]

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from which emerges scriptural wisdom. See 33–34 below, and the discussion in §2.4.

[10] 5b in **A** is partly illegible, reading *yasmā - - - - - ≀rvvaṃ≀*. The text of **B** and **C**, *yasmāt pīṭhaṃ tu tat sarvaṃ*, reads as an awkward attempt to remedy a lacunose exemplar. **D**'s reading appears more probable: *yasmā hi nirggataṃ sarvvaṃ*; **E** differs only in reading *yasmādi*, perhaps a case of confusion between the writing of *h* and *d* in later Newārī. If **A** read as does **D**, the question remains as to whether *yasmā hi* is a corruption, probably of *yasmād vinirgataṃ*, as Isaacson conjectures (personal communication, 2005). While elision of the final consonant of *yasmā* is plausible, *hi* seems awkward, and parallels support emending: cf. 44a below (*asmād vinirggataṃ sarvvaṃ*) and 39.19d (*sarvaṃm asmād vinirgatam*).

[11] Use of the genitive *mama* in the sense of the dative in 6b is unremarkable. However, the *BraYā*'s language also attests the reverse; note e.g. *tubhyaṃ* (for *tava*) below in 26a. **A** also appends to *mama* a spurious visarga. Some such visargas must be original on metrical grounds (see the discussion in §1.4.2), but others may well be scribal—a kind of hyper-Sanskritism. I am particularly doubtful when these appear at the end of even pādas, such as here and in cases of the particles *vai[ḥ]* (as reads **A** seven times) and *cana[ḥ]* (*kadā cana[ḥ]* appears 13 times). In the same pāda (6b), *codito* is either corrupt for the accusative *coditaṃ*, or is used in this sense. Cf. 14b below. I have tentatively emended.

[12] The syntax is somewhat uncertain: one could interpret 6c, *tantrāvatārasaṃyuktaṃ*, as a separate description of the *mūlatantra*, or else construe it in close connection with either 6d or 6ab. The latter seems slightly preferable, for the narrative of the pedigree of the *tantra*—its *śāstrāvatāra*—might well set out to establish its relation to the four divisions of scripture.

[13] As transmitted, 7b seems unintelligible; **A** reads *jñānoghocārapūjitam*. This could be a corruption for *jñānoghoccārapūjitam*, a compound which **A** transmits in the closing verses of *BraYā* 31 (quoted as testimonia). Its meaning is uncertain, though; perhaps, "honoured as the [highest?] utterance (*uccāra*) of the great mass of scripture?" In 31.63b, the compound seems to express praise of what precedes as the highest of scriptural teachings, a meaning which seems applicable to 1.7b as well. For this reason, I conjecture that in both cases the text originally read *jñānoghāt sārapūjitam* ("honoured as the essence of the great mass of scripture"). The process of corruption might be accounted for as follows: *°oghāt sāra°* → *°oghāt śāra°* → *°oghāc cāra°* or *°oghāc chāra°* → *°oghoccāra°* (as in 31.63b) → *°oghocāra°* (as in 1.7b).

[14] It is possible that *bheda*, "division," here refers to sections of the text. But as this is certainly not the case in 8d and 9d, *bheda* has in all cases been interpreted in a more general sense.

8c–9 [Teach] how the sole Śakti exists with nine divisions: the attendants arising from Ucchuṣma[bhairava], with the attendants of the *guhyakās*; [and how] the *yoginīs* for their part exist with many divisions of *lākinīs*, [etc.].[15]

10 O you honoured by the gods,[16] [teach] how the complete rite (*yāga*) of the one, highly powerful, pervasive, and supreme Śakti is performed,[17] O great

[15]The syntax of 9a–d leaves room for doubt. Were it a single unit, it seems the subject should be *yoginyaḥ*; but *śaktiḥ* could also carry over from 8cd as the subject. This would require emending to *vyavasthitā*, as seems required in 8d. It seems preferable, however, to construe 9ab with 8cd, and 9cd separately, for 9ab seems to elaborate upon the nine divisions of the *śakti* mentioned in 8d. The case endings in 9b remain unclear; °*sambhavaṃ* seems implausible, and should presumably be emended to the feminine nominative plural, °*sambhavāḥ*. As this verse intimates, the principal *śaktis* are divided into two groups of four: the four *devīs* or *guhyakās* (Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā) and the four *dūtīs* or *kiṃkarīs* (Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā), with the addition of the supreme Goddess, Aghoreśvarī, to make nine. This is clarified in 4.252c–54b:

> *raktā karālī caṇḍākṣyā mahocchuṣmā tathaiva ca* ||252||
> *ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānāṃ na saṃśayaḥ* |
> *karālā danturā caiva bhīmavaktrā mahābalā* ||253||
> *guhyakānucarā hy etāḥ kiṅkaryo 'nukrameṇa tu* |
>
> 252c caṇḍākṣyā] *em.*; caṇḍākhyāṃ **A** 254b 'nukrameṇa] *corr.*; nukramena **A**
>
> "Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and likewise Mahocchuṣmā: these are undoubtedly the names of the *guhyakās* in the *Ucchuṣmatantra*. Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā: these are the *kiṃkarīs*, the servants (*anucarā*) of the *guhyakās*, in sequence."

9ab has another close parallel in 4.263ab, following a list of the four *dūtīs*: *guhyakānucarā hy etā kiṅkaryācchuṣmasambhavā*, presumably to be corrected to °*etāḥ kiṅkaryocchuṣmasambhavāḥ* ("These *kiṅkarīs* arising from Ucchuṣma[bhairava] are the servants of the *guhyakās*"—understanding *kiṃkaryocchuṣma*° as *kiṃkaryaḥ ucchuṣma*°, with double application of sandhi; cf. Oberlies §1.8.4).

It is suprising that *lākinīs* should be listed with such prominence in 9d, given their otherwise near absence in the *BraYā*. 3.103 mentions a set of six *lākinīs*, but does not list them by name. The principal *yoginīs* of the *BraYā*'s pantheon are a set of six: Kroṣṭukī, Vijayā, Gajakarṇā, Mahāmukhī, Cakravegā, and Mahānāsā (listed along with the *devīs*, *dūtīs*, and *mātṛs* of the core pantheon in, e.g., 4.252–57, quoted partly above). The full pantheon of the initiation maṇḍala (paṭala 3) includes additional *yoginī* sextets.

[16]The implausible nominative in 10d has been emended to the vocative *surapūjita*. This also occurs as a vocative for Bhairava in 25.3d, where **A** transmits *surapūjitaṃ*. The feminine vocative °*pūjite* appears multiple times.

[17]In 10b, the reading *śakti cottamā* for *śaktiś cottamā* is plausible, reflecting metri causa elision of the *visarga*, or simply the acceptance of the stem form *-i* as nominative (cf. Edgerton §10.16). Cf. 28.18b, where **A** reads *madhyamā śakti cottamā*. It is also possible that underlying

god, for those aspiring to *siddhi* connected with the *yoginīs*.[18]

11–12b When one is devoted to serving the guru,[19] following the Left Way, in a state of nondual meditation, the mind remaining without dualist thought,[20] tell me the procedure, O lord, such that one might attain *siddhi*, O god.[21]

12c–13 And *yoginīs* who have very little intellect, small minds, and little courage,[22] [but are] intent on serving their husbands, possessing devotion

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this is *śaktir uttamā*, to which the scribe of **B** appears to correct his text. Cf. 90.83b, *jvālinī dūtir uttamā* (with metri causa shortening of *dūtī*). In writing similar to that of **A**, *c* and *r* might readily be confused.

In 10c, the masculine *tasya* is surely a corruption of the feminine *tasyā[ḥ]*. Moreover, **A**'s *yogam* is certainly a corruption of *yāgam*, as sense requires; the vowel ligatures are very similar. The neuter nominative *yāgam* occurs for the masculine, probably to avoid vowel sandhi with *aśeṣan*. The *aśeṣayāga* ("worship of the entire pantheon") is the topic of *BraYā* 35, a voluminous chapter entitled *aśeṣayāgaśṛṃkhalanapaṭalaḥ* or *mantrasaṃkalanavidhi*. Incidentally, the expression *yāgo kṛyate* (i.e. *yāgaḥ kriyate*) also occurs in 15.11b; cf., e.g., *Netratantra* 16.88c.

[18] Note also the possibility of reading the instrumental singular *°kāṅkṣiṇā* in 10f, rather than the genitive plural.

[19] In 11a, *°śuśrūṣanirate* is plausible, with *śuśrūṣa* for the feminine *śuśrūṣā* (metrical shortening?). One might instead emend to *śuśrūṣaṇarate*; cf. 13a, *bharttuḥ śuśrūṣaṇaparāḥ*. In either case, 11a exhibits a metrical variant (the *na*-vipulā). One might also consider emending *guru°* to the genitive *guroḥ* (cf. *bharttuḥ* in 13a).

[20] *anuvarttine* in 11b appears to be locative (for classical Sanskrit *anuvartini*), formed on the thematized stem *anuvarttina*. Cf. Edgerton §10.3. Similarly, *mane* in 1.11d is a locative formed on the stem *mana* (for *manas*); cf. Edgerton §16.12. Nominatives on both stems appear together in *BraYā* 18.2ab: *tato ekamano bhūtvā lakṣamārggānuvarttinaḥ*. In 11d, it seems preferable to emend **A**'s *nirvikalpair* to *nirvikalpe*, although it might be possible to interpret the former in a similar sense.

[21] One could parse 12a as *siddhir yathā bhaved eva* or, more plausibly, *°bhave deva*, the optative verb having its final *-d* elided (cf. Edgerton §29.12) before the vocative *deva*. It is also possible that the original reading was *bhaved deva*, for **A** often omits final *-t/d/n* before a like consonant (a kind of degemination?). At the end of even pādas, *bhaved* plus the vocative *devi* is extremely common, occurring sixteen times, while **A** transmits *bhave devi* only once, in 10.177c. One also finds *bhave hy eva* in 17.100a and 22.92a. While there is thus room for doubt, the weight of evidence seems in favour of emending to *bhaved deva*. In the next pāda (12b), I have emended **A**'s *tadvidhānām* to the more natural *tad vidhānam* (**B** reads *tad vidhānaṃ*); one could however interpret **A**'s reading as the genitive plural of *tadvidha* ("for such people").

[22] In 12c, the term *yoginī* refers to initiated female practitioners, counterparts to the (male) *sādhaka*; see Hatley (*forthcoming* a) for a study of the *BraYā*'s representations of women. The goddess's question in 12c–13 anticipates the content of paṭala 14 (the *khecarīcakrapaṭala*), whose opening (14.1–2b) is almost identical. This is quoted as testimonia, as is *BraYāSāra* 1.7–

to the gurus; O god, tell me in brief how they may attain *siddhi*.[23]

The Lord spoke:

14 Excellent, O Mahādevī, excellent! I shall expound what you have requested entirely,[24] the characteristics of the whole mass [of scriptural wisdom].[25]

15 And [I shall tell you] what the true essence of the *tantra* is like, which has many meanings and concealed power, together with its secrets; Listen, O fortunate one, with single-minded attention![26]

16 O Queen of the gods, once in the past, while I was sporting in my own

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9b, which is parallel to *BraYā* 12c–15. A's orthography—*yoginyo svalpa°*—is likely original, the generalized *-o* ending where one expects *aḥ* being a being Middle-Indicism (cf. EDGERTON §8.18, §10.172). This seems to be supported by the parallels in 14.1 (where A reads *yoginyoḥ*, the visarga probably being a scribal afterthought) and *BraYāSāra* 1.7a (S_1 reads *yoginyā*, and S_2, *yoginyo*). In the same pāda, A's *°buddhās tu* is probably a corruption of *°buddhyās tu*, as read all MSS. in the parallel passages. This is an irregular nominative plural of *°buddhi* (cf. EDGERTON §10.164). Concerning *alpasātvikāḥ* (12d), see note 71 below (ad 41d) on *sattva* in the sense of "courage" or "heroic spirit." The expression *alpasattva* in the sense of "lacking courage" occurs, for instance, in *Mahābhārata* VI, 41.24d.

[23] 13a possesses a correct metrical variant (the *na*-vipulā). In 13d, A transmits *bhavate*, an irregular ātmanepada indicative which alternates freely with *bhavati* (the plural *bhavante* also occurs in 46.123d). I strongly suspect that this is corrupt for the phonetically similar *vada me*. An imperative verb in the sense of "speak" is expected at the end of the Goddess's question, and such a verb is indeed present in both parallel passages (*BraYā* 14.2b: *tam me brūhi samāsataḥ*; *BraYāSāra* 1.7d: *saṃkṣepāt tad bravīhi me*). I have also more tentatively emended *ca* to *tat*, this perhaps being a secondary corruption. Cf. the parallel verses as well as 91.65b, *vada me tat kathaṃ vibho*.

[24] In 14b, A transmits *yatvayāhaṃ pracodito*. The string *yatvayā* is simply the degemination of *yat tvayā*, while *pracodito* is either a corruption of the accusative *pracoditam*, or a nominative-accusative with the Middle-Indic frozen *-o* ending (cf. *yoginyo* in 12c, and EDGERTON §8.36). Cf. 6a, where A reads *yat tvayā codito mamaḥ*, but also 18.60b, 60.4b, and 79.2b, where A reads *yatvayāhaṃ pracoditam*. I have emended on the strength of the latter parallels. (Cf. also 87.11b: *yat tvayā coditaṃ balaṃ*, where *coditaṃ balaṃ* is perhaps corrupt for *coditaṃ ahaṃ*).

[25] In the compound *sarvvasandohalakṣaṇam* (14d), *sandoha* appears to stand for *jñāna-sandoha*, an expression occurring below in 1.42a, as well as 39.91a and 39.92a. This is in turn a synonym of *jñānogha*, "flood/mass of scriptural wisdom," which occurs repeatedly in this chapter (e.g. 7b) and usually refers to the primordial *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand*.

[26] The weight of evidence from A suggests that the spelling *śṛṇuṣvekāgra°* is original, simplification of the diphthong (*ai* to *e*) being a typical Middle-Indicism (EDGERTON 3.67). This phrase occurs twenty-nine times in the *BraYā*, and A exhibits no orthographic variation in this matter.

abode,[27] suddenly[28] (¿) there arose in me [the thought], "if only I could know worship (*yāga*)" (?).[29]

17 Propelled by this wish,[30] and preceded by offerings and libations, I worshipped Śrīkaṇṭha, who is affectionate to his devotees,[31] for a thousand divine years, O goddess, my mind filled with devotion.

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[27] *svasthiti* in 16b might have more metaphysical connotations: "my [true] state/condition"?

[28] 16a is not fully legible in **A**, which may have read as do **D** and **E**: *purodakasmā*. For this I have conjectured *purā -d- akasmād*, though *purā -d- akasmā* (with elision of the final consonant) is perhaps equally likely. Cf., e.g., *akasmān* in 1.35d below, but *yasmā* in 56.26d (*yasmāsau sarvvatomukhaḥ*). The conjectured hiatus-breaking *-d-* is common in the language of the *BraYā*; cf., e.g., *kṛtvā -d- etat* in 29.57b and *tadā -d- etad* in 63.64b. (In contrast, Törzsök [1999: xxxiv] finds no conclusive evidence for *-d-* as a hiatus-breaker in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.) This pāda (16a) contains a metrical variant (the *ma*-vipulā).

[29] 15cd presents several difficulties. Although there is considerable uncertainty concerning the text, the approximate sense seems to be that the desire to learn tantric worship (*yāga*) arose in Bhairava. As transmitted, no subject is present for the likely predicate *utthitā* or *utthitāḥ* in 15d. One possibility is that a nominative *icchā* underlies *icchayā*. This might have become corrupt under influence of *icchayā* in 16a. The basic construction would then be, "as I was sporting, desire ... arose for me." However, *ca* in 15d is problematic, for this suggests that 15ab and 15cd should contain separate clauses. If the correct reading is indeed *icchā*, one might conjecture *yāvan* for what **A** reads as *yā ca*, viz. *icchā yāvan mamotthitā*. Even closer to *yā ca* is *yāva*, in the sense of *yāvat*, as occurs in Pāli and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (cf. Edgerton §2.91). This has been adopted. Although **A** reads *mamotthitāḥ*, *samutthitā* should also be considered.

It is difficult to interpret what **A** reads as *yāgaṃ vijānāsyā*. One possible emendation is the common optative *vijānīyād*, or perhaps even a first person *vijānīyām*. Precisely how this would construe with *yadi* is unclear. A more paleographically plausible conjecture is *yāgavijñātā syām* (or *syāṃ*), which results in a correct metrical variant (the *ma*-vipulā); pādas containing metrical variants seem unusually susceptible to corruption. This emendation would account for the cluster *āsyā* preserved in **A**, while being predicated on confusion between *ta* and *na* (common enough), and *jñā* and *jā* (less common). This conjecture has been tentatively adopted. One might also conjecture *yāgavijñānaṃ syād* (or *syā*).

[30] *icchayā* (17a) probably means *icchayā śaktyā*, implying that the desire to seek initiation has its source in Śiva's power of volition (*icchā śakti*).

[31] **A**'s *bhaktivatsala* in 15d seems at first surprising; one might expect *bhaktavatsala*. However, the former does seem to occur in several tantric sources—e.g. *Kubjikāmata* 22.67 and *Saṃvarodayatantra* 18.31—and as well as thrice in **A**: in 45.597d, describing ritual consorts, and in 21.51b, describing the *sādhaka*'s assistants. In the latter two cases the implication is that the parties concerned possess devotion, whereas here the sense should be that Śrīkaṇṭha is kind to supplicants. Several purāṇas support this meaning (*Matsyapurāṇa* 172.37 and 183.50; *Brahmapurāṇa* 42.3), as does *Tantrasadbhāva* 10.1037cd, describing the goddess Durgā or Kātyāyanī (*mānuṣāṇāṃ tu bhaktānāṃ varadā bhaktivatsalā*).

18 Then, because of his supreme compassion, Śrīkaṇṭha taught me the great mass of scriptural wisdom,[32] in the sequence of its verbal composition.[33]

19 I absorbed all of this by the grace of Śrīkaṇṭha.[34] And you too, through contact with me, learned it in its entirety.[35]

20 Then, my dear, without authorization, you had commenced to teach it to your attendants, desiring their good and being exhilarated with devotion.[36]

21 But on seeing that great *tantra* being violated,[37] I was filled with anger and cursed you, by which your scriptural knowledge was destroyed.[38]

22 Then, O fortunate woman, terrified and trembling, and with tears in your eyes, you prostrated on the ground.[39]

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[32]If correct, *mahat* (18b) could be adverbial, "greatly, a lot," but what this might modify is unclear. Perhaps it should be construed adjectivally with *jñānaughas* (18c) instead, despite the gender disagreement. It seems that **A**'s *kāruṇayā* (18b) is a corruption of *karuṇayā*, which occurs in 24b. If original, this would suggest confusion between the abstract noun *kāruṇya* and *karuṇā*. Emended, the compound *parākaruṇayā* is still dubious, apparently having metrical lengthening of the second vowel. But perhaps *parā* should be considered instrumental; cf. °*anujñā* below in 36a, and Edgerton §9.64–65.

[33]The sense of 18d is perhaps that the scripture was taught entirely, exactly as it was composed.

[34]In 19b, *pariṇata* is not entirely convincing, but yields a plausible sense, and no emendation seems obvious. That it makes the pāda hypermetrical poses little concern (see §1.4.2).

[35]Although *aśeṣas* (19d) is plausible, I have emended this to the adverb *aśeṣañ*, "entirely," which seems more natural.

[36]**A** reads *parijānasya* in 20c, likely corrupt for *parijanasya* and to be construed as a collective singular. The mss.'s two past passive participles in 20cd, *samākhyātam* and *prārabdham*, seem impossible to interpret, as the syntax otherwise suggests a single sentence. However, the infinitive *samākhyātum* would construe smoothly with *prārabdham*, and is a minor emendation. 20c is hypermetrical by one syllable, but such hypermetry, within certain constraints, occurs frequently in the *BraYā*; see the discussion in §1.4.2. Note also the possibility that underlying the hypermetrical *parijanasya samākhyātum* could be *parijanasya -m- ākhyātum*, with hiatus-breaking *m*—a frequent source of corruption. We would then have the metrical fault of *laghu* syllables in the second and third positions, however, which seems to be a more serious fault than hypermetry.

[37]In 21a, the original text probably read *viplāpyamānaṃ* (or the more correct *viplāvyamānaṃ*), which results in a variant metrical pattern (the *ma*-vipulā). "Correction" of this to the standard (*pathyā*) pattern accounts for **A**'s ungrammatical *viplāpyamāna*.

[38]The feminine instrumental pronoun *yayā* in 21d, apparently in the sense of "such that, by which," is irregular; this usage is generally reserved for the masculine *yena*, which would here be unmetrical. One might consider emending to *yathā*.

[39]Although here broken up for purposes of translation, the string of intrumentals in 22–

23 Folding your hands, terrified about your violation of the scriptural wisdom, you entreated me,[40] O Mahādevī, overcome with sorrow.

24 After this, seeing you agitated, I was overcome by compassion.[41] I spoke to you thus—out of compassion, but filled with great anger:[42]

25 "Go to the mundane world (*bhūrloka*), O Queen of the gods; incarnate yourself.[43] Take on another body in the house of a brahmin, O pious lady.

26 "Then, impelled by your devotion while you dwell there, I shall bestow my grace upon you, by command of the Śakti.[44] Oneness with me again—you will obtain all this, my dear."

23ab construe as a unit with *vijñaptaḥ* in 23c. The sense of 22d seems more or less clear, unlike its fifth syllable. **A** appears to read *bhūmyāṃ gatvā padaṇḍavat* (as do **C**, **D**, amd **E**), but just possibly *gatvātha daṇḍavat*, which is plausible and has been adopted. **B** departs in reading *pradaṇḍavat* (a scribal conjecture?)—conceivably in the sense of *daṇḍavat* ("like a stick," i.e. prostrate in obeisance), though this is unattested.

[40] Though I have emended, **A**'s *vijñāpto* (23c) might well be original, in the sense of *vijñaptaḥ*, influenced by the *ā* used in forming the indicative (cf., e.g., *vijñāpayati*).

[41] Emendation of *gṛhītaṃ* (24b) to the masculine appears necessary, although given the fluidity of masculine and neuter in this material, one can never be certain.

[42] In 24b the adjective °*bhṛtena* agrees with an unstated *mayā*. This pāda is hypermetrical, possessing nine syllables, including the string of three light/short ones in *karuṇayā*; see §1.4.2 on this kind of hypermetry. The ablative *kāruṇyā* (24c) exhibits elision of its final consonant.

[43] In 25b, *kuruṣva tha* represents the imperative *kuruṣva* with the Middle-Indic particle *tha* for *atha*, metri causa. A parallel is present in *Jayadrathayāmala* III, 29.6d (*bhedānāṃ tac chṛṇuṣva tha*; draft edition of Alexis Sanderson).

[44] It appears that *tubhyaṃ* in 26a represents the genitive, used perhaps for metrical reasons, for this should agree with the genitive *tatrasthāyā[ḥ]* and construe with *bhaktyā* (26b): "[impelled] by your devotion." Cf. Oberlies §4.2.1 and Edgerton §20.31–32, and note, for instance, *devāya* for *devasya* in *BraYā* 4.3c, where either form would be metrical: *divyādhikān tu* [em.; °*ādhikāran tu* **A**] *ye rūpāṃ kathayāmi yathārthataḥ* | *devīnāṃ caiva devāya sarvvasidhyarthakāraṇaṃ* || (*ye* should be understood as accusative; cf. Edgerton §21.30–31). The actual genitive *tava* in 26d expresses the recipient of *anugrahaṃ*. One might consider restoring a visarga to *tatrasthāyā*; however, in numerous cases of the feminine genitive singular, **A** elides visarga before *t*-. There are three cases in 10.199 alone: *dvitīyaṃ caiva vaiṣṇavyā kaumāryāyā tad eva hi* | *vaivasvatyā tṛtīyan tu vāsavatyā tad eva hi* ||.

In 26d, *śakti-r-ājñayā* is almost certainly to be considered a compound. The syllable *-r-* occurs regularly to prevent internal vowel sandhi in compounds, especially after *-i* or *-u*. Similar compounds in the *BraYā* include *dvi-r-akṣare* (61.19b) for *dvyakṣare*, *gati-r-āgati* for *gatyāgati* (70.71c and elsewhere), and *prabhu-r-icchayā* for *prabhvicchayā* (83.39d), among others. Cf. Edgerton §4.63, and also, for instance, *dvi-r-aṣṭavarṣākṛtir* in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 10.21.

27 Then, by my order,[45] you took incarnation near Prayāga in the large village Kaṇavīra,[46] in the good home of Meghadatta.

28 O Mahādevī, you were begot of *chāndogya* [brahmins] and possessed the marks of auspiciousness.[47] Born there, undoubtedly, your name was Sattikā.[48]

29 Then, endowed with intelligence, you paid reverence to me through constant worship of the lingam, with great devotion.[49]

30 There, in [your] thirteenth year,[50] you attained *siddhi* by the grace of the Śakti. You attained the state of a Sky-traveller,[51] and reached my proximity.

31 You are that Śakti, O highly fortunate one, whom of old I had cursed when a transgression was made. Remember yourself![52] Your name is now Aghorī.

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[45]What **A** reads as *madvākyo*, emended in **B** to agree with *avatīrṇṇā*, must be a corruption of the ablative *madvākyāt*, or rather *madvākyā*, with elision of the final consonant. The latter has been adopted, being closest to what **A** reads.

[46]It has not been possible to identify this village, assuming the name has been transmitted correctly.

[47]**A**'s *chandogasya* could be original, in the sense of *chāndogyasya*; I have tentatively retained this orthography.

[48]There is some doubt concerning the name **A** transmits as Sattikā or Santikā, for *tt* and *nt* are more often than not indistinguishable. This appears to be Prākṛta for *śaktikā*, or perhaps *śāntikā*. Santikā seems to occur as a name in *Divyāvadāna* 13 (108.1). It could also, theoretically, be a Prākṛtization of *sāttvikā*, with simplification of the conjunct consonants to *tt*, and shortening of the preceding vowel to prevent a double-*guru* syllable. The latter rule would also apply if *sattikā* is formed from *śāntikā*.

In 28d, **A**'s *nāman* (=*nāmaṃ*) is probably original, formed on the thematized stem *nāma* (for *nāman*); cf. Edgerton §17.10. The instrumental *nāmena* occurs in 34c below.

[49]It is difficult to interpret what **A** transmits in 29a as *mahā tvayā*, or perhaps *mahānvayā*—although the instrumental pronoun seems necessary. If an adjective, *mahā* (=*mahān*?) lacks a modificand. Cf. the problem of *mahat* in 18b (*parā karuṇayā mahat*). Here *mahā* in fact appears to construe with the proximate *bhaktyā*, in relation with which it could be explained as split compound. One might instead consider reading *tato tvayā mahābhaktyā*.

[50]It is not entirely clear whether *trayodaśe varṣe* expresses the duration of worship, which we would expect in the accusative, or the age of the goddess when she attained *siddhi*. The latter seems probable; note a similar expression in 14.264d–65: *mātā tasyās tu kārayet* || *karṇṇajāpan tu jātāyāḥ ṣaṇmāsaṅ kulavidyayā* | *caturviṃśatime varṣe jñānaṃ tasyāḥ prajāyate* ||265|| ("Her mother would whisper the *kulavidyā* in her ear for six months when she is born. After twenty-four years, the wisdom arises in her."). (Edition and translation from Hatley *forthcoming* a).

[51]Note the use of the present indicative *avāpnoṣi* in the sense of past tense, a sort of narrative present.

[52]One might emend **A**'s *ātmānāṃ* in 31c to the normal accusative reflexive pronoun, *ātmā-*

32–33 You are my great Śakti, the agent of grace for all. I shall teach you the scriptural wisdom which was lost when you made a transgression, (¿) as it was spoken by Śrīkaṇṭha, after it came into being from the *sadāśiva-tattva* (?),[53] together with its secrets, O Mahādevī; listen with single-minded attention.[54]

34 From the inconceivable Śiva, the supreme self, arose the supreme Śakti, called "Volition" (*icchā*).[55] She awakened [the primordial] resonance (*bindu*).

35 Then, from the awakened *bindu*[56] [emerged] the undifferentiated mass of

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naṃ. Nonetheless, *ātmānāṃ* seems plausible, perhaps influenced by the gender of its referent.

[53]Several aspects of 33ab are unclear. In 33a, A's *mahā* presents the same difficulty as in 29a: it seems to be a form of *mahat*, but has no obvious referent. On might conjecture the masculine nominative *mahān*, given the tendency of A to drop final consonants; however, this would have to agree with the neuter *jñānam* in 32c. This might just be acceptable, for in 1.93ab, in a similar context, *mahān* seems to be in grammatical agreement with the predicate *bhāṣitam* (cf. *proktaṃ*, 33b), modifying an unstated *jñānam* or *tantram*: *sadāśivena devena dvāpare bhāṣitam mahān*. In 18bc, we seem also to have *mahat … jñānaughas*, unless the gender of one word has been garbled in transmission. Note also, e.g., 40.1b (*asidhāravrataṃ mahān*) and 19.59d (*sadāśivapadaṃ mahān*). Nevertheless, I am inclined to emend 33a's *mahā* to *yathā*, for the string *yathā proktaṃ*, often with the instrumental, is exceedingly common and significantly improves the syntax. Cf., for instance, *BraYā* 72.109d (*yathā proktaṃ mayānaghe*).

33b, *bhūtvā sadāśivaḥ padāt* in most of the MSS., is doubtful. The general idea of 33ab seems to be that Śrīkaṇṭha taught Bhairava the *tantra* as received from Sadāśiva. Such indeed appears to be the implication of 41d as well, where A transmits *jñātvā sadāśivaḥ padāt*. One could emend to *sadāśivāt padāt*, in both cases; this certainly seems to be the intended sense. I am, however, inclined to retain A's text and understand *sadāśivaḥpadāt* as a compound with a metrical visarga (*sadāśivapadāt* would be unmetrical). That a compound is intended finds support in 35d, where *sadāśivapada* occurs in compound (in the locative). Cf. EDGERTON §2.75 on the addition of anusvāra between members of a compound, metri causa; he also notes the addition of spurious final visarga for metrical reasons (§2.93), and one example in the seam of a compound. In any case, the meaning seems to be, "coming into being (*bhūtvā*) from the level (*pada*) of the *sadāśiva[tattva]*." As vv. 35–39 describe, the undifferentiated mass of scriptural wisdom (*niṣkalaṃ jñānogham*, 35b), emerging from *bindu*, manifests at the level of Sadāśiva (*sadāśivapade sthitaḥ*, 36b), whence Śrīkaṇṭha redacts and reveals the scriptures.

[54]On *śṛṇuṣvekāgra°*, see the annotation ad 1.15.

[55]I have understood the genitive *śivasya* in the sense of the ablative, *śivāt*, as below with *bindo[ḥ]* in 35a. Otherwise, the sense would be, "Śiva's *śakti* arose." Note the non-classical instrumental *nāmena*, formed from the thematized stem *nāma* for *nāman*; cf. EDGERTON §17.11.

[56]The genitive *prabuddhasya bindo[ḥ]* in 35a has the sense of the ablative. I am disinclined to restore a visarga (viz., *bindor*); A tends to drop visarga at the end of odd pādas before voiced sounds. See the discussion ad 39.30–31.

scriptural wisdom. From this, O Mahādevī, suddenly became manifest a body of mantra at the level of the *sadāśiva[tattva]*, a body replete with the scriptural wisdom.[57]

36 From this, with the authorization of Sadāśiva,[58] the creation then took place again,[59] according to its nature, as the series of *tattvas* situated at the [level of the] Unblemished Śakti (*avadhūtā*) down to [the *rudra*] Hūhuka.[60]

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[57]In 35a, *tataḥ* likely means "next/then," while I have interpreted the second *tataḥ* (35b) as ablative (= *tasmāt*, i.e. *jñānoghāt*). This is somewhat doubtful, however; the second *tataḥ* could have the sense of "next/then," or perhaps be corrupt for *tathā* or *yataḥ*. If one reads *niṣkalaṃ yataḥ*, verse 35 would construe as a single sentence ("Then, from the awakened bindu [emerged] the undifferentiated mass of scriptural wisdom, whence suddenly became manifest ..."). Either interpretation requires one to supply the predicate *nirgatam* in 35ab. The idea appears to be that scripture first emerges in an undifferentiated, *niṣkala* form, afterwards taking on a manifest, i.e. *sakala* form at the level of Sadāśiva, a body consisting of mantra. In other words, the resultant causal sequence is *paramaśiva → icchā śakti → bindu → niṣkala jñānogha → sakala jñānogha*. Cf. the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, which posits the primordial *śāstra* emerging from *paramaśiva* in the form of *nāda*; Sadāśiva then teaches this to Īśvara, who creates from it individuated *tantras* (1.22–25, quoted in §2.4, note 84; see also figure 2.1). Alternatively, *jñānogham* might constitute the subject of a single sentence, agreeing with the (masculine) *abhivyakto...mantravigrahaḥ*. In this case, one could translate, "Then, from the awakened *bindu*, the undifferentiated mass of scriptural wisdom suddenly became manifest, O Mahādevī, as [or "having"] a body of mantras at the level of the *sadāśiva[tattva]*, a body replete with the scriptural wisdom."

[58]As transmitted, °*anujñā* (36a) appears to agree with *sṛṣṭir*. One might interpret this as a *hetugarbhaviśeṣaṇa*, an adjective of cause: "[the creation took place] insofar as it had authorization from Sadāśiva." This seems unlikely, however: more probable is that the ostensibly nominative °*anujñā* is instrumental in sense, metri causa. Cf. Edgerton §9.65. Indeed, elsewhere we find similar feminine nominatives having an instrumental sense: *śivecchā* is used this way five times in *BraYā* 56 (e.g. 23b, *[sā] śivecchā vyaktitāṃ vrajet*), and perhaps also in 83.50b. Note also *pṛcchakecchā* in 39.79b.

[59]While *tataḥ* (36b) has the sense of "next/afterwards," *tasmāt* (36a) evidently refers to the *jñānasaṃpūrṇnadeha* (35e), embodiment of scripture and mantra. With Sadāśiva as instrumental cause, this embodied, sonic manifestation of the awakened *bindu* appears to function as the immediate material cause for the creation, the central constituents of which are the *tattvas* (ontic principles or levels) and mantra (which is the essence of *jñāna*, scripture).

[60]It seems impossible to construe **A**'s feminine accusative *tatvamālāṃ* (36d) and its adjective *hūhukāntāvadhūtasthāṃ* (36c). I have conjectured that nominatives underlie these, agreeing with and describing *sṛṣṭiḥ* (36b). It seems that *hūhukāntāvadhūtasthā tatvamālā* refers to the series of *tattvas* beginning from *śakti*—i.e., the entire creation below *paramaśiva*. In the *BraYā*, *avadhūtā* is a common epithet of the supreme Śakti, in compound usually *avadhūta*; cf. 1.128 below, and see the annotation to *BraYā* 2.1c–2. By extention, this is also a term for her mantra, the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, which pervades the hierarchy of *tattvas*. As for Hūhuka, *Kubjikāmata*

37 For the good of people,[61] O pious lady, the great mass of scriptural wisdom, consisting of the *Vimala*, was set down in abbreviated form with the name *Amṛta*.[62]

38–39 And the transcendent-cum-immanent (*parāpara*) god [Sadāśiva],[63] moreover, expounded to Śrīkaṇṭha [the scripture] consisting of mantra, doctrine, and ritual, after emerging from the state beyond regulated conduct (*nirācāra*),[64] on account of viewing both [the pure and impure]

22.8a lists him in a series of *bhairava*s. In *BraYā* 32, concerned with cosmology, more specifically cosmography (*prakriyā*), the deity is described as existing below the hell worlds (*naraka*s), which are themselves below the netherworlds (*pātāla*s), above which lies *bhūrloka*, the world of humans. *Svacchandatantra* 11 describes Hūhuka as the lord (*prabhu*) who supports the entire world (*tasyāśritaṃ jagat sarvam*, 11.23c), and as *śaktyādhāra*, the locus of the (root) *śakti* (11.24b). In the series of deities governing the hierarchical strata of the cosmos, his position appears to be below even that of Kālāgnirudra, i.e. at the very bottom of the universe. In referring to the creation as consisting of the *tattva*s and extending from Hūhuka to the *avadhūtā śakti*, the *BraYā* mixes the terminology of parallel cosmological systems: *tattvamālā* should refer to the system of thirty or more *tattva*s, while *rudra*s such as Hūhuka belong to the system of worlds (*bhuvana* or *loka*).

[61] Evidently the ostensible locative °*kāmyāyām* (37a) must be understood as instrumental (a usage not mentioned by EDGERTON). The expression *lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā* is extremely common as a (metrical) even pāda; note, e.g., *Svacchandatantra* 10.484d, *Tantrasadbhāva* 24.236b, and thrice below (1.40d, 44d, and 106d). Rather than understanding the form °*kāmyāyām* as locative, it might be better to consider this as instrumental singular with metrical lengthening of the medial vowel, followed by hiatus-breaking *-m-*. Such feminine instrumentals occur so frequently in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* that TÖRZSÖK (1999: xxxvii) remarks, "Stems on *-ā* usually have °*āyā* instead of °*ayā* in the singular instrumental." These occur less frequently in the language of the *BraYā*, and usually for metrical reasons, for instance in 32.1c (*yayā vijñātamātrāyā*).

[62] In the text as transmitted, there is a syntactical problem insofar as no predicate is explicit until *prabhāṣitam* in 39d. The most plausible solution is to emend *nibandhas* (37c) to *nibaddhaṃ*, agreeing with *jñānoghaṃ* in 37d. Cf. the expression *nibaddhagranthasya* below in 1.85a. The question arises whether to take 37 and 38 together, or rather 38 and 39, as has been preferred here. In favour of the latter, *samāsena* (37c) and *saṃkṣepāt* (38b) would be tautologous; but otherwise, it might seem preferable that the instrumentals in 38 construe with *nibaddhaṃ* in 37c. In any case, the three verses seem to form a unit.

[63] *parāpareṇa devena*, 39c, refers to Sadāśiva, who is intermediate (*parāpara*) with respect to the transcendent *paramaśiva* and immanent *īśvara*. Cf. 39.91, quoted as testimonia, which specifies Sadāśiva as the teacher of the primordial scripture to Śrīkaṇṭha.

[64] *nirācārapada* (39a, "the state beyond regulated conduct") signifies the condition of the supreme Śiva, with *avadhūtā* the corresponding term for the supreme Śakti. These terms are discussed in the annotation on *BraYā* 2.1c–2. The implication here seems to be that Sadāśiva emerges from the transcendent state of yogic absorption, identified with *paramaśiva*.

paths.[65] He did so by composing in the *anuṣṭubh* meter,[66] abbreviated, with [verses] numbering one and a quarter-hundred thousand, O great woman.[67]

40–41 From this scripture,[68] O Mahādevī, seeking the good, Śrīkaṇṭha made manifold the *tantras*, learnt from the state of Sadāśiva,[69] with millions and millions of elaborations for the good of all, because of differences in the dispositions of the interlocutors,[70] on account of the divisions of types of ritual, because of the pure and impure paths, and because of lack of the heroic spirit (*sattva*),[71] O pious lady.

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[65] In 39b, the elliptical *ubhaya* appears to mean *ubhayamārga* ("both paths"); Sadāśiva is described as *ubhayamārgānuvartin* in 33.323d. The two "paths" are the "pure" and "impure" (*śuddha* and *aśuddha*), and by extension the *śuddhāśuddha* or mixed (*miśra*). These categories pertain to the classification of scripture and practitioners, as delineated in *BraYā* 39 and discussed in §1.9 and §2.4. In the present verse, the categories may also intimate the division of the cosmos into the pure and impure 'courses' (*adhvan*).

[66] Compare 38a with 1.25ab of the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa* (quoted as testimonia). Note in both instances thematization of *chandas* as an *a*-stem; *chando°* would be unmetrical.

[67] If correct, *mahātmanā* in 38b would have to modify *devena*, despite its syntactical distance. However, it seems more likely to be a corruption of the irregular feminine vocative *mahātmane*, based on a thematized feminine stem *°ātmanā* (cf. Edgerton §17.22 on the stem *ātmana*). The *BraYā* attests the vocative *mahātmane* at the end of even pādas no fewer than thirty-seven times.

[68] 40a in **A** is damaged. From what can be discerned, and from the readings of **D** and **E**, it seems **A** would have read *asmā jñānā mahādevi*, presumably meaning *asmāj jñānān mahādevi*. There are several similar expressions in the parallel passage of *BraYā* 33, cited as testimonia, where the final consonants of most ablatives are elided: *…nirggataṃ cāsmā* [em.; *cātmā* **A**] *jñānoghād …* (322cd), *jñānoghāsmā na saṃśayaḥ* (324b), and *asmā jñānā yato mantrās* (329a). In this light I have retained *asmā jñānā* in 40a.

[69] In 41d, *sadāśivaḥpadāt* has been interpreted as a compound, with a metrical visarga, just as in 33b; see the annotation thereon.

[70] *pṛcchakāśraya* (41a) seems to mean "the dispositions of the interlocutors" who pose the questions which frame a given *tantra*'s teachings. In other words, *āśraya* appears to be used in the sense of *āsaya*, or to be corrupt; see the discussion of the expression *pṛcchakāśraya* ad *BraYā* 39.14 (note 18). Note that pāda 41a is identical to 39.14a and 39.29c, while 40c is identical to 32.29c and 39.93a. 40d occurs twice again in this chapter (44d and 106d).

[71] In the *BraYā* and related literature, *sattva* ("spirit" or "heroic spirit," i.e. courage) or *vīrasattva* is a quality of vital importance for carrying out the extreme rituals of the tantric "hero" (*vīra*). The *sādhaka* undertaking the "zombie rite" (*vetālasādhana*), for instance, must be "a mighty hero possessed of great courage" (*mahāsatvo mahāvīraḥ*, *BraYā* 14.38c). See also, for example, 14.212a–19b, quoted in Hatley 2007: 15 (n. 44). Implied in the present verse is the notion that not all *tantras* teach such rituals, since many practitioners lack the requisite *sattva*.

42 But this mass of scriptural wisdom,[72] existing in its true form, my dear, numbering one and a quarter hundred-thousand verses, was learnt by me as it really is.

43 I shall now also teach you, whose knowledge of scripture was lost, that which was arranged by division into one and a quarter hundred thousand *śloka*-verses.[73]

44–45 From this emerged the entire universe, animate and inanimate. Out of desire for the good of people and with authorization from the Śakti, (¿) abiding with a nature semi-divine (?),[74] you too should teach the [*tantra*] numbering one and a quarter hundred thousand [verses] to the venerable Krodhabhairava, who attains perfection (*siddhi*) by the will of Śiva.[75] *Thus did speak Bhairava.*[76]

46 (¿) After the one named Krodhabhairava (?), you shall speak the *[Tantra of] One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand* to Kapālabhairava, O pious lady.[77]

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[72]Evidently the masculine *ayan* (42a) must be understood as neuter, in agreement with °*sandoham*, although the latter should in classical Sanskrit be masculine. The expression *jñāna-sandoha* is synonymous with *jñānogha*.

[73]The feminine instrumental *tayā* transmitted by the MSS. in 43a seems implausible. What underlies this is likely to be *tava*, i.e. *tavāpi*. This would agree with °*bhraṣṭāyās* and express the indirect object of *saṃpravakṣyāmi* (43b).

[74]*sthitayā* (45b) has been construed with *tvayā* (44c), with °*kāmyayā* and °*anujñayā* taken separately as instrumentals of cause. The expression *divyādivyasvabhāvena* (45a) elsewhere finds application in classifying deities: *BraYā* 4 categorizes divine beings and their ritual icons into the categories of *divyādhika*, *divya*, *divyādivya*, and *adivya*. Perhaps in the present case, the implication is that the goddess should remain among mortals in a merely semi-divine state, teaching the *tantra* for the good of humankind.

[75]Although he is referred to as *deva*, this is an honorific, for Krodhabhairava is likely to be the initiatory name of an individual and not a deity; likewise with Kapālabhairava, Padma-bhairava, and so forth. *BraYā* 34.163–200b explains the assignation of initiatory names based on membership in deity clans, as established by where a flower cast into the maṇḍala lands. Male initiands receive names in the pattern of maṇḍala-deity + *bhairava*, e.g. Raktabhairava, should the flower land upon the goddess Raktā. A total of twenty-three (male) names in this pattern occur in the present chapter. Many, but not all of these, are based upon the maṇḍala of the *BraYā*. Female initiands, it seems, append the designation *-śakti* rather than *-bhairava* (*BraYā* 34.199c–200b: *nārīnān tu yadā pātaḥ sthāne[ṣv] eteṣu jāyate* || *tena gotreṇa tan nāmaṃ śaktisaṃjñaṃ tadā bhavet* |).

[76]*evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt* (45d) is a stock phrase that appears always to be an aside, rather than part of what Bhairava speaks to the goddess. It occurs about forty times in the *BraYā*, and nowhere else that I am aware of presently.

[77]It is difficult to interpret the ablative *krodhabhairavasaṃjñakāt* (46b). The context suggests

47–48b He is a brahmin of great intelligence named Śrīdhara,[78] born in Kurukṣetra, who possesses entitlement to the teachings and whose mind is empowered by the Śakti, and who has not reached perfection, undoubtedly.

48c–50b Kapālabhairava, O goddess, will contract the *[Tantra of] One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand* using twenty-four thousand [verses],[79] for [the good] of people of little intelligence,[80] but with the ritual procedure of the Root Tantra remaining in its essential form, without the four divisions [of *mudrā*, maṇḍala, mantra, and *vidyā*], etc.[81]

50c–51 (¿) He will obtain perfection in this very [*tantra*], not otherwise. After Kapālabhairava reaches perfection (?), you will teach [this] to the one named Padmabhairava, who has not attained perfection.[82] *Thus did speak*

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a temporal sense, perhaps, "after [teaching] the one called Krodhabhairava, [you shall teach Kapālabhairava]." Conceivably, this could be short for *krodhabhairavasaṃjñakāt jñātvā*; but this would have the goddess learning the same 125,000 verse scripture she had herself taught. Note the parallel construction in 51ab: *kapālabhairavāt ... asiddhasya... vakṣyasi.*

[78] *mahāmate*, as reads **A** in 47b, could a vocative addressing the goddess, but seems much more likely to be a corruption of the genitive *mahāmateḥ*, modifying *kapālabhairavasya*. In only one other instance, at the end of 99.14b, does **A** read *mahāmate*; I suspect this to be corrupt for *mahāmati*, for **A** transmits the latter nearly fifty times, always at the end of even pādas. While some of these, conceivably, could be vocatives addressing the goddess, almost all cases can readily be interpreted as masculine nominatives (cf. EDGERTON §10.15). In the three remaining instances, *mahāmati* is unambiguously a masculine vocative (34.356d, 34.357d, 34.362d). **A** also reads *mahāmatiḥ* (masculine nominative) eight times.

[79] **A**, which reads *saṃghariṣyati* in 49b, has extensive and unsystematic alternation between *ṃh* and *ṅgh* or *ṃgh*. This alternation primarily pertains to *saṃhāra/saṃghāra* and the verbal forms of *saṃ√hṛ*, but also e.g. *siṃha* and *siṃgha*, the latter being preferred (note *siṃghānanī* in 3.60a and 30.137). Below, *saṃhariṣyati* and *saṃghariṣyati* both occur within the space of four pādas, 65c–66b. This may suggest that, regardless of orthography, *ṃgh* was pronounced. I have maintained **A**'s orthography in all cases, for lack of additional evidence.

[80] In 50a, **A** writes *lokānāmm alpa°*, with two nasals. While one might be inclined to dismiss this as error, word-final *-ṃm* in fact appears upwards of seventy times. While not all cases can be accounted for metrically, the general intention is to make the preceding vowel heavy; note, e.g., *saṃyuktaṃm akṣaraṃ smṛtaṃ* (17.38d), where *saṃyuktam* would be unmetrical (likewise, *rudrāṇāṃ tu sataṃm api*, 32.156b). In the *BraYā*, as in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, anusvāra alone can accomplish this purpose before a vowel; see the discussion in §1.4.2. The string *-ṃm* may simply be a variant orthography for anusvāra in such circumstances.

[81] The meaning of *ādi* in *catuḥpīṭhādivarjitam* (50b) is unclear, and one might consider emending to *catuḥpīṭhavivarjitam.*

[82] 50c–51b are problematic. It is likely that *siddha*, as reads **A** in 50d, is corrupt for *siddhiṃ*, and is the object of the verb in 50d. But this still leaves problems, for we have two second-

Bhairava.

52–54b He is born in the land of Oḍra with the name Devadatta, and his Vedic branch is *bahvṛcā*.[83] Then, no doubt, this very Padmabhairava, though he has not reached perfection, will, by command, once again reduce the *Tantra of Twenty-four Thousand* using twelve-thousand [verses], by the will of Śiva.[84]

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person singular verbs, *prāpsyasi* and *vakṣyasi*, and the demonstrative pronoun *asau* rather than the second-person *tvam*. Perhaps the best solution is to emend *prāpsyasi* in 50b to *prāpsyati*, with *asau* [Kapālabhairava] as its subject. One possible reservation is that Kapālabhairava would be obtaining *siddhi* in the *tantra* of his own redaction; for comparison, in 54, if the text is correct, the goddess achieves *siddhi* in the abbreviated redaction of someone else, Padmabhairava. Hence, if we accept the emendation *prāpsyati* here, it might also be desirable to emend *prayāsyasi* in 54d to *prayāsyati*. This might make narrative sense, for we would then have accounts of how Kapālabhairava and Padmabhairava, both described as *asiddha*, attain *siddhi*. But in the case of 54, there are factors speaking against this; see the annotation thereon.

In 50c, *eka* may be corrupt for *eva*, or else the adverbial *ekaṃ*; if the nominative of *eka* were intended, **A** should read *eko*. In terms of sense, *eva* seems much preferable; *eko* would imply that no one other than Kapālabhairava obtains *siddhi* in his redaction of the *tantra*, while *ekaṃ* does not elsewhere occur as an adverb in the *BraYā*.

In 51a, *siddho*, as reads **A**, is difficult to construe. If one retains *prāpsyasi* in 50d, then it seems preferable to emend to *siddhā*, in agreement with an unstated *tvam*. This might mean, "you shall attain *siddhi* in this very *tantra* ...; [and] having reached perfection, after Kapālabhairava, you will teach Padmabhairava." It is also possible to follow **A** in reading *siddho*, provided one emends *vakṣyasi* to *vakṣyati* (but who is the subject?). However, it seems preferable to emend to the ablative *siddhād* or *siddhā* (with elision of the final consonant), in agreement with *kapālabhāiravāt*. With the pattern ablative + genitive + second person future verb, there is a construction parallel to that of 46b–d; see the annotation thereon. Here also, the context suggests a temporal sense for the ablative, viz. "after [teaching] Kapālabhairava, who has [thus] attained perfection, you will teach Padmabhairava."

[83]While **A** reads *caraṇā* (52c), the term *caraṇa*, "Vedic school," seems unattested in the feminine, and I have accordingly emended to *caraṇo*, the vowel-signs for *ā* and *o* being similar. In the same pāda, *bahvajā*, as reads **A**, is almost certain to be corrupt for the name of a school of Ṛgvedins, *bahvṛcā* (the vulgate *Ṛgveda* being called *bahvṛc*). In 74de, we probably have reference to another brahmin who is *bahvṛcaḥ*; there too **A** is corrupt, reading *bahvayaḥ*.

[84]It seems that with Padmabhairava, the *tantra* finally takes on the form of the *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, i.e. *BraYā*. The plural *°saṃjñakāḥ* in 53b seems implausible, and has been emended to the singular. The string *atha ādeśena na saṃśayaḥ* in 52cd is syntactically ambiguous. I have construed *atha* as pointing forward, beginning the sentence which ends in 54b. Otherwise, it must belong to the sentence beginning in 51a, which, though awkward, provides a reasonable distribution of sense units with pāda boundaries, and avoids the unusual situation of having *na saṃśayaḥ* at the beginning of a sentence. If *ādeśena* ("by command [of the guru/Śakti?]") construes with 53–54b, it would have to be an instrumental of cause, perhaps somewhat re-

54c–55 You will then reach *siddhi* with this very *tantra*.[85] In the presence of the unperfected one [and] you yourself, fourteen disciples will listen to this *tantra*, O woman of great fortune.[86]

56 One by the name Raktabhairava, another one, Jvālābhairava, and also Helābhairava: O woman of great fame, all three of them are born in Madhyadeśa, and [their] Vedic branch is *atharvaṇa*.[87]

57 Vāmabhairava, O goddess, and another, Vijayabhairava,[88] are said to be *śūdras* by caste, born in Saurāṣṭra.

58 Bhībhatsabhairava,[89] O goddess, Gajakarṇabhairava, and Caṇḍabhairava,

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dundant in light of *śivecchayā* (54b). If it construes with 51–52, the probable sense of *ādeśa* is "authorization to hear the scripture" (*śāstrasya śravaṇāya*); 63cd states this meaning explicitly. In that case it could be taken as an associative instrumental, meaning, "[he is a brahmin born in the land of Oḍra], with authorization [to learn the scripture]."

[85] It seems probable that in 54c, *mantreṇa* is corrupt for *tantreṇa*; to refer to a textual redaction as *mantra* seems implausible. In 54d, **A**'s *prayāsyasi* arouses the same suspicion as **A**'s *prāpsyasi* in 50d: it might be corrupt for the third person. Here however there is no grammatical compulsion to read thus. In fact, there is a compelling reason to retain the second person, for 55a refers to Padmabhairava as still being *asiddha*.

[86] The syntax of 55 leaves room for doubt, with *sakāśāt* construing with either or both of the genitives (*asiddhasya* and *tava*). It is hence unclear whether the fourteen disciples (55d) learn the *tantra* from Padmabhairava or the Goddess—or perhaps both, as I have tentatively conjectured. Whichever be the case, the fourteen are later described as disciples of Padmabhairava, from whom, in 64b, Caṇḍabhairava is specifically said to learn the *tantra*. The unusual form *śruṇviṣyanti*, as reads **A** in 55c, is apparently the third person plural future of √*śru*, in the active voice (equivalent to classical *śroṣyanti*). In contrast, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit attests *śruṇiṣyanti* (Edgerton §31.1), formed on the present indicative *śruṇati*. One might suspect that *śruṇviṣyanti* is corrupt for *śṛṇviṣyanti*, formed on the present indicative *śṛṇute*. However, the form is confirmed in 64a.

In 55d, *caturddaśaḥ* could be original; **A** transmits the same in 4.67b, 4.104b, 45.665b, and 83.116b (cf. 103.12c, *kūnatṛṃśair ddaśaḥ*)—always at the end of even pādas, which seem prone to scribal additions. Note in contrast *caturddaśa tathā* in 11.24c and 25.7a. Edgerton (§19.26) finds no convincing evidence for *daśaḥ*, and I have emended accordingly.

[87] 65d, which **A** transmits as *caraṇaṃ parvaṇaṃ tathā*, should name the Vedic *śākhā* of these three disciples. In all likelihood *parvaṇa* is a corruption from *atharvaṇa*; cf. 59cd, referring to Caṇḍabhairava as an *atharvaṇa* brahmin. Confusion between *tha* and *pa* is unsurprising in old Newārī writing. A minimally emended text for 56d might be *caraṇo 'tharvaṇaṃ tathā*, though the masculine, '*tharvvaṇas*, might be preferable.

[88] 57b is hypermetrical, and has three initial short syllables. On this allowed kind of hypermetry, see §1.4.2. In both names provided in 57ab, as with others below, the final *ka* has no meaning and merely accomodates the name to the meter.

[89] The orthography *bhībhatsa* occurs consistently for *bībhatsa* in **A**, with one exception

originate in the territory of Sindhu.[90]

59 Bhībhatsabhairava as well as Gajakarṇabhairava are Rājput *kṣatriyas*, O goddess,[91] while Caṇḍabhairava is, no doubt, a brahmin, an *atharvaṇa* by way of Vedic school, O goddess.[92]

60 He, [Caṇḍabhairava,] the excellent son of Yajñasoma, is born in the village named Bṛhodarī,[93] O Mahādevī. In this matter, there is no need for deliberation.[94]

61 O Queen of the gods, there outside the village is [a temple of] the goddess Bṛhodarī. Because of her name, that village is known as Bṛhodarī.[95]

62–63 That brahmin of great heroic spirit, after worshipping the goddess Bṛhodarī and then obtaining the [Nine-Syllable] Vidyā alone,[96] O pious lady, will perform mantra-incantation (*japa*) in that very place.[97] And then,

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(62.210c). Once also **A** writes *bhībhaccha* (26.9c)

[90]It seems that *sindhuviṣayasambhavaḥ* must be emended to the plural, for following the pattern of this section, 58d should convey the origins of all three individuals mentioned in the verse. This pāda has the metrical fault of short syllables in the second and third positions, but is likely to be original.

[91]Metrically, 59b is particularly poor, having nine syllables as well as the disallowed "syncopated" pattern of alternating short and long syllables.

[92]**A** writes *caṇḍabhairavakā punaḥ* in 59d, where one expects the nominative singular, *°bhairavakaḥ*. I suspect this to be corrupt for *°bhairavako*, with the frozen *-o* of the Middle-Indic masculine singular nominative; cf. Edgerton §8.18. The string *-o p-* occurs regularly in **A** (e.g. *tato punaḥ*, 4.396b and 104.9b).

[93]*bṛhodarī* is probably Middle Indic for *bṛhadudarī*, "She of the Massive Belly," formed with the thematized *a*-stem *bṛha* for *bṛhat*.

[94]Concerning the stock phrase *nātra kārya vicāraṇāt* (60d), see the discussion on pp. 30–31.

[95]Evidently *tasya* (61c) is corrupt for *tasyā[ḥ]*, referring to Bṛhodarī, while *nāmena* is an instrumental formed on the thematized stem *nāma*; cf. 28d above. In the same pāda, **A**'s *so grāmo* is likely original; cf. Edgerton §21.5 ("*so* and *eṣo* occur as generalized forms for Sanskrit *sa* and *eṣa*, without regard to sandhi"). Note also *so kariṣyati* below (88b), *bhavate so hi* (in 22.94a), and *vīro bhavati so devi* (45.660a). It has not been possible to identify this village of Sindh, nor to discover other references to it. While no corruption is evident, 61b has the faulty metrical pattern of alternating short and long syllables.

[96]The mss.'s nominative, *devī bṛhodarī* in **A**, must surely stand for the accusative, and is most probably to be emended. Although there exists fluidity between the nominative and accusative, this is more the case with the masculine than feminine. In 62a, *ārādhayitvā* is a non-standard gerund, having the *-tvā* suffix despite the presence of a prefix. Oberlies (§9.7.1) observes this form in *Mahābhārata* III, 192.19.

[97]It seems impossible to interpret the first person verb *kariṣyāmi*, which **A** transmits in 63a. The subject of *japaṃ* √*kṛ* should certainly be *asau vipras* (62a), which requires emendation to

he will receive authorization to learn this scripture,[98] no doubt.

64 He shall learn from Padmabhairava.[99] Having reached perfection there, that brahmin shall become an author of *tantras*.[100]

65–66 (¿) And by distilling this [scriptural] material (*artha*) (?),[101] this knower of the *tattva*s will contract [the *tantra*] using [verses] measuring eighteen-hundred, and likewise he will contract [it by] using thirteen and seven [hundred verses],[102] O pious lady, for the good of people.[103] On this matter, one need not deliberate.[104]

67 (¿) Since without effecting authorization [through initiation], attainment of the scriptural wisdom does not come about (?),[105] he, [Caṇḍabhairava,]

kariṣyati.

[98]In 63d, *ādeśo cāsya* is probably original, *ādeśo* having a Middle-Indic frozen final *-o*; cf. °*bhairavako* above in 59d (by conjecture), and Edgerton §8.18.

[99]In 64a, the irregular future plural *śruṇviṣyanti* (on which see 55d) must surely be emended to the singular, for the subject continues to be *asau vipras* (62a).

[100]In 64c, *tatra* ("there") perhaps has the sense of *padmabhairavasya sakāśāt*. However, it is possible that it refers instead to the *tantra* (as though *atra*). The expression *tantrakartṛ* in 64d is unusual; cf. *tantrakṛt*, occurring throughout the *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*.

[101]*gālayitvā imaṃ cārthā⟨n/t⟩*, as reads **A** in 65a, presents difficulty. As an adverbial *arthāt* seems inappropriate here, one should probably emend to *imaṃ cārthaṃ*, understanding *artha* in the sense of "[scriptural] subject matter, material." It seems that *artha* (by emendation) occurs in the sense of "scripture" below in 79a, and perhaps also in 88a. Another plausible text would be *imaṃ cātha*.

[102]Note *saṃhariṣyati* and *saṅghariṣyati* occurring alongside each other in 1.65c and 66b; see the annotation ad 1.49. I find minimal support for **A**'s reading *saptābhiś* (66a); this has been corrected to *saptabhiś*, which **A** transmits elsewhere ten times.

[103]In 66c, *ca* seems to be a meaningless filler.

[104]On 66d, a stock phrase, see §1.4.2.

[105]In 67b, **A**'s °*prāptinna jāyate* has been emended to °*prāptir na jāyate*, for the doubled *nn* is likely the result of consonantal gemination after a (lost) repha. Although **A**'s first syllable is not entirely legible in 67a, it is probably *na*, as read **D** and **E**. Yet *nadhikārāyataḥ kṛtvā* is unintelligible. This probably conceals a reference to *adhikāra*, authorization to tantric teachings as established through initiation. The most minimal emendation which seems to yield sense is *nādhikāraṃ yataḥ kṛtvā*, in which case 67ab could mean, "Since without effecting entitlement [through initiation], obtaining the scripture does not transpire ...". This is unconvincing, however. I have also considered more radical conjectures, e.g. *nādhikāravidhiṃ kṛtvā*, and, for instance, the possibility that *yataḥ* conceals a references to *japa*. This pāda remains difficult, partly because the object and agent of *kṛtvā* are uncertain. The general idea of the verse seems to be that Caṇḍabhairava disseminates brief texts teaching propitiation of the Vidyā alone, allowing those not yet initiated access to its practice—much as he himself performed *japa* of the Vidyā as a preliminary to attaining scriptural authorization and then *siddhi* (62–64).

will teach people the ritual procedure of the Vidyā alone, in a brief form, for [their] good, through a trio of [disciples] among them.[106]

68 And Kumārabhairava, O goddess, after listening to the [recension of] eighteen-hundred [verses] from Caṇḍabhairava,[107] will then cause it to spread.[108]

69 Likewise, O goddess, Krodhabhairava will learn the [recension of] thirteen-hundred [verses] from Caṇḍabhairava, and cause it to spread.[109]

70 And Tejabhairava, moreover, will listen to the [recension of] seven-hundred [verses] from Caṇḍabhairava,[110] and he will spread it.[111] In [this narrative of] scriptural revelation, the trio of disciples has been taught thus.[112]

71–72b Now,[113] among those fourteen [disciples] who will be famous in the future are two disciples of Padmabhairava, named Karālabhairava and

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[106] In 67d, it seems one should understand *tatra* as *teṣāṃ lokānāṃ madhye*. The trio (*tṛtayaka*) is comprised of Kumārabhairava, Krodhabhairava, and Tejabhairava, mentioned in the next verses. Cf. the reference in 70c to *śiṣyāṇāṃ tṛtayaṃ*, "a threesome of disciples."

[107] In 68c, the genitive *caṇḍabhairavakasya* has been understood in the sense of the ablative; note the ablatives (by emendation) in parallel positions in 69c and 70c.

[108] Verses 68–70 appear to have parallel structures, although the case endings transmitted are inconsistent. It seems most probable that the first pāda of each verse should contain a nominative, although the MSS. appear to transmit accusatives in 68a and 70a. The verbs *vistārayiṣyati* (68d, 69d) and *vistariṣyati* (70d) both appear to mean "will cause to spread," i.e. disseminate. However, these could instead have the sense of "will expand/elaborate upon," or even "make larger," i.e. expand the size of the recension.

[109] A's *krodhabhairavako* (69a) has been emended to the accusative, following the pattern of 68a and 70a. In 69c, *caṇḍabhairavakāś caiva* appears to be a corruption of °*bhairavakāc caiva*, with the ablative. Neither the singular nor plural nominative seems plausible contextually, and *śc* is a relatively minor corruption from *cc*. Precisely the same emendation must be made in 70c.

[110] The name Tejabhairava (70a) compounds the thematized stem *teja* (for *tejas*); cf. EDGERTON §16.10. Note also the occurrence of *nāmānaḥ* (by emendation of *nāmānaṃ*) as nominative singular. Cf. 73a, 86c, etc., and EDGERTON §17.39.

[111] In 70d, *vistariṣyati* appears to be identical in sense to the causative *vistārayiṣyati* in 68d and 69d. Cf. *vistaraṃ kartuvāñchayā*, 91d, which appears identical in sense to 98b, *vistāraṃ kartuvāñchayā* (assuming the text is correct).

[112] It seems *avatāre* (70c) might have the sense of *asmin śāstrāvatāre*, i.e. "in this revelation narrative." Only A reads thus; the other MSS. transmit *avatāraṃ*, which seems implausible, unless one understands 70cd to mean *avatāraṃ samproktam, śiṣyānāṃ tṛtayaṃ proktañ ca*.

[113] *hy atra* in 71a brings the narrative back to the enumeration of fourteen disciples of Padmabhairava, among whom Caṇḍabhairava was eighth.

Ucchuṣmabhairava, born in the *mātaṅga* caste.

72 And another one, Yamabhairava, will take birth in Kāśmīra; and [this] other one will be a *chandoga* brahmin, O goddess.[114]

73 And likewise, there will be another named Viṣṇubhairava in the territory of Lampā, a *vājimadhyaṃdina* brahmin.

74 And the brahmin Dakṣiṇabhairava,[115] born in Kāśī, shall be another disciple, a *bahvṛca* [brahmin], no doubt.[116]

75 And in Oḍḍiyāna, O Mahādevī, there shall be a *taittirīya-* and *apastambha-*brahmin,[117] Śekharabhairava.

76 The fourteen disciples of Padmabhairava have been stated. After learning the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand*, they shall attain *siddhi*, O pious lady.

77–78b And the ones designated "the group of fourteen" [disciples] of Padmabhairava shall write commentaries for disciples desirous of *siddhi*,[118] whose minds are empowered by the *śakti*,[119] (¿) abiding in the Sixth Place (?).[120]

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[114]A syntactical problem begins in 72: four disciples of Padmabhairava are listed in 72–75, one per verse, but there are present five future forms of *bhū* announcing them, one of which must be redundant. 72d, *tathā anyo bhaviṣyati* (note the omission of vowel sandhi), would be redundant in light of *cānyaḥ …sambhaviṣyati* in 72ab, and should hence begin a new sentence. But this would make 73d likewise redundant, which in turn would make likewise 74d, leaving us with a redundant pāda, 75d. Instead, the pattern of 73–75 seems to be that of having sentence-final verbs (*bhaviṣyati*) in the fourth pādas, which suggests that the problem lies in a clumsy redundancy in 72 itself. Accepting this as the solution, there remains the comparatively minor redundancy of *tathā* twice in 73b and 73d.

[115]**A**'s *dakṣiṇabhairava* is unmetrical, and one might emend to *dakṣiṇābhairava*; cf. *dakṣiṇāmūrti*, the form of Śiva. However, some metrical flexibility is to be expected in the case of proper names, and, furthermore, **A** is elsewhere inconsistent in the spelling of *dakṣiṇ[a/ā]*.

[116]In 74c, **A**'s *bahvayo* is likely to be corrupt for *bahvṛcaś*; on this emendation, see the annotation ad 52 above. **B** instead emends to the implausible but at least intelligible *bahavaś*.

[117]In 75c, *brāhmaṇo* has the Middle-Indic frozen *-o* ending of the masculine nominative singular; cf. Edgerton §8.18.

[118]*vyākhyāṃ…kariṣyanti* (77a) could also mean, "they will explain [the *tantra*]," rather than "they will compose commentaries." Concerning the text and syntax of 78ab, see the annotation to 78c–79 below.

[119]In 78b, the spurious anusvāra in *caturddaśaṃ* seems unlikely to be original. This pāda, *caturddaśa tu saṃjñakāḥ*, appears to be poor Sanskrit for *caturddaśasaṃjñakāḥ*, which would be hypometrical. One could account for this as a split compound, perhaps. To remedy the grammar, one could consider emending *saṃjñakāḥ* to *saṃjñitāḥ*.

[120]It seems that *ṣaṣṭhaṃ sthānam* refers to the *brahmarandhra*, *brahmadvāra*, or *brahmabila*,

78c–79 (¿) Svacchandabhairava, learning the [scriptural] material (*artha*) in the presence of Krodhabhairava (?),[121] shall once more contract the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand*,[122] using ten-thousand [verses], O Queen of the gods, (¿) with his mind empowered by the Śakti (?).[123]

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the pinnacle of the yogic body and portal through which ascends the soul of the departing yogī. Cf. *Kubjikāmata* 13.24ab: *ṣaṣṭham ūrdhvaparaṃ sthānaṃ brahmadvāreti kīrtitam* ("The sixth, upward facing place is known as *brahmadvāra*"). This name might derive from the *brahmadvāra* being considered the highest point in a system of six plexi (*cakra* or *padma*). To abide in the *ṣaṣṭhaṃ sthānam* presumably indicates the highest state of yogic absorption. Depending upon whether one reads *āśṛtaḥ* (following **A**) or *āśṛtāḥ* (as emended), this describes Svacchandabhairava or else the fourteen disciples; see the note below.

[121]The syntactical problems are considerable in v. 78, whose two halves might construe together, continuing into 79 with *saṃhariṣyati* (79c) as the primary verb. 78ab may instead construe with 77. **A** transmits no fewer than three possible nominatives in 78: *padmabhairavakāś* (78a), *svacchandabhairavo* (78c), and *krodhabhairavaḥ* (78d). As transmitted, *padmabhairavakāś* could describe *caturddaśa*, perhaps in the sense of "disciples of Padmabhairava," or be corrupt for *padmabhairavakasyaiva*, in the same sense. The latter seems satisfactory and has been adopted. One should then also emend *āśṛtaḥ* to the plural (if singular, this agrees with *svacchandabhairavo*, 78c). In this case, the phrase *ṣaṣṭhaṃ vai sthānam āśritāḥ* (78b) might describe the mode by which the fourteen disciples create commentaries. Another possibility is to emend *padmabhairavakāś* to *padmabhairavakañ*, meaning, "the text redacted by Padmabhairava," taking this as object of the gerund *śrutvā* (78c). This could be appropriate, for the redaction in question is the *Dvādaśasāhasra* (see 79a), which Padmabhairava is responsible for redacting from twenty-four thousand verses (1.53–54). Finally, a more paleographically likely emendation, if difficult to construe, is the ablative *padmabhairavakāc*; cf. 69c and 70c, where identical emendations have been made.

In 79c, *svacchandabhairavo* (note the frozen *-o* ending) is apparently the subject of *śrutvā*, while *sakāśāt krodhabhairavaḥ* (79d) could perhaps be understood as *sakāśāt krodhabhairavasya*, nominative for genitive, metri causa. That Svacchandabhairava is the agent of the verb *saṃhariṣyati* (79c), i.e. that he abbreviates the *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, appears to be confirmed in 1.110. The question arises as to which Krodhabhairava is referred to in 79d: a Krodhabhairava was the first pupil of the goddess, while another one, apparently, was one of Caṇḍabhairava's three pupils. Neither appears to have learned the *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, and we may here have a third Krodhabhairava. I consider it more likely, though, that Svacchandabhairava learns from the goddess's first disciple, perhaps through divine visitation, as v. 85 seems to suggest (*divyasaṅgānubhāvataḥ*, 85b).

[122]**A** might in 79a read *artha dvādaśa*°, but the possible repha of the first syllable is uncertain. This could in any case be corrected to *atha dvādaśa*°, as read the other MSS. However, note also the construction *gālayitvā...arthaṃ* in 65a (by emendation of *arthāt*), where *artha* apparently refers to the *śāstra* or its content, and note, more particularly, *arthaṃ* in 85c below. These lend plausibility to the emendation *arthaṃ*, which I have provisionally adopted.

[123]What **A** transmits as *śaktyā bhūtas tu cetasā* appears corrupt. Whatever the correct reading, its sense is probably similar to that of *śaktyāviṣṭena cetasā*, which occurs as 83.93d. Cf.

80 He shall teach people the *Tantra of Ten Thousand* by the power of the *yoginīs*, with the narrative of revelation cut out, my dear.

81–82b Born in Ujjainī, (¿) son of a brahmin, Jouka (?),[124] Deikā is indeed his mother,[125] who, as she has had many miscarriages, bathes and ritually sips water, [then appears] before the Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*), desiring a son.[126]

82c–83 The Mother-goddesses,[127] impelled by the Śakti, cast into her womb one who had chanted the [Nine-Syllable] Vidyā and was full of power,[128]

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also *śaktyādhiṣṭhitacittānāṃ* (1.77c), *śaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasām* (1.114b), and *bhaktyāviṣṭena cetasā* (1.17f). I have provisionally adopted the conjecture *śaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasā.*

[124] This passage appears to expand on Svacchandabhairava's pedigree, rather than introduce someone new; cf. the description of Caṇḍabhairava, 1.59b–67. See also the annotation ad 83 below. In 81a, A's *ujjainyāyāṃ* is likely to be original, Middle Indic for *ujjayinyāṃ*. Ujjainī (cf. modern Ujjain) is the name of one of the eight *śmaśāna*s of the initiation maṇḍala (*BraYā* 3.97c–105b). Feminine locatives ending in *-yāyām* occur frequently in the *BraYā*, formed on the extended stem *-yā* for *-ī*; note, e.g., *vīthyāyāṃ* (3.17c), *saptamyāyāṃ* and *aṣṭamyāyāṃ* (3.19a and 19d, respectively), *tarjanyāyām* (25.103b, 4.77c, and 4.838a), and *nāḍyāyām* (ten times), to name a few.

There is considerable uncertainly concerning what A reads as *viprajoukaputrakaḥ* in 81b. This could mean "born of a brahmin (*viprajo*), the son of Uka;" but this name seems improbable. Parsing as a single compound, one could understand this as meaning, "son of a brahmin, Jouka;" but this name is also doubtful. Moreover, there is a strong possibility that the pāda should communicate the individual's Vedic *śākhā* or *caraṇa*, for such information is present in the case of almost every other brahmin mentioned as such in this chapter. No known Vedic school is discernable in *[jo]ukaputraka.*

[125] The name Deikā (81c) is Middle Indic for Devikā; cf. Sattikā (28c) and the goddess Bṛhodarī (60–62). In the same pāda, A's *mātrā* is probably corrupt for *mātā*, but see Edgerton §13.14–15 on the comparatively rare thematized stem *mātrā.*

[126] The plural *ācāmanti* transmitted in 82a seems improbable, and has been emended to the singular. Presumably, the idea is that Deikā performs *ācamana* (purificatory sipping of water) prior to appearing before the Mothers, rather than "in front of the Mothers," as the text suggests.

[127] *mātarāḥ* in 83b is probably original, formed from a thematized stem *mātarā* for *mātṛ*. While "correct" forms of *mātṛ* occur frequently enough, the form transmitted is also well-attested; note e.g. 74.75a (*saptaitā mātarā[ḥ] khyātā*) and 4.173b (*caturvvaktrās tu mātarāḥ*). Other forms on the stems *mātarā* as well as *mātara* abound in the *BraYā*, for instance the plural genitive *mātarāṇām* (43.20d and 26b, 56.56d, and 91.191c) and the instrumental plural *mātaraiḥ* (68.53b). The stem(s) also occur in compound (e.g. *mātarāṣṭasamāyuktā*, 93.36c). Cf. Edgerton §13.16–18; see also the discussion of the accusative plural *mātarāṃ* below in 14c.

[128] *kṣipiṣyanti* in 83a (corrected from *kṣipiśyanti*) is an irregular third person future of √*kṣip*, for classical *kṣepsyanti*. Influenced by Middle Indic, *kṣipiṣyanti* is formed on a stem derived

named Amantrī ("Without a Mantra") because of not having reached perfection on account of violating the pledges.[129]

84 Afterwards, O Mahādevī, by their power he shall [re]gain the Vidyā and perform its incantation (*japa*), and will then learn the scripture.[130]

85 And then, having set down the text through the power of divine contact,[131] he shall speak the scriptural matter entirely, using ten thousand [verses].[132] Afterwards, he shall subsequently achieve *siddhi* through this very scriptural wisdom.[133]

86c–87 O Queen of the gods, the one named Caṇḍabhairava shall again [re]fashion this very *Tantra of Ten Thousand* using seven-thousand [verses].

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from the present indicative *kṣipati* on the analogy of the type *bhavati/bhaviṣyati*. Cf. EDGERTON §31.1.

[129] Conceivably, *japtavidyo mahāvīrya* (82c) could be corrupt for the feminine, referring to Deikā. Gender confusion is not improbable; in 83c **A** reads *tasya* for what must surely be *tasyā[ḥ]*. However, this most probably describes Amantrin/Amantrī; it is, after all, his gain and dissemination of the scripture with which this section of the narrative (78c–86b) is mainly concerned. Amantrin appears to be the pre-initiatory name of Svacchandabhairava, introduced in the preceding verses (78c–81). In 83d, *amantrīnāmakas* is probably original, a nominative which is accusative in sense, being the object of *kṣipiṣyanti*, and in which the nominative *amantrī* seems to be compounded. As I note in another publication (HATLEY *forthcoming* a), "belying [his apparent] ignominy, Amantrin's combination of tantric initiation and breach of the initiatory pledges in a past life defines the exalted type of *sādhaka* known as the *tālaka*, whose virtuoso transgressive rituals are among the *BraYā*'s paramount concerns." See also the discussion in §1.11.

[130] **A**'s *bhavetsyati* in 84d is rather bizarre; while this could potentially be a corruption of *bhaviṣyati*, the conjecture *sa vetsyati* (or perhaps *ca vetsyati*) proposed by ISAACSON (personal communication) seems preferable both in sense and on paleographic grounds.

[131] *divyasaṅgānubhāvataḥ* (85b) must refer to the manner by which Svacchandabhairava learns the scripture, perhaps from Krodhabhairava. This is by no means a well-attested expression. One might wonder whether *anubhāva* is used here in the sense of *anubhava*, "direct experience;" but cf. *prabhāvataḥ* in 84b, with which *anubhāvataḥ* may here be synonymous.

[132] A syntactical problem is present in 85, insofar as the referent of the genitive transmitted in 85a, and subject of the verb in 85d, are unclear. The genitive *nibaddhagranthasya* could be the object of *kathayiṣyati*; but it could also be corrupt for *nibaddhagranthaś ca*, and hence contain the subject. Only the latter option, here adopted, offers a clear interpretation: "[Amantrī], by whom the scripture had been assembled/composed (*nibaddha*) due to the power (*anubhāva*) of divine contact (*divyasaṅga*), will speak the scriptural material (*artha*) entirely, using ten-thousand [verses]."

[133] In 86b, **A**'s future verb *lapsati* (for *lapsyati*) could be original, though I consider scribal error more likely; cf. EDGERTON §2.17.

[Afterwards, in him] shall arise the aspiration to fashion [a *tantra* of] twelve thousand.[134]

87c–88 He shall not (¿) allow his divine disciples to contract the scriptural material (?),[135] O great queen, and he shall also have obstacles with the [text of] seven thousand.[136]

89 With this [very] aspiration [to expand the *tantra*], there is one with the designation Bindubhairava, O goddess, and he [too] shall have an obstruction with the [*tantra* of] seven thousand.

90–91b O Mahādevī, the one named Māyābhairava with this very aspiration will also not reach *siddhi* (¿) by way of the [*tantra*] designated *Ten [Thousand Verses]* (?).[137] He [too] shall have an obstruction with the [*tantra* of] seven thousand.

91c–92 And [there shall be] Anantabhairava, with the aspiration to spread

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[134]In 87d, **A**'s unintelligible *karttā vāñchā* may be corrupt for *karttuvāñchā* (as emends **B**); cf. *karttuvāñchayā* in 91d and 98b. These are unusual formations, for in classical Sanskrit, the compounding of infinitives (here *kartum*) is restricted to the cases of *-kāma* (similar in meaning to *vāñchā*) and *-manas*.

[135]*samarttuṃ* in 88b is surely corrupt. One plausible text might be *na cārthaṃ … saṃharttuṃ so kariṣyati*, perhaps meaning, "and he shall not make [i.e. allow?] [his disciples] to contract the scriptural material." In this case the causative *kārayiṣyati* would be expected, however, as in constructions with $\sqrt{}$*dā* + infinitive $\sqrt{}$x, meaning "to allow to x." One might consider emending to *saṃhāraṃ* instead, meaning "he will not contract the scriptural material for his divine disciples;" cf. 54ab above. The pronoun *so* is likely original (for *sa*); cf. *so grāmo* above in 61c, and see the discussion thereof.

The meaning of *divyaśiṣyāṇām* in 88a is uncertain, but in light of the meaning of *divya*° in 85b, the point might be that Caṇḍabhairava had disciples to whom he transmitted the teachings yogically.

[136]It is not entirely clear what the *vighna*, "obstructing force," is an obstruction to: both the redaction of scripture and the quest for *siddhi* seem possible. The expression *vighnas tasya bhaviṣyati* (88d) might be equivalent to *na siddhiṃ prayāsyati* (cf. 90d).

[137]It is difficult to interpret the MSS.'s *daśasaṃjñakaḥ* in 90b, which appears to agree with *māyābhairavanāmāno* in 90. 90d does not specify in respect to what or through what Māyābhairava fails to attain *siddhi*. Such information elsewhere finds expression with an instrumental, e.g. in 86ab (…*tenaiva jñānena* …*siddhiṃ sa lapsyati*). It is just conceivable that an instrumental *daśasaṃkhyayā* ("through a text of ten thousand?") underlies *daśasaṃjñakaḥ*, possibly corrupted under the influence of °*saṃjñakaḥ* in 89b. Another possibility is the locative *daśasaṃjñake*: "with respect to [the *tantra*] called *Ten [Thousand]*?" The latter has been tentatively adopted, although neither possibility seems compelling.

[the *tantra*];[138] and he too, O pious woman, shall have an obstruction with the seven-thousand [verses], no doubt. *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

93–94a In the Dvāpara yuga, the great *[tantra]* is spoken by the lord Sadāśiva.[139] Afterwards, in the seventieth age after this, by divine reckoning, O goddess, by the command of Śrīkaṇṭha, in the Kali yuga I speak to you the *tantra* that is honoured by Bhairava.[140]

94c–95b And likewise, in the seventh [age] after this, no doubt, you shall speak [the *tantra*] to Kapālīśa [i.e. Kapālabhairava],[141] O Mahādevī, in the Tretā yuga. *[Thus] spoke Bhairava.*

95c–96b In the Dvāpara yuga, on the cusp of the Kali yuga, the one designated Padmabhairava shall contract the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand*,[142] not otherwise.

96c–97b In the fourth quarter in the Kali yuga, Svacchandabhairava shall likewise contract [the scripture], O Queen of the gods. *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

98 Both Caṇḍabhairava, and likewise Vibhubhairava and Māyābhairava, shall appear at the end of the fourth quarter in the Kali yuga with the aspiration to spread [the scripture], O fair lady.

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[138] On the interpretation of *karttuvāñchayā* (91d), which occurs again in 98b, see the annotation ad 70 and 87. Here **A** writes *vistaraṃ*, but *vistāraṃ* in 98b below, an otherwise identical pāda (cf. the apparently meaningless alternation between *vistariṣyati* and *vistārayiṣyati*, discussed ad v. 68).

[139] The section beginning here places the preceding account of the scripture's various redactions in the context of cycles of time. It seems that *mahān* (93b), though masculine, must be a substantive agreeing with the neuter *bhāṣitam*.

[140] *tasmāt* in 93b could perhaps refer to Sadāśiva. This somewhat problematic ablative construction would be similar to those of vv. 46, 51, and 94–95b. However, it seems preferable to take this in a temporal sense: "[in the seventieth age] after this;" cf. 94c. In the same pāda, *saptatima* is non-standard Sanskrit for *saptatitama*, "seventieth." On the formation of ordinals by the addition of *-ma* to a cardinal number, see EDGERTON §19.36. The expression *divyena mānena* (93a) could potentially refer either to time ("by way of divine reckoning") or to the scripture's length ("with divine [i.e. massive] measure"). However, the expression seems to be used only in the former sense, e.g. in *Svacchandatantra* 11.220cd (*etad divyena mānena mānaṃ manvantare smṛtam*) or *Liṅgapurāṇa* I, 4.26.

[141] In 95a, **A**'s *tvam vakṣyāmi* must surely be corrupt for either *tvām vakṣyāmi* or *tvam vakṣyasi*, the latter being probable. The Goddess had already learned the *tantra* in v. 93, and should hence be its next teacher. Moreover, the recipient, Kapālīśa, is likely the same Kapālabhairava to whom the Goddess reveals the *tantra* in 46 above.

[142] In 95d, *padmabhairavasaṃjñakau* must stand for the singular—an unusual corruption. Perhaps the text earlier read °*saṃjñako*, with a Middle-Indic frozen *-o* ending.

99–100b And Anantabhairava, at the end of the *kalpa*, will not truly be able to spread [the scripture],[143] his mind being overcome with devotion.[144] (¿) He will revere the [*tantra* of] twenty-four thousand [verses] (?),[145] O pious woman.

100c–102b Caṇḍabhairava, O goddess, Vibhubhairava, Māyābhairava, and likewise Ananta:[146] having learned this *tantra*, no doubt, (¿) these are the final heroes who shall attain *siddhi* at the end of the cosmic cycle (*kalpa*) (?),[147] O Queen of the gods. *[Thus] spoke Bhairava.*

102c–103 And at the end of the Kali yuga, the *yoginī*s, impelled by the Śakti, shall snatch this scripture and its tradition of transmission (*sampradāya*) and depart to the limit of the *śakti[tattva]*,[148] O pious woman, no doubt.

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[143] Cf. 91c–92 above, which speak of Anantabhairava's difficulty in redacting the *tantra*. In 99b, *sadā* seems dubious, perhaps corrupt for *tadā*. In the next pāda, underlying what **A** reads as *śakyoṣyati* is probably a verb formed on the root √*śak*, "to be able." One possibility is that this was originally *śaknoṣyati*, future singular for classical *śakṣyati*, formed on a stem derived from the present indicative *śaknoti*. Another possibility might be *śakyiṣyati*, formed from the present indicative *śakyati* found in both Epic (Oberlies, p. 520) and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton §43, p. 233). It is difficult to decide between the two possibilities, but the former has been provisionally adopted.

[144] *cetasaḥ* in 99d is nominative singular, formed from a thematized stem *cetasa* (from *cetas*). Cf. Edgerton §16.3.

[145] There is some uncertainty concerning *mānayiṣyati* (100b); if the verb is correct and means "he will cause [it] to measure," this would be the only clear case of a mortal expanding, rather than contracting, the *tantra*—depending upon the interpretation of *vistārayiṣyati* in 68d, etc. Perhaps the sense is instead that he "honours/esteems" the *tantra* of twenty-four thousand verses.

[146] In this list of names, all nominative in sense, *vibhubhairavam* (100d) and *anantam* (101b) have the *-m* ending of the neuter, apparently to avoid sandhi with the subsequent vowel.

[147] 101c is problematic. As transmitted—**A** reads *etad apaścimā vīrās*—this pāda has the metrical fault of short syllables in the second and third positions. Considering that the "heroes" (*vīra*) live at the end of the *kalpa*, the intended meaning seems to be *paścimā[ḥ]*, "final [heroes]," although *apaścimāḥ* could also have the same sense. The singular pronoun *etad* is dubious. On a diagnostic basis, I have conjectured *ete vai paścimā vīrās*; *ete vai* is common at the beginning of an odd pāda following a list. Note e.g. *Svacchandatantra* 6.24c (*ete vai praṇavāḥ pañca*) and *Tantrasadbhāva* 19.160c (*ete vai kathitāḥ kṣetrā[ḥ]*). One could also consider *ete apaścimā* (the lack of vowel sandhi being a potential source of corruption) or *ete -d- apaścimā*, both similar in sense.

[148] *ca* in 103b seems to suggest that *sampradāyaś* is a second object of *prayāsyanti*, and hence should be emended to the accusative. In 103c, **A**'s *śaktyāntaṃ* appears to mean *śaktyantaṃ*, and is probably original, having the extended stem *śaktyā* in compound (cf. *aghoryā* in 2.1b and 2.14b). The sense of the passage seems to be that *yoginī*s withdraw the scripture back into

Thus did speak Bhairava.

104 In the Kṛta yuga,[149] O Mahādevī, and in the Tretā and Dvāpara yugas, Bhairava has not spoken the revelation of this scripture.[150]

105 But in the [next] Kali yuga, O great queen, in this very manner you shall engage in the revelation of this scripture,[151] no doubt.

106 You shall teach twelve-thousand [verses], not even a little more,[152] O Queen of the gods, out of desire for the good of people.

107–108 Those people who reside on the Isle of Maidens,[153] my dear, shall attain [this] scripture and not another, in the little village Kalāpa;[154] he [Svacchandabhairava] shall then contract [it], O goddess. He shall reveal the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* in the beginning of the Kali yuga.[155]

109–110 O Queen of the gods, you shall speak the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred Thousand* to Svacchandabhairava himself, O pious

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its unmanifest, prelinguistic state in the *śaktitattva*.

[149] *kṛtau yuge*, as reads A in 104a, may be original, though one expects *kṛte yuge*. The expression occurs also in *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* 24.12d (*tasmin kāle kṛtau yuge*). Cf. *kṛtiyuge* in *Gokarṇapurāṇasāra* 51.3cd (*purā kṛtiyuge tāta vaidarbhaḥ pṛthivīpatiḥ*).

[150] Though the construction is not entirely clear, the point appears to be that there is no revelation (*avatāra*) of this scripture in the next three *yugas*; 105 below appears to confirm this. It is conceivable that 104d, *sūcito bhairaveṇa tu*, is an aside, much like *evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt*; but the phrase does not seem to occur elsewhere.

[151] *avatāro* in 105c is treated as accusative, the direct object of *kariṣyasi* in 105d, probably for metrical convenience.

[152] This prediction is somewhat ironic given that the *BraYā* as we have it contains close to 13,000 verses (see §2.5); but perhaps the present statement could not anticipate the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantras*, the final fourteen chapters.

[153] Concerning *kumārīdvīpa* ("Isle of Maidens"), i.e. the civilized world, see note 361 in §1.11.

[154] *Kalāpagrāmake* in 108a could as easily construe with 107 or 108b. Looking ahead to 111–14, Kalāpa appears to be the site of the scripture's dissemination, rather than its abbreviation; the site of the latter is not specified in 110–11, which refer to its abbreviation. Concerning references to Kalāpa in other sources, see §1.11, especially note 361.

[155] The referent of *saḥ* ("he") in 108b, which is also the subject of *kariṣyati* in 108d, is not explicit. It seems most likely to be Svacchandabhairava, who teaches Viṣṇubhairava the scripture in Kalāpa (111–12). There is a syntactical problem as well: it would appear that *avatāraṃ kariṣyati* must be understood as a kind of compound verb, with *dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi* (108e) its object. Normally, one would expect *avatāra* to construe with the genitive, e.g. *śāstrasya*; cf. 105cd. Note also the non-application of vowel sandhi in 108a, viz. °*yugasya ādau*, and its unmetrical opening, *kaliyugasya*, with light syllables in positions two and three.

woman[156]—*thus did speak Bhairava*—he by whom, O great queen, the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* is contracted,[157] O woman of great fortune. In this matter, one need not deliberate.

111–113b (¿) After speaking [the *tantra*] to the group of four heroes using ten thousand [verses] (?),[158] then, O goddess, having been taught by you, fair lady, and being located in the little village Kalāpa, he, not yet fully perfected,[159] shall teach Viṣṇubhairava the scripture measuring twelve-thousand [verses], O pious woman;[160] no doubt about it.

113c–114 Viṣṇubhairava, O goddess, will speak the [*tantra* of] ten and two thousand to people residing on the Isle of Maidens whose minds are empowered by the Śakti. *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

115–116b O Mahādevī, just like the *Seven Centuries [of Verse]*,[161] the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* shall be in home after home, no doubt, of those with minds empowered by the *śakti*.[162] In this matter, there is no need to deliberate.

116c–117 In home after home, O Mahādevī, whether they be men fit for

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[156] 109a possesses a variant metrical pattern (the *ma*-vipulā).

[157] The feminine *tasyā* transmitted in 110c must surely be corrupt for the masculine, referring to Svacchandabhairava.

[158] The syntax of 111ab is not entirely clear, nor is the reference to a group of four heroes (*vīracatuṣṭaya*). Contextually, this seems most likely to refer to the group Caṇḍabhairava, Vibhubhairava, Māyābhairava, and Anantabhairava, mentioned in 97–102. Grammatically, *muktvā vīracatuṣṭayam* could mean *vinā vīracatuṣṭayam*, "excluding/leaving aside the Four Heroes." Another option is to read *muktvā* as *-m- uktvā*, with hiatus-breaking *-m-* (cf. Edgerton §4.59), construing 111ab with 111c–13b. This interpretation has been adopted. For the particle *tu* followed by *-m-*, cf. 29.58c (*catuṣkena tu-m-ālikhya*).

[159] It is possible that *asiddhaś caiva* in 112c is corrupt for *asiddhasyaiva*, which would hence agree with *viṣṇubhairavakasya*.

[160] It seems required by context that *śāstraṃ dvādaśasaṃmitam* | *sahasrair*... (112d–113a) should mean *dvādaśasāhasrakaṃ śāstram*—perhaps "the scripture measuring twelve, by way of thousands."

[161] On the question of the identity of the *saptaśatāni* or *sapta śatāni* (115b), see the discussion in §1.9.5.

[162] 115 could perhaps be interpreted as a complete sentence, with 116–17 construing together; but the phrase *nātra kārya vicāraṇāt* (116b) seems most frequently to occur at the end of a syntactic unit.

siddhi,[163] or women fit for *siddhi*, it shall spread (¿) to all their homes (?).[164] *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

118 But those who are unfit for *siddhi*, whether a man or women,[165] shall not attain even the mere Vidyā,[166] O great queen. Those fit for *siddhi* shall learn [this], together with its secrets, O Mahādevī.

119 I too have spoken this narrative of the *tantra*'s revelation, exactly as it was spoken to me by Śrīkaṇṭha, O Queen of the gods.

120 Now, listen with single-minded attention to that named the *Great Tantra of Bhairava*, together with its secrets, which possesses the qualities of the entire mass [of scriptural wisdom].[167]

121 That Śakti which is called the Supreme (*parā*), infinite and primordial, arising from the infinite one,[168] O highly fortunate woman, her divisions I

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[163] In 116d, A's *punsā[ḥ]* is likely original, an irregular nominative plural based on a thematized stem *puṃsa* for *puṃs*. Cf. EDGERTON §15.7. Forms on both stems alternate freely in the *BraYā*; indeed, the genitive plurals *punsānāṃ* and *punsāṃ* occur alongside each other in *BraYā* 4.56–58 (*divyādhikānāṃ punsānāṃ*, 4.56a; *saptāṅgulaṃ bhavet punsāṃ*, 4.58c).

[164] The subject of *pracariṣyati* (117c) appears to be the text itself (*dvādaśasāhasro*, 114c). If taken as causative—cf. the apparent equivalence of *vistārayiṣyati* (68d, 69d) and *vistariṣyati* (70d)—the subject could instead be Viṣṇubhairava, viz. "he shall propagate [it] in home after home." Concerning the orthography of *teṣāṃm* (117b), with the doubled nasal, cf. *lokānāṃm* above in 50a, and see the annotation thereon. A's unintelligible *adhigṛheṣv atha* in 117b is probably a corruption of *api gṛheṣv atha*, an emendation suggested by ISAACSON (personal communication). Another possibility might be to read *adhikṛteṣv atha*, referring to those possessing *adhikāra*, i.e. the entitlement to scripture and ritual practices bestowed by initiation (see s.v. *adhikāra* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I).

[165] Use of the singular *puruṣaḥ* for the plural in 118b seems triggered by meter.

[166] While the text is semantically plausible, there is a serious metrical fault in 118c, with a faulty four-syllable cadence: ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ (*api caiva*). The second syllable should be heavy. What I consider likely to be original is *api-ś-caiva*, with a spurious metrical visarga that was corrected away in the course of transmission. Cf. 83.168d (*kutsitānnam apir bhavet*, by emendation) and 83.177a (*yady apiḥ sa vikarmmasthaḥ*), as well as the compound *sadāśivaḥpadāt* above (33b and 41d).

[167] On the interpretation of *sarvvasandohalakṣaṇam* (120b), see 14b.

[168] Although I have corrected *śakti* (121a) to *śaktiḥ*, A does tend to omit visarga from *śakti* in the nominative; see the annotation to 2cd. However, it does also transmit *śaktiḥ* numerous times before *k*, *p*, and *s*, e.g. in 34a above. The subsequent word, where A reads *purā*, seems to be a corruption of *parā*, as read both MSS. of the *BraYāSāra* in 1.9c and a number of other parallels (see the testimonia). In 121b, *anantasambhavā* probably means *anantāt paramaśivāt sambhavo yasyāḥ sānantasambhavā*, as translated above; but it might conceivably mean *anantasya jagataḥ sambhavo yasyāḥ sānantasambhavā*.

shall now teach in sequence.

122–24b The one called "beyond conception" is Śiva,[169] the supreme cause,[170] without appelation and without transformation, pervasive and quiescent, without an inherent nature,[171] O Mahādevī, devoid of activity and cause,[172] undifferentiated, without conceptualization, formless, devoid of the *guṇa*s, without [notions of] "mine" and "I,"[173] and situated in the state of nonduality.

124c–126b He is approachable to yogins [alone] through meditation,[174] having wisdom as his form, O woman of great fame, abiding in the state beyond activity as consciousness (*saṃjñā*) alone, the supreme Lord. He, the agent of grace for all, has the form of the supreme effulgence,[175] and is pervasive, with form unmanifest, without mind and transcending mind.[176]

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[169] A number of sources share the text of 122ab; see the testimonia. In several cases, including the *BraYāSāra*, these continue on with text very similar to 127cd. In 122a, the masculine *yo 'sau* agrees with *acintyam*, treated as neuter to avoid sandhi with the subsequent *iti*. *BraYāSāra* 1.10c and *Jayadrathayāmala* II, 16.44a both "improve" the sandhi by reading *yo 'sāv acintyam*.

[170] Though not a bahuvrīhi compound, *paramakāraṇaḥ* (in 122b) appears to take on the masculine gender of *śivaḥ*, whom it describes. Some sources which share this stock phrase read *paramakāraṇam*, e.g. *Netratantra* 8.36b.

[171] On the rather Buddhist-sounding epithet *niḥsvabhāvo* (123a), cf. the description of *parabrahman* as *niḥsvabhāvasvabhāvaṃ* in *Kālikākulapañcaśatikā* 6.

[172] Cf. *BraYā* 92.44ab, describing the supreme reality (*niṣkalaṃ tattvaṃ*): *nistaraṅgaṃ nirālokaṃ kriyākāraṇavarjitam*.

[173] While one might standardize the sandhi and read *nirahaṅkāro* in 124b, **A** often merely drops visarga before a voiced sound at the end of odd pādas. Cf. *bindo* for *bindor* above in 35a, and for instance 75.208ab: *vāmācārasya mantrajña advaitakṛtabhāvinaḥ*. See also the discussion ad 39.30–31. On the other hand, compare with 11.154cd: *mano buddhir ahaṃkāro avyaktā puruṣas tathā*.

[174] *yoginyāṃ*, as reads **A** in 124c, is surely corrupt for *yogināṃ*. Cf. *Rudrayāmala [Uttaratantra]* 2.28c, *yogibhir dhyānagamye [cakre]*.

[175] 125c has a metrical variant (the *ra*-vipulā). **A**'s *jyotirūpa* should probably be corrected to °*rūpaṃ* or °*rūpaḥ*, more likely the latter given that **A** frequently omits visarga before sibilants.

[176] *amanasko mahātmanaḥ*, as reads **A** in 126b, is not implausible, provided that one understands °*ātmanaḥ* as a nominative formed on the thematized stem *mahātmana*; cf. 38b above, and Edgerton §17.22. Nonetheless, I suspect the pāda to be corrupt for either *amanasko manonmanaḥ* ("without mind, transcending mind") or, similar in meaning, *amanaskonmanonmanaḥ* (with double sandhi). Cf. 21.118d, where **A** reads *amanaskonmanonmanaḥ*, and 21.67b, *viśvabhūto manodbhavaḥ* (corrupt for *manonmanaḥ*?); cf. also 36.6b, *unmanonmanavarjitaḥ* (corrupt for *unmano manavarjitaḥ*?). Support for *unmanonmanaḥ* may seem strong, but I am suspicious of the expression. Moreover, *manonmanaḥ* finds credible support in *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.110d and 445b, both of which describe the *śakti* as *amanaskā manonmanī*;

126c–27b His Śakti, O Mahādevī, arising by its own nature, is not produced.[177] She has by nature the form of moonlight, like crystalline rays.[178]

127c–28 His power of volition (*icchā śakti*), emerging in the form of knowledge as the transmental [*śakti*],[179] is without semblance;[180] she is called Avadhūtā.[181] She, the infinite one, awakens the primordial resonance (*bindu*) and unvoiced sound (*nāda*) instantaneously.[182]

129 Positioned at the beginning of the vowels [in the letter A], having the shape of a coil (*kuṇḍala*), she becomes divided into four portions, (¿) [each

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cf. also *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.117b, *unmano manavarjitaḥ*.

[177]Regarding 126d, cf. *Netratantra* 21.39c–40b, defining the *kriyā śakti*: *evaṃ kriyeti sā proktā ekānanyasvabhāvajā || svabhāvotthā svabhāvārthā svā svataḥ svoditā śivā |*.

[178]*sphāṭikasyaiva* in 127b has been emended to *sphāṭikasyeva*, with the particle *iva* rather than *eva*, since a comparison appears intended.

[179]A number of passages in related literature share the theme of the formless, quiescent, supreme Śiva's power of volition (*icchā śakti*), in the form known as *kuṇḍalinī*, awakening the primordial resonance or vibration (*bindu*) and giving rise to the Sanskrit phonemes in successive stages. Key among these is *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.215–29, which is quoted by Kṣemarāja in the *Śivasūtravimarśinī* ad *Śivasūtra* 2.3; for a translation and discussion, see Padoux (1990: 128–30). This echoes (without truly clarifying) the *BraYā* on several counts.

Variations on the text of 127cd abound in Śaiva *tantras*. A number of the sources which also have parallels in the preceding or following verses have been quoted as testimonia. The translation of *manonmanī* (127d) as "transmental" is Vasudeva's (2004: 219) rendering of *manonmana*. Although here an epithet of the supreme Śakti, *manonmanī*, like *icchā*, *vāmā*, *kriyā*, etc., is also the name of a specific *śakti*; cf., e.g., *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 8.64c and *Svacchandatantra* 2.71ab.

[180]In 127c–128 there appear to be as many as four predicates, viz. *nirgatā*, *pravarttate*, *smṛtā*, and *prabodhayati*. The syntax suggests taking *nirgatā* as adjective of the subject, with *pravarttate* as "exists," although it could perhaps mean "arises." The syntax of 128–32, particularly its sentence division, has even more ambiguities, with numerous potential predicates: *saṃvyavasthitā* (129b), *bhājitā* (129d), *sthitā* (130b), *alaṃkṛtā* (130d), *prajāyate* (131d), and *vyavasthitā* (132d).

[181]Concerning the expression *avadhūtā* (128b), "the Unblemished [Śakti]," see the annotation to *BraYā* 2.1c–2.

[182]What **A** transmits as *sānantabindunādau* in 128cd seems likely to be corrupt for *sānantā bindunādau*. It is not common for compounds cut across pāda boundaries in this material, although note, e.g., 121ab. In any case the deity Ananta is relatively insignificant to the *BraYā*'s cosmology, and unlikely to be grouped with *bindu* and *nāda*. Furthermore, *anantā* occurs above in 121ab as an epithet of the supreme Śakti. How precisely *bindu* and *nāda* should be distinguished is unclear; typically, *nāda* precedes *bindu* as the first emenation of the *kuṇḍalinī śakti*. On this subject, see s.v. *nāda* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. In terms of language, *bindu* and *nāda* are often spoken of together as the components of anusvāra (e.g. *BraYā* 10.96ab: *svaraṃ tṛtīyaṃ yat proktaṃ bindunādavibhūṣitam*).

being further] divided into four portions (?).[183]

130 The coiled (*kuṇḍalinī*) *śakti* is situated thus with the sixteen vowels, (?) possessing crossed lines (¿),[184] and decorated by the Five Voids.[185]

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[183] 129–132b are particularly opaque, probably on account of being elliptical rather than corrupt. It seems likely that 129ab makes reference to the written form of A, first of the vowels; this is a key theme in the parallel passage of *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.215–29, which describes various forms of the *śakti* as the grapheme's components. 129c and 129d seem redundant, unless the point is that the four divisions are also each divided into four, presumably as the sixteen vowels mentioned in 130b.

I suspect that 129–130b is to be interpreted along the following lines: the singular *śakti*, after stimulating the primordial *bindu*, manifests in the form of the "ring" or "loop" (*kuṇḍala*) in the vowel A. She then becomes fourfold as its graphic components, whose various combinations give rise to the sixteen vowels. A *kuṇḍala* shape can indeed be identified in early-medieval forms of the letter A, from the sixth century onwards. A few representative examples from across northern India may be adduced as follows, all from the plates of DANI (1986):

a. Copper plates of Harṣavardhana, early 7th-century (plate X*a*, no. 8)

b. Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, early 7th century (plate XI*a*, no. 4)

c. Western Chalukya inscriptions, late 7th and early 8th centuries (plate XVI*a*, no. 7)

d. Nalanda stone inscription of Yaśovarman, early 8th century (plate X*a*, no. 12)

Concerning how such a grapheme might be analysed as containing four elements corresponding to *śaktis*, see PADOUX (1990: 241–43), who, somewhat anachronistically, applies Jayaratha's analysis ad *Tantrāloka* 3.67 to the Devanāgarī अ. Useful parallel material is present in *BraYā* 60, the *bindupaṭala*, but this obscure chapter presents numerous difficulties. Especially relevant is the account of the vowels' emanation from *mahābindu* (60.27ff.), beginning with A (code word *guhyakīśa*).

[184] *catuṣkapathaka* (130c) presumably means *catuṣpatha*, "cross/crossroads." This may refer to a graphic component of a syllable; KA, for instance, first of the consonants, takes the form of a cross in Gupta-era writing. Cf. the expression *tripathā* in *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.223, which may refer to a T-shaped graphic element of A (*tripathā sā samākhyātā raudrī nāmnā tu gīyate*, 223ab).

An alternative line of interpretation would be to understand this passage as alluding to an alphabetical wheel (*cakra*). Note in particular the *bhautikacakra* of *BraYā* 19, whose drawing begins with a circumscribed *catuṣpatha* (cross). In the center (*nābhi*) is installed the root mantra of Bhairava (HŪṂ), around which are arrayed the sixteen vowels in the four maṇḍala sections, followed by the remaining alphabet and the Four Devīs (Raktā, Karālā, Caṇḍākṣī and Mahocchuṣmā). It is conceivable that 129–30 allude to this or another alphabetical *cakra*, conceived of, as a whole, as the Avadhūtā Śakti (132c).

[185] In 130d, *pañcavyoma-alaṃkṛtā*, note the absence of internal vowel sandhi, probably metri causa. Cf. 12.67cd, *śikhāyān tu śikhā jñeyā kavacaṃ sarva-aṅgikam*, and EDGERTON §4.51–54. Offering a different solution, the parallel passage of the *BraYāSāra* reads *pañcavyomair alaṃkṛtam* (1.11d), treating *vyoma* as an *a*-stem form. Teachings on the Five Voids (*vyomapañcaka*)

131 The primordial transmental [*śakti*], being fivefold, becomes furthermore [ninefold] thus, through the method of the Nine-Syllable [Vidyā].[186]

132 Conjoined with the vowels and consonants, (¿) and possessing the [entire alphabet of] fifty letters (?),[187] the Avadhūtā, O Mahādevī, exists with nine divisions.

133 In her exist the Devīs, the Dūtīs, the Yoginīs, and Mother-goddesses of the *Ucchuṣmatantra*.[188] She creates all of them,[189] O goddess, following the will of Śiva.

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are found primarily in *BraYā* 92, in the context of yoga. The voids are a series of single-syllable mantras associated with a series of bodily plexi, a series of resonances, the five *kalās*, ancillary mantras, and so forth. On the complex topic of the Voids in Śaiva yoga, see the admirable study of VASUDEVA (2004: 256–92; chart on 269).

[186] *navākṣaravidhāna* (131c) refers to ritual procedures connected with the Nine-Syllable Vidyā. This is also one of the *BraYā*'s principal titular epithets, as analysed in §2.3. The text of 131b, *śaktir ādyā manonmanī*, occurs in a number of related Śaiva scriptures (see testimonia).

[187] It does not seem possible to interpret what A reads as 132b, *pañcāśākṣarasāmpratam*. The form *pañcāśa* is irregular Sanskrit for *pañcāśat*, "fifty" (EDGERTON §19.30–31). Perhaps the pāda should be interpreted as *pañcāśākṣarāḥ sāmpratam*, the sense being that now (*sāmpratam*), the *śakti* being conjoined with both vowels and consonants, all fifty letters of the alphabet are present. But the likelihood seems high that the text is corrupt. The emendation I have adopted is *pañcāśākṣarasaṃyutā*, which could be explained on the basis of confusion between the post-consonantal signs for *-ra* and *-u*, and subsequently *p* and *y*. More speculatively, one might consider *pañcāśākṣaratāṃ gatā*. Even more speculatively, °*sāmpratam* might be a corruption from °*saṃpuṭā*, also perhaps arising from confusion between *-ra* and *-u*. The implication would be that the Nine-Syllable Vidyā is surrounded or enclosed (*sampuṭa*) by the entire alphabet, perhaps in a *cakra*, as suggested above in 130.

[188] *atra* (133a) seems to refer to the Avadhūtā Śakti; conceivably, it could instead refer to the alphabet, *pañcāśākṣara*, source of the phonemes which are constituents of the mantra-deities. The list of deities in 133ab refers, as mentioned ad 8a–9, to the core retinue of Kapālīśa-bhairava: the Four Devīs (Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā), Four Dūtīs (Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā), Six Yoginīs (Kroṣṭukī, Vijayā, Gajakarṇā, Mahāmukhī, Cakravegā, and Mahānāsā), and Eight Mātṛs. The expression *yoginyocchuṣmamātaraḥ* (133b), which also occurs in 91.244d, seems to mean *yoginya ucchuṣmamātaraś ca*. As for the latter compound, this seems to mean *ucchuṣmatantre yā mātaraḥ [proktās] tāḥ*, as suggested by 2.17cd: *mātaras te mayā proktā yāge ucchuṣmapūjite*; see the discussion thereon. Concerning the *Ucchuṣmatantra*, see the discussion in §2.6.

[189] While *samastāṃ sṛjate* (133c) might be plausible—understand *samastān*—one should perhaps emend to the feminine accusative, *samastāḥ*, to the (collective) singular *samastaṃ*, or to *sarvvās tāḥ*, following *BraYāSāra* 1.13c (quoted as testimonia). The latter seems marginally preferable, and has been adopted.

Thus ends the Chapter of the Connections,[190]
chapter one of the *Great Bhairava Tantra*,
the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses*,
the *Picumata*, the *Method of Nine Syllables*.

[190]In this context, *sambandha* (connection, relation) probably echoes śāstric usage: specification, at a work's beginning, of the relation between the text and its subject. On this, see the useful note of Bansat-Boudon & Tripathi (2011: 72–73, n. 278) concerning *kārikā*s 2–3 of the *Paramārthasāra*. The sense here may be general, potentially encompassing connections between the *BraYā*, its divine interlocutors, audience, deity pantheon, and the Śaiva revelation. On the other hand, *sambandha* might more narrowly concern the *tantra*'s interlocutors and lineage of transmission. Cf. Kṣemarāja's remarks ad *Svacchandatantra* 8.37–38, where *sambandha* refers to "links in tantric transmission between transmitters of differing status" (s.v. *tantrāvatāra* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III). Only one other text that I am aware of contains a chapter entitled *sambandhapaṭala*: the first chapter of the *Saurasaṃhitā*, a comparatively archaic *tantra*. Perhaps there was once a convention of thus naming a *tantra*'s initial chapter.

2

Chapter on the Extraction of Mantras

1b Now, I shall next teach the highest worship of Aghorī.[1]

1c–2 When the *mantrin* is [in the state] beyond regulated conduct (*nirācāra*), abiding with a body [empowered by] the Avadhūtā [Śakti],[2] he then per-

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[1]This chapter teaches the Nine-Syllable (*navākṣarā*) Vidyā of Aghorī or Caṇḍā Kāpālinī, the central mantra of the *BraYā* and sonic embodiment of its deity maṇḍala (see §2.3). A fuller exposition of the mantra-goddesses constituting the Vidyā, with their ancilliaries, along with variations of the Vidyā used for different applications, appears in the tenth chapter, *devīnāṃ mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ*.

In 1b, A's *arghoryārccanam* could an error for *aghoryarccanam*. However, it is more likely that a non-standard stem, *aghoryā* (for *aghorī*), has been compounded with *arccanam*. Cf. *aghoryāṅga°* in 14b below. One might instead suspect that *aghoryā* is genitive, and that sandhi has been applied twice. Cf. 58.3b, *aghoryā sādhanaṃ paraṃ*, where *aghoryā* may be interpreted as genitive (i.e. *aghoryāḥ*) or in compound (with the extended stem). However, extension of *-ī* (and also *-i*) to *-yā* is exceedingly common in the *BraYā*, for instance with *devyā* (for *devī*) and *śaktyā* (for *śakti*).

[2]The instruction to enter the state "beyond regulated conduct" (*nirācāra*) and install the mantras of the supreme Śakti upon the body—to take on a body of *śakti*, the *avadhūtatanu*—is a standard preliminary to ritual practice in the *BraYā*. Cf., e.g., *BraYā* 8.3–4ab, which is similar to 2.1c–2b and quoted as testimonia (to translate: "Then, achieving single-pointed concentration, abiding with a body empowered by the Avadhūtā Śakti, when one sees everything with a [nondual] disposition beyond regulated conduct, one accomplishes wonderous deeds on [this very] earth."). Note also, for instance, 3.50c–51b: *avadhūtatanuṃ kṛtvā bhasmoddhūlitavigrahaḥ | nirācārapadāvastho dhyāyed bhīmaṃ kapālinam* ||. See also Hatley (*forthcoming* b). Several other Vidyāpīṭha sources pair the terms *nirācāra* and *avadhūtā*; note, e.g., *Tantrasadbhāva*

2.27c–28b, and the *Yoginīsañcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*ṣaṭka* III, 11.33cd: *avadhūtatanur bhūtvā nirācārapadasthitaḥ*).

The term *nirācāra* derives its significance from ritual: the *nirācāra* practitioner is one who is without, i.e. beyond, codified practice (*ācāra*). But this does not represent a disavowal of ritual, for the injunction to abide in the *nirācāra* state occurs as a preliminary to performance of the most complex of observances. It rather represents meditational absorption and transcendence of dualist conceptualization (*dvaitabhāva* or *vikalpa*) in ritual—more concretely, transcendence of orthodox purity norms. In this sense, *nirācāra* is cognate to *advaitācāra*, the "nondual ritual conduct" in which dualist (*dvaita*) distinctions between 'pure' and 'impure' are transcended. (For an excellent discussion of 'ritual nondualism' in the *BraYā* and related literature, see Törzsök 2014, especially pp. 204–21.) To say that the practitioner "is *nirācāra*" (1c) means that he is *nirācārapadāvasthaḥ* or *nirācārapade sthitaḥ* ("abiding in the state beyond regulated conduct"), or *nirācārapade* [/ °*pado*] *bhūtvā*—common expressions in the *BraYā*. These expressions seem more or less equivalent to *advaitapadasaṃsthitaḥ*, "abiding in nonduality" (*BraYā* 1.124b).

The *Bhairavamaṅgalā* explains *nirācāra* in ideational terms: *nirācārakriyā* means ritual "based in a nondual state of mind" (*advaitaṃ bhāvam āśritā*), while *sācāra* ritual is the opposite. Entering into the *nirācāra* state hence refers to *avikalpatā*, in which the practitioner's affective state reflects the singularity and freedom of the supreme deity, the *nirācārapada*. *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 245–251 (NAK 5-687; transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva):

> *nirācārakriyā jñeyā advaitaṃ bhāvam āśritā* |
> *dvaitaṃ tu bhāvam āśritya sācāraṃ tu kriyā smṛtā* ||245||
> *tasmāt sācāram utsṛjya nirācāraṃ samāśrayet* |
> *vikalpam avikalpaṃ ca dvāv etau parikīrtitau* ||246||
> *vikalpo dvaitam ity āhuḥ advaitaṃ nirvikalpatā* |
> *tasmād vikalpam utsṛjya nirvikalpaṃ samāśrayet* ||247||
>
> 245b advaitaṃ] *em.*; adhvaitad *cod.* 245c āśritya] *corr.*; aśṛtya *cod.* 246a utsṛjya] *em.* Vasudeva; usṛjyaḥ *cod.* 247a vikalpo] *em.*; vikalpā *cod.* dvaitam] *em.*; dvaityam *cod.* 247b nirvikalpatā] *em.*; nirmikalpatā *cod.* 247c utsṛjya] *em.*; utsṛjyaḥ *cod.*

Commenting ad *Tantrāloka* 20.9, Jayaratha reads into the dichotomy between *nirācāra* and *sācāra* that of the gnostic and ritualist—the *jñānin* and those for whom ritual is primary (*kriyāpradhānāḥ*). But this position reflects considerable historical development.

It is unclear whether or not *avadhūtatanusthitaḥ* (as reads A in 1d) should be interpreted as a compound; *avadhūtatanu* often occurs by itself as a bahuvrīhi (e.g. *avadhūtatanuḥ sadā*, 3.202b), with or without a final visarga. A in any case frequently drops visarga before sibilants, *k/kha*, and *p/ph*, leading to much ambiguity. (See also Edgerton §12.8 on *-u* as a nominative ending.) This ambiguity applies to eight other occurrences of the expression, though A once reads *avadhūtatanuḥ sthitaḥ* (8.3b). Cf. expressions such as *mahāvratanusthitaḥ* (47.3b and 48.10d; in 46.2b A reads °*tanuḥ sthitaḥ*). Interpretation as a compound seems somewhat more natural and is perhaps better supported by A. The expression *avadhūtatanusthitaḥ* refers to having the mantras of the supreme Goddess, the Avadhūtā ("stainless/unblemished") Śakti, installed onto the body through *nyāsa*. Her mantric form is the pantheon embodied by the

forms worship of the *yoginī*s and of Śiva.[3] Avadhūtā is the Śakti,[4] while the state beyond regulated conduct (*nirācāra*) is Śiva.[5]

Nine-Syllable Vidyā, whose core deities are delineated in the present chapter. Their installation on the body is also known as the *padmamālāvidhi*, "method of the lotus garlands" (see especially 4.497ff., and HATLEY *forthcoming* b). References to installation of the Avadhūtā on the body emphasize the homology of the mantra-deities—primarily goddesses—with the hierarchy of ontic levels (*tattva*), as described, for instance, in 30.225–33. The Avadhūtā is thus referred to as *śivādyavanivyāpakā* ("pervading from Śiva to the element earth," 28.47b) or *śivādyavani-m-antika* (4.456d). To take on a body of *śakti* is thus to assume identity with the supreme god, Kapālīśabhairava, and his creative powers, at the heart of a maṇḍala of goddesses who pervade the cosmos (*adhvan*).

[3] *yogeśī* or *yogeśvarī* is synonymous with *yoginī*; cf. the title *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, and note TÖRZSÖK's (1999: iii–iv) discussion thereof. Here the expression must be broad, for it includes the Devīs, Dūtīs, and Mātṛs, as well as a group of six *yoginī*s; see note 24 below.

[4] It seems doubtful that *śakti nirācāra*° in 2cd should be corrected to *śaktir nirācāra*°. In its extremely numerous occurrences, **A** more often than not omits the visarga from *śakti* in the nominative, especially before voiced consonants—the two exceptions being *śaktir* in 1.8c and 1.126c. Before vowels and semi-vowels **A** frequently does transmit *śaktir*. Concerning *-i* as a feminine nominative, see EDGERTON §10.16.

Bhairavamaṅgalā 394–396b provides a notable *nirukti* (etymology) of *avadhūtā*: that which "shakes off" (*dhūnate*) *ava*—glossed as *ajñāna* ("ignorance"), *pāpa* ("sin"), *adhogati* ("going to hell"), and *duḥkha* ("sorrow"):

> *dhūnitvā tu malān sarvān ūrdhvamārgānuvartinī* |
> *avadhūteti sā proktā nityānugrahaśīlinī* ||394||
> *avam ajñānam ity uktaṃ ava pāpaṃ prakīrtitam* |
> *avam adhogatir jñeyaṃ ava duḥkheti kīrtitaṃ* ||395||
> *tat sarvaṃ dhūnate yasmāt tasmād avadhūta ucyate* |
>
> 394a malān sarvān] *em.*; malāṃ sarvā *cod.* 395c °gatir jñeyaṃ] *conj.*; °gati⟨r vi⟩jñeyaṃ *cod.* 395d duḥkheti] *corr.* VASUDEVA; dukheti *cod.* 396a tat] *em.* VASUDEVA; tā *cod.* yasmāt] *corr.* VASUDEVA; yaṃsmād *cod.*

Note also, incidentally, that *Bhairavamaṅgalā* (vv. 385ff.) teaches a system of sixteen principal internal *nāḍī*s, with Avadhūtā homologized with the central, supreme (*parā*) *nāḍī* extending through the *brahmarandhra* (*brahmarandhrād vinirgatā*, 392d)—hence the description of *avadhūtā* as *ūrdhvamārgānuvartinī* in 394b above. This is noteworthy in light of *avadhūtī* being the name for the central *nāḍī* in some Buddhist *Yoginītantra*s, e.g. the *Hevajratantra*; note especially I.i.13-14: *dvātriṃśan nāḍyaḥ ... teṣāṃ madhye tisro nāḍyaḥ pradhānāḥ* | *lalanā rasanā avadhūtī ceti* | *...avadhūtī madhyadeśe grāhyagrāhakavarjitā* ||. Parallel material may be found in *Saṃvarodayatantra* 7, especially 7.21cd (*avadhūtī madhyadeśe tu grāhyagrāhakavarjitā*).

[5] The text of 2d as transmitted seems implausible: *nirācāraparaḥ śivaḥ*. Since **A** frequently drops visarga before labials, we might interpret this as *nirācāraḥ paraḥ śivaḥ*—as indeed read both MSS. of the *BraYāSāra* in 1.15c, quoted as testimonia. Cf., e.g., *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 242c, *nirācāra[ḥ] śivo jñeya[ḥ]* ("Śiva is known as '*nirācāra*'"). It seems more likely, however, that

3 After learning the procedure for their worship,[6] the *mantrin* then attains *siddhi*.[7] I shall hence teach the extraction of their mantras,[8] in sequence.

4–5 Wearing white clothing, smeared with fragrant white ointment,[9] the immensely wise *mantrin*,[10] on a pure, beautiful place on the ground decorated with beautiful flowers,[11] should there extract [the mantras of] the Devīs, Dūtīs, Yoginīs, and Mātṛs, headed by Kapālīśabhairava.[12]

6 The first [letter *ca*] of the second [*varga*,] situated with the first [vowel *a*];[13] with the *bindu* attached on the top,[14] this, [CAṂ,] is known as the *devī*

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one should emend to *nirācārapadaḥ śivaḥ*; *ra* for *da* is a minor corruption, and the expression *nirācārapada* occurs nearly twenty times in the *BraYā*, including 62.98b, a verse nearly identical to 1.2 (see the testimonia).

[6] The referent of *eteṣāṃ* could be *avadhūtā [śakti]* and *nirācāra* [i.e. *para śiva*]; that is, the genitive plural *eteṣām* could stand for the dual *etayoḥ*. However, it seems more probable that 2cd is merely an explanatory aside, and that *eteṣāṃ* refers to *yogeśīnāṃ śivasya ca* in 2b. For *eteṣām* is picked up by *teṣāṃ* in 3c, which refers to all the deities whose mantras are 'extracted' below: the Devīs and Dūtīs, Yoginīs, Mātṛs, and Kapālīśa.

[7] While I have retained **A**'s geminate consonantal cluster in *prasiddhyati* (3b), geminated forms of $\sqrt{}$*sidh* occur in **A** only eight times, as compared to 99 standard forms (*prasidhyati*, etc.).

[8] On the concept of *mantroddhāra*, see s.v. *uddhāra* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I, and SCHOTERMAN (1982: 182–209).

[9] The pattern in 4ab of describing one's clothing (with the expression *-ambaradhara*), garlands, and/or ointment is extremely common, occurring in both tantric and non-tantric sources. Cf. 21.56ab, *śuklāmbaradharo mantrī śuklamālyānulepanaḥ*, and 21.85cd, *kṛṣṇāmbaradharo mantrī kṛṣṇasragdāmabhūṣita[ḥ]*. Cf. also, e.g., *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.292ab: *tataḥ śuklāmbaradharaḥ śuklamālyānulepanaḥ* (reference courtesy of ISAACSON, personal communication, 2005). 4ab is particularly close to *Matsyapurāṇa* 93.58ab: *tataḥ śuklāmbaradharaḥ śuklagandhānulepanaḥ*.

[10] While **A** reads *sadā prājñaḥ*, this is likely a corruption of *mahāprājñaḥ*, as emends the scribe of **B**. The expression occurs frequently in this position—six times in *BraYā* 4 alone.

[11] It is difficult to make sense of the MSS.'s *divyair* in 4c. This has been tentatively emended to *divye*, in the sense of "beautiful," but this may be corrupt for *ramye* or the like (cf. *BraYāSāra* 2.4c, quoted as testimonia).

[12] These sets of goddesses comprise the *BraYā*'s core pantheon, subsumed within the Nine-Syllable Vidyā; see 1.133ab and the annotation thereon. It is they whose mantras are extracted below. *devyāś* (5a) is likely original, a nominative/accusative plural formed on the extended stem *devyā*. This and the remaining nominatives (*dūtyaḥ*, *yoginyaḥ*, and *mātaraḥ*) should be understood as accusative in sense.

[13] The grammar of 6ab seems odd; 6b, *prathaman tu vyavasthitam*, must somehow be equivalent in meaning to *prathamasvarabhūṣitam* or the like; cf. 7b and so on. On this account I am somewhat inclined to emend *prathamaṃ tu* to *prathamena* [*svareṇa*].

[14] I.e. anusvāra (*ṃ*).

Raktā.

7 The third [letter *ḍa*] of the third [*varga*], decorated by the eleventh vowel [*e*];[15] this, [ḌE,] is called Ghorā, and well-known as "Karālī."[16]

8 The first [consonant *ka*] conjoined with the second [vowel *ā*], the 'upward sound', [is KĀ, Caṇḍākṣī].[17] The twenty-first, highest consonant [*pa*,] conjoined with the second [vowel *ā*, is PĀ, Mahocchuṣmā].[18]

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[15] It seems *svaraikādaśa* means *ekādaśamasvara*.

[16] Because of the possibility of vowel sandhi, one could here understand the name to be either Aghorā or Ghorā. The latter is more probable, being a common epithet of fierce goddesses; it seems however elswehere unattested as a synonym of Karālī, second of the Devīs (see table 2.1).

[17] Caṇḍākṣī is the third Devī (table 2.1). The meaning of *ūrddhanāda* ("the upper/upward sound") in 8b is uncertain; this seems to denote the syllable *ā*. Perhaps the expression signifies "the upward line," i.e. the vowel sign for *ā*, as Csaba Kiss suggests (personal communication). While here, in 8ab, *dvitīyena* could on its own stand for *dvitīyena svareṇa*, i.e. *ā*, in 9cd *ūrddhanādena* is not further qualified and must by itself refer to the vowel *ā* to generate the expected syllable, SVĀ. *ūrddhanāda* occurs twice more in *BraYā* 10 (202a and 214b), where the sense is unclear. The paired terms *ūrdhvanāda* and *adhonāda* also occur in *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 19 and in the *mūlasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, perhaps in the sense of "sound of the upward breath" (syllable H) and "sound of the downward breath" (syllable S), respectively; see the commentary of Goodall et al. (2015) ad *mūlasūtra* 6.10d–11 and 6.13.

[18] Mahocchuṣmā is fourth among the Devīs (table 2.1). In 8c, *yoni* signifies "consonant," a term paired with *bīja*, "vowel," a usage common enough in Śaiva texts. Cf. *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 3.10-12ab:

> *dvidhā ca navadhā caiva pañcāśaddhā ca mālinī* |
> *bījayonyātmakād bhedād dvidhā bījaṃ svarā matāḥ* ||10||
> *kādibhiś ca smṛtā yonir navadhā vargabhedataḥ* |
> *pṛthag varṇavibhedena śatārdhakiraṇojjvalā* ||11||
> *bījam atra śivaḥ śaktir yonir ity abhidhīyate* |
>
> "The [alphabet goddess] Mālinī is twofold, ninefold, and fifty-fold. She is twofold because of the division *bīja* and *yoni*. The vowels are considered *bīja*, and *yoni* is defined by the consonants. She is ninefold because of the division of letter-groups (*varga*). Through separate division of the letters, she shines with the radiance of the fifty. Among these, *bīja* are called '*śiva*' and *yoni* '*śakti*'."

On the absence of visarga from *yoni*, cf. *śakti* in 2c above. If *ekaviṅsat parā*, as A probably reads in 8c, is original, its interpretation is unclear. No basis is apparent by which *pa* should be singled out as the "supreme" (*parā*) consonant; the connotation is presumably weaker. It seems that *ekaviṃśat*, a non-standard cardinal number perhaps formed by analogy to *triṃśat*, etc., is equivalent to the ordinal *ekaviṃśa*, "twenty-first." The form of the ordinal which normally occurs in the *BraYā* is, however, *ekaviṃśatima* (e.g. in 28.5c). On the formation of ordinals by the addition of *-ma*, see Edgerton §19.36 (cf. Oberlies §5.2.1). Given these difficulties, I

9 The twenty-eighth [consonant *la*,] with the third [vowel, *i*, is LI, Karālā].[19] The twentieth [consonant *na*,] also likewise [with *i*, is NI, Danturā].[20] The thirty-second [consonant *sa*] conjoined with the twenty-ninth [consonant *va*], with the 'upward sound' [*ā*, is SVĀ, Bhīmavaktrā].[21]

10 The *haṃsa* [HA] with the second [vowel *ā* is HĀ, Mahābalā].[22] [The Nine-Syllable Vidyā] possesses the *praṇava* at its beginning. I have spoken the secret arrangement of the division of mantra.[23]

11–12b Now, I shall next teach the characteristics of the [Six] Yogeśīs.[24]

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am inclined at least to consider the conjecture *ekaviṃśatimā yoni* (or perhaps *ekaviṃśa punar yoni*; cf. 84.6c, *aṣṭāviṃśa punar yoni*).

[19]Karālā is first of the Dūtīs (table 2.1). The ordinal number *aṣṭāviṃśa* (or *aṣṭāvinsa*, as A reads) in 9a is a stem form; cf., e.g., 84.6c (quoted above) or *dvātriṃśa* in 9c, as well as EDGERTON §19.30.

[20]Danturā is the second Dūtī (table 2.1).

[21]Bhīmavaktrā is third among the Dūtīs (table 2.1). As discussed above in note 17, the expression *ūrddhanāda* appears to represent *ā*. The meaning of what A transmits as *dvātriṃśa konatṛṃśena* (9c) is clear enough ("the thirty-second with the twenty-ninth"), but there may be a minor corruption, perhaps from *dvātriṃśaikonatriṃśena*. There are several more possibilities: in the *BraYā*, *ekona* ("minus one") is almost entirely replaced by Middle-Indic *ekūna* (cf. EDGERTON §4.24) and *kūna*; one might hence emend to either *dvātriṃśaikūnatriṃśena* or *dvātriṃśa kūnatriṃśena* (as I have tentatively adopted). A's reading might also be original, with *kona* for *ekona* (by analogy of *kūna*)—but *kona* does not occur elsewhere in A. The only close parallel provides ambiguous evidence: *BraYā* 90.77cd reads *dvātṛnsau kūnatṛsan tu dvitīyasvarabhūṣitaṃ*, which may be corrupt for *dvātriṃśaikūnatṛṃśan°* (like 9ab, these two pādas encode the syllable SVĀ).

[22]Mahābalā is fourth among the Dūtīs (table 2.1).

[23]10a completes delineation of the goddesses who are the eight syllables (CAṂ ḌE KĀ PĀ LI NI SVĀ HĀ) of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā. There is some ambiguity concerning the sense and syntax of 10bcd. *praṇavādisamanvitam* (10c) has been interpreted as an independent sentence, referring, grammatically loosely, to the *vidyā* as a whole, which is prefixed by the *praṇava*. The compound could instead modify *-vyavasthitam*. As 15a specifies, the male deity (*deva*, i.e. Kapālīśabhairava) is the *praṇava*, whose syllabic content is HŪṂ rather than OṂ; see the discussion ad loc.

Concerning *mantrabhedavyavasthitam* (10d), *vyavasthita* seems here to mean *vyavasthāna* or *vyavasthiti*, "arrangement," a possibility suggested by ISAACSON (personal communication, 2005). Cf. 30.57ab, where *vyavasthita* might carry this meaning: *kathayāmi yathānyāyaṃ śaktibhedavyavasthitam* ("I shall duly teach the arrangement of the divisions of the *śakti*"). If *vyavasthita* has its more usual sense of "situated" or "arranged," one could instead translate 10cd as follows: "I have taught the secret situated in the divisions of mantra." Cf., e.g., 21.4ab, *ete navavratā[ḥ] proktā vidyābhede vyavasthitā[ḥ]* ("The nine observances have been taught, which correspond to divisions of the [Nine-Syllable] Vidyā").

[24]Although *yogeśīnāṃ* in 2c possesses a broad sense, referring to all the goddesses of the

After carefully making the Vidyā conjunct, having OṂ at the beginning and NAMAḤ [at its end], the first [*yoginī*] is taught to you, the glorious Kroṣṭukī.[25]

12c–13 When [the Vidyā is] conjoined at the end with SVĀHĀ, the second *yoginī*, [Vijayā,] is taught. With HŪṂ [at the end], the third [Yoginī, Gajakarṇā]; in the case of VAUṢAṬ, the fourth [*yoginī*, Mahāmukhī].[26] With VAṢAṬ [at the end], the fifth, [Cakravegā];[27] in the case of PHAṬ, there would be the sixth, [Mahānāsā].[28]

14 The Six Yoginīs who emerge from the body of Aghorī have been taught.[29] Now I shall teach the Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*) from the *tantra* arising from Ucchuṣmabhairava.[30]

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maṇḍala, here it refers to a specific set of six *yogeśīs*/*yoginīs*. They comprise the "limb-mantras" (*aṅga*) of Aghorī, the supreme goddess. For their names, one must look beyond this chapter; the Six are listed, along with the Four Devīs, Four Dūtīs, and Mātṛs, e.g. in *BraYā* 4.254c–55b: *kroṣṭhukī vijayā caiva gajakarṇṇā mahāmukhī* | *cakravegā mahānāsā ṣaṭ yoginyaḥ prakīrttitāḥ* ("The Six Yoginīs are Kroṣṭhukī, Vijayā, Gajakarṇā, Mahāmukhī, Cakravegā, and Mahānāsā").

[25] The orthography *kroṣṭukī* (more correct) alternates freely with *kroṣṭhukī* (more frequent) in **A**; cf. words such as *ghaṇṭā*/*ghaṇṭhā*. In 12b, *ca* appears redundant, or else sentence connective, despite its near-final position.

[26] Normally, the feminine ordinal should be *caturthikā*, as reads **B** after correction. Since **A** transmits this "correct" feminine in three instances, and *caturthakā* only here in 13b, one might consider emending.

[27] Note the metrical variant in 13c (the *ma*-vipulā).

[28] That is, the Six Yoginīs have the following mantras: OṂ [*vidyā*] NAMAḤ, Kroṣṭukī; OṂ...SVĀHĀ, Vijayā; OṂ...HŪṂ, Gajakarṇā; OṂ...VAUṢAṬ, Mahāmukhī; OṂ...VAṢAṬ, Cakravegā; and OṂ...PHAṬ, Mahānāsā, respectively. See table 2.1. What form of the Vidyā the mantras of the Yoginīs frame is not entirely clear: while probably its full, nine-syllable form, it might be merely the "name" or *sādhya* portion, CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI.

[29] The reference to the Six Yoginīs arising from the body/limbs (*aṅga*) of the Goddess refers to their status as *aṅgamantras*, six in number (see s.v. *aṅgamantra* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I). Their full treatment may be found in *BraYā* 10.112ff. On the long *ā* of *aghoryāṅga*° (14b), cf. *aghoryārccanam* in 1b, and see the annotation thereon. In the same pāda (14b), **A** transmits *viniśṛtāḥ* for classical Sanskrit *viniḥsṛtāḥ*. Elsewhere we find the same spelling (*viniśṛtaṃ*, 72.3b; *saṃviniśṛtam*, 55.52b), as well as *vinisṛta* (43.11b); cf. *viniśrita* in EDGERTON 1953, vol. II. Although the prefix *niḥ-* frequently appears as *ni-* in **A** (cf. EDGERTON §2.86), one also finds numerous instances of the "correct" *niḥ-* and *niṣ-*; note for example *niḥsaṃjño* in 1.122c, but *nisvabhāvo* in 1.123a. (In contrast, *nir-* appears more or less as expected.) Although it is thus uncertain what was original, I have chosen to print °*vinisṛtāḥ* (on the issue of *ś*/*s*, cf. *prasṛta*, which **A** transmits rather more often than *praśṛta*). The meter here demonstrates that *ṛ* is equivalent to *ri*.

[30] The mantra-syllables which follow are, in the *BraYā*'s terminology, the "root mantras"

15 The God [Kapālīśabhairava] exists in the *praṇava*,[31] while Maheśvarī is in the *bindu* [AṂ].[32] Brahmī is in the letter E,[33] and Vaiṣṇavī in the letter Ā.

16 Kaumārī is present in the letter A, and Vivasvatī in the letter Ī.[34] In the

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(*mūlamantra*) of the Eight Mātṛs, whose full mantras are provided in the latter portion of paṭala 10. On Ucchuṣmabhairava and the *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra*, see the discussion in §2.6. In 14c **A** transmits *mātarāṃ*, which is accusative plural in sense. This may be in error for *mātarā[ḥ]*, a feminine accusative plural formed on the thematized stem *mātarā* (EDGERTON §13.18). If **A**'s reading is original, this may instead be formed on the stem *mātara*, with the masculine accusative ending *-ān*/*-āṃ* (cf. EDGERTON §13.16-17). Other instances of the accusative plural seem to support **A**'s reading: *mātarāṃ nyaset* (19.55b), and *mātarāñ caṇḍasambhavāḥ* (3.55b; but *-ñ c-* and *-ś c-* are often confused). See also the annotation ad 1.83 concerning the stems *mātarā* and *mātara*, and note the occurrence of standard forms on the stem *mātṛ* below in 17c and 18b.

[31] **A** transmits *deva* in 15a for the masculine nominative, rather than the expected *devo* (this being followed by a voiced consonant). Cf. *śakti* in 2.2c and the discussion thereon. Although *praṇava* generally signifies OṂ, its syllabic content may here differ. The root syllable of the supreme Bhairava is, in the *BraYā* and related literature, HŪṂ, which the *BraYā* designates by the distinctive term *smaraṇa* (see §2.3). This is probably what is meant by *praṇava* in 15a, for HŪṂ is the first syllable of the Vidyā (which in application may further be prefaced by OṂ), and *pravaṇa* may designate this syllable in other systems as well, most notably the *Svacchandatantra*; see s.v. *praṇava*, *pañcapraṇava*, and *niṣkalanātha* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. The *BraYā* may once in 12.60cd refer to HŪṂ as the *bhairavapraṇava*: *śikhāyā[ṃ] praṇavaṃ nyasya bhairavākhyaṃ na saṃśayaḥ*. The context is installation (*nyāsa*) of the deities of the Vidyā onto the body, beginning with the crest (*śikhā*), locus of Bhairava.

[32] On AṂ as the *mūlamantra* of Maheśvarī, cf. 10.183: *ādivarge sthitañ caiva bījaṃ pañcadaśaṃ tu yat | nutyantaṃ praṇavādyañ ca māheśvaryāḥ prakīrttitam ||* ("That *bīja* which is in the fifteenth position in the first letter-group, [the vowels,] when having NAMAḤ in the end and OṂ in the beginning, is known as [the mantra] of Māheśvarī"). The spellings Maheśvarī and Māheśvarī occur in **A** with comparable frequency, the latter being slightly more common.

[33] The spellings Brahmī and Brāhmī are attested in the *BraYā* in near-equal measure in **A**; Brahmī for instance occurs twice in *BraYā* 4.

[34] Vivasvatī might appear to be the female counterpart of Vivasvat or Sūrya, the sun god. It would be unusual, however, for a *śakti* of the solar deity to be included among the principal Mother-goddesses. Vivasvatī is instead synonymous with Yāmī or Yāmyā, the female counterpart of Yama. The latter, as the mythical child of Vivasvat, bears the patronym Vaivasvata, and in the *BraYā*, Vivasvastī seems interchangeable with Vaivasvatī, i.e. Yāmyā. The spelling Vaivasvatī occurs frequently in **A**, e.g. in 10.199c, 22.36b, and 34.182c. That *vivasvatī* in 16b is not a corruption finds confirmation in meter: *vaivasvatī* would be unmetrical. In the context of initiation, should a male initiand cast a flower upon the maṇḍala-area of Vaivasvatī, the initiatory name engendered is Yamabhairava (34.182cd: *vaivasvatyā[ḥ] prapāte tu yamabhairavasaṃjñakaḥ*).

This set of Eight Mothers is common in Śaiva sources; cf., e.g., *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 3.14, listing the Eight Mothers as Māheśī, Brāhmaṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Yāmyā, Cāmuṇḍā,

letter I is Vāsavī,[35] while Caṇḍikā is in the syllable SVĀ.[36]

17 With the syllable HĀ is present the supreme Śakti,[37] from whom these

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and Yogeśī (*māheśī brāhmaṇī caiva kaumārī vaiṣṇavī tathā | aindrī yāmyā ca cāmuṇḍā yogīśī ceti tā matāḥ*). But it is common, in place of Vivasvatī/Yāmyā, to find instead the Mother-goddess Vārāhī. Cf. *Netratantra* 19.56: *brahmī māheśvarī caiva kaumārī vaiṣṇavī tathā | vārāhī ca tathendrāṇī cāmuṇḍā saptamātaraḥ* || ("Brahmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, and Cāmuṇḍā are the Seven Mother-goddesses"). Vārāhī and Yāmyā or Vaivasvatī may in fact be synonyms, at least sometimes; cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 37, which in explaining the name Vārāhī, identifies Varāha with Yama (*varāho yama ucyate*, 37.85c). In the *BraYā*, the name Vaivasvatī/Vivasvatī occurs in the most doctrinally and ritually important passages: in delineation of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā, in rites of *yojanā*, and the initiation maṇḍala, etc. Note, e.g., 33.117d, 34.182cd, and 37.29a & 33b. However, in the latter half of the *BraYā*, lists of the *mātṛ*s include Vārāhī, with no reference to Vaivasvatī except in *BraYā* 55. Note especially 91.91c–92b: *māheśvarī ca brahmāṇī viṣṇujā ca kumārikā || aindrī vārāhi cāmuṇḍī aghoreśī ca kīrttitā[ḥ]* (the final *ī* in *vārāhi* has been shortened, metri causa).

[35]Vāsavī is synonymous with Indrāṇī, Aindrī, Māhendrī, etc.; the latter two names are more common in the *BraYā*.

[36]The seventh Mother-goddess possesses no fewer than four names in the *BraYā*: Caṇḍikā (e.g. here and in 68.55d), Carcā or Carcikā (e.g. 34.183c), Cāmuṇḍā or Cāmuṇḍī (e.g. 91.91c–92b), and Bhairavī (e.g. 46.30c–31). The latter could create confusion, for Aghorī may also be called "Bhairavī." In practice, this results in little ambiguity, for the Mother-goddesses usually appear in sequence. As eighth of the Mothers, Aghorī is also referred to as Parā or Paramā (in e.g. 10.210–14, 37.33a), and Yogeśī, Yogeśvarī, or Yogeśvareśvarī (e.g. below). Cf. 58.1: *yā sā śaktiḥ purākhyātā* [conj.; *parākhyātā* **A**] *vidyāvasthā maheśvari* [em.; *maheśvarī* **A**] | *aghorīti parā devi śivā yogeśvareśvarī* || ("O Maheśvarī, that Śakti described earlier as having the condition of the [Nine-Syllable] Vidyā is called Aghorī, Parā, Śivā, and Yogeśvareśvarī, O goddess.").

[37]I.e. Aghorī herself. That HĀ is the root syllable of the supreme goddess finds support in 11.79c-80b: *hansākhyaḥ* [em.; °*khye* **A**] *paramo devaḥ ṣaṣṭhasvaraviyojitaḥ || dvitīyasvarasaṃyuktaḥ parā śaktiḥ prakīrttitaḥ* | ("The *haṃsa* [HA], disconnected from the sixth vowel [*ū*], is the supreme God. The supreme Śakti is taught to be [the *haṃsa*] conjoined with the second vowel [*ā*]"). The expression *ṣaṣṭhasvaraviyojitaḥ* alludes to the fact that conjunction with the sixth vowel is the default form of the male deity, as the *smaraṇa*-mantra, HŪṂ (see §2.3).

Following **A**, the sequence of syllables for the Eight Mātṛs is ostensibly AṂ E Ā A Ī I SVĀ HĀ. The first six of these—from Māheśvarī to Vaiavasvatī—loosely correspond to the vowels of CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI, wherein, however, neither short-*a* nor long-*ī* is present. There is thus significant room for doubt concerning the Mātṛs' intended mantras. As Csaba KISS points out (personal communication), *BraYā* 10.198c–99 (quoted as testimonia) indicates that the Mātṛs correspond exactly to the sequence AṂ E Ā Ā I I from the Vidyā (to translate: "That vowel which is eleventh [E] is the root mantra of Kaumārī. The second [vowel Ā] is of Vaiṣṇavī; that very one is [also] for Kaumarī. The third [vowel I] is of Vaivasvatī; that very one is [also] for Vāsavatī [i.e. Aindrī]"). Accordingly, one should perhaps emend *akāre* in 2.16a and *īkāre* in 16b to *ākāre* and *ikāre*, respectively. I hesitate to do so, however, as it seems unlikely that two pairs of Mātṛs would be mantrically identical to each other. While it is true that overlap exists elsewhere—

emerge.[38] I have taught you the Mātṛs in the *yāga* honoured by Ucchuṣmabhairava.[39]

18 And she, the very one I had taught,[40] completes the Mother-goddesses. (¿) All this is taught of her (?),[41] having learnt which one does not lament.[42]

Thus ends the Chapter on the Extraction of Mantras,
chapter two of the *Great Bhairava Root Tantra*,
the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand [Verses]*,
the *Picumata*, the *Method of Nine Syllables*.

Caṇḍikā/Cāmuṇḍā's root syllable SVĀ is shared with Bhīmavaktrā, while Aghorī/Yogeśī's syllable HĀ is shared with Mahābalā—in these cases the extended mantras (*vaktra*, *aṅga*, etc.) differ enough to distinguish the deities.

[38]Concerning the absence of visarga from *śakti* (17a), cf. 2c and see the discussion thereon. What A transmits as *etayasya* (17b) seems impossible to interpret. Most probably, this is corrupt for *etā yasyā*, i.e. *etāḥ yasyāḥ* (the latter being ablative).

[39]Concerning *yāge ucchuṣmapūjite* (17d), cf. 54.14cd, quoted as testimonia. It could be that in these cases, *yāga* means "pantheon" rather than "rite." But the expression seems very close to that of 2.14d, *tantre ucchuṣmasambhave*, which essentially means *Ucchuṣma[bhairava]tantre*. Similarly, *yāge ucchuṣmapūjite* probably amounts to "the ritual worship of Ucchuṣmabhairava."

[40]This seems to refer back to the discussion of the supreme Śakti in *BraYā* 1.121–33.

[41]*tasyedaṃ* in 18c must be non-standard sandhi of *tasyāḥ idaṃ* (cf. OBERLIES §1.8.9), for *yā sā [śakti]* seems the only plausible referent for the genitive. Nonetheless, the meaning is not entirely clear; perhaps the sense is that one who masters the Nine-Syllable Vidyā of Aghorī suffers no longer.

[42]18d, *yaṃ jñātvā nāvasīdati*, has a degree of similarity probably not coincidental to the fourth pāda of a verse attributed to Bhartṛhari: *ālasyaṃ hi manuṣyāṇāṃ śarīrastho mahāripuḥ | nāsty udyamasamo bandhuḥ kṛtvā yaṃ nāvasīdati* || ("Laziness is truly a great enemy of human beings, residing within. There is no friend like endeavor, engaging in which one suffers not."). This occurs as *Śatakatraya* 1.61, or verse 216 in D. D. KOSAMBI's critical edition of the *Epigrams*.

39

Chapter of the Exposition on the Streams of Revelation

The Goddess spoke:

1 Earlier, you revealed that which is called the "rightward stream" [of scriptural revelation],[1] another called the "leftward," and the "middle stream" as well.

2 With what object [is it called] "rightward," and for what reason "leftward," and likewise "middle"? Tell [me] this, O Maheśvara.[2]

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[1]In 1a and throughout this chapter occur irregular forms of the Sanskrit word *srotas*, "stream, current." As presented in A, these alternate between forms based on the thematized stem *srota* (see OBERLIES §3.22) and the even more irregular *srotra*, with occasional confusion of *ś* and *s*. Occurrences of the "correct" *s*-stem are restricted largely to the locative *bhairava-srotasi* in chapter colophons. There are twenty-nine occurrences of forms based on the stems *srotra* (or rarely *srotras*) in A and twenty-two based on *srota* (rarely *srotas*), excluding chapter colophons and occurrences of *śrotra* (and once *srota*) in the sense of "ears." In 1c, A reads *srotaṃ*, but this is exceptional, for in the present chapter, the stem *srotra* is overwhelmingly preferred, occurring even in the colophonal chapter title (*srotranirṇṇayapaṭalaḥ*). This is likely original; indeed, TURNER (1962–66: vol.1, 803) postulates **srōtra* as the source of Prakrit *sötta*, *sutta* ("stream, river"), and related Middle-Indic forms. (Cf. PISCHEL [1981] §97, who does not speculate on the cause of the doubled *tt*.) In quoting from the *BraYā*, SANDERSON (2014: 34 [n. 123]) also retains the form, observing that it occurs as well in *Niśvāsa*, *Uttarasūtra* 1.1a (*mantrākhye pañcame srotre*).

[2]Note the non-application of sandhi across the *pāda*-boundary of 2cd, which is exceedingly common, will not be remarked upon further; cf., e.g., 21cd, 22cd, 35cd, 39ab, 40ab, and 40cd below. Infrequently, one finds hiatus-breaking consonants in such cases (e.g. 14.7cd: *śaktitantu*

3 From what did which stream emerge? From that [stream] what arose?[3] O Lord of gods, speak this to me truly; and why are the mantras divided?[4]

The God spoke:[5]

4 Excellent, O Mahādevī, excellent. I shall indeed tell what you asked me, in brief—the cause for the division of ontic principles (*tattva*).[6]

5 The triad of *śakti*s of the transcendent-cum-immanent (*parāpara*) deity [Sadāśiva] was taught [previously, as well as their] mantra-forms and their throne (*āsana*), which accomplish the aims of all endeavors.[7]

6 All the triple universe with its animate and inanimate beings is pervaded by them; (¿) they pervade bound souls and the lords as well (?), undoubtedly.[8]

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tato dhyātvā -d- ā pātālaṃ śivāntikam).

[3] *tatra* (3b) has been understood as the correlative of *yaṃ [srotraṃ]*, rather than *yasmiṃ* (i.e. *yasmin*). Both have been understood as locatives of source (see Apte 1984: §77).

[4] In 3d, °*bhedañ* is treated as a neuter noun, though normally masculine. Cf. Oberlies, pp. xxxviii–xl; Edgerton §6.1–6. Here, *ca* is awkward and perhaps meaningless. Regarding *kiṃkṛtam*, cf. *BraYā* 75.116b: *mithyāvākyañ ca kiṃkṛtam* ("and why [have you] spoken lies?"). There is a close relationship between the classification or division of mantras and *tantra*s; see vv. 17–23 below, and note also the expression *tatvabheda* in 4d.

[5] Although **A** almost always writes *deva uvāca*, the double sandhi of *devovāca* is not unusual, being common even in Epic Sanskrit (Oberlies §1.8.4).

[6] Concerning the expression *tatvabhedārthakāraṇam* (4d, "cause for the division of the ontic principles"), cf., e.g., *sarvvakāryārthasādhana* in 5d, and *siddhyarthakāraṇa* ("cause for attaining *siddhi*"), which occurs elsewhere in the *BraYā* as well as in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (e.g. 13.7d) and *Tantrasadbhāva* (e.g. 2.132b). On the idea of *tattvabheda*, cf. *mantrabheda* above in 3d.

[7] The triad in question comprises the Dakṣiṇā, Vāmā, and Madhyamā Śaktis, who preside over the rightward, leftward and middle streams of scriptural revelation from which their names derive (see below, vv. 7ff.). Their mantras are delineated in *BraYā* 11.81–108 and further elaborated in paṭala 27, a chapter devoted to the triad. The latter clarifies that their *āsana* ("seat" or "throne") is the *khecarīcakra* described in paṭala 14; the *śakti*s are installed on this in their full mantra-forms (*mūrttitvena*) (*BraYā* 27.27c–28: *āsane pūrvvasūtrokte cakre khecaripūjite* ||27|| *śaktitritayabījānāṃ mūlavidyāṃ yathāsthitāṃ* | *mūrttitvena mahādevi cakrasyopari vinyaset* ||28||). In 5b °*āsanaḥ* has been corrected to the neuter °*āsanam*, visarga and line-final *-m* being readily confused. This verse speaks of the triad of *śakti*s as belonging to Sadāśiva (*parāparasya devasya*, 5c), who more frequently is associated with a triad of cosmogonic powers—Vāmā, Raudrī, and J[y]eṣṭhā (cf. *BraYā* 32.45: *vāmayā sṛjate sarvvaṃ raudryā caiva tu saṃharet* | *jeṣṭhayā ca sthitiṃ* [em.; *jeṣṭayāvasthitaṃ* **A**] *kuryā tritatvatanusaṃsthitaḥ* ||).

[8] The category *pati* ("lord") presumably refers to the mantra-lords (*mantreśvara*) or *rudra*s presiding over the hierarchy of ontic principles (*tattva*). Cf., e.g., the distinction drawn between souls (*aṇu*) and lords (*pati*) in *Mṛgendratantra*, *vidyāpāda* 5.2d. The syntax of 6cd is uncertain, and A's *vyāpta* seems improbable. One could emend to *vyāptaṃ*, as does **B**, or to the plural,

7 Some are presided over by the Dakṣiṇā ("right") [Śakti], some are presided over by Vāmā ("left"), and some by Madhyamā ("middle"); creatures are threefold.[9]

8 Some have a preponderance of [the quality (*guṇa*)] *sattva*, and some have a preponderance of *rajas*.[10] Likewise, some have a preponderance of *tamas*, situated according to the [respective] divisions of *śakti*.

9 One presided over by the Dakṣinā [Śakti] is 'pure',[11] and one depending on Vāmā is 'mixed'. One depending on Madhyamā is stained by an endless mass of impurity (*mala*).

10–11 Those who, covered like the silkworm, possess [the impurity of] karma from numerous lives[12]—among them, one who is a fit recipient for occult

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vyāptā, in agreement with *patayaś*. The latter, which has been adopted, seems more satisfactory grammatically, and could mean, "and the lords of the bound souls are also pervaded by them, undoubtedly." In spite of the grammar, however, the idea might instead be that the *śakti* triad pervades both *paśu* and *pati*, as though *paśavaḥ patayaś caiva tābhir vyāptā na saṃśayaḥ*. This interpretation seems more likely given that the subsequent verses classify tantric initiates, i.e. bound souls, on the basis of the *śakti* triad.

[9]In 7d, **A** transmits *jantu vyavasthitaḥ*. One should probably emend to the correct masculine nominative *jantur*, as I have, but it is possible that the word is treated here as neuter—which, however, would suggest emending to *vyavasthitam*. One further possibility might be to read *jantuvyavasthitiḥ*.

[10]*rajādhikaḥ*, as reads **A** in 8b, could be original, the compound containing a thematized *a*-stem from *rajas*. However, this is not necessarily the case, for 8c transmits the "correct" *tamodhikaḥ* (*tamas+adhikaḥ*), and standard forms of both *rajas* and *tamas* occur frequently in the *BraYā*. Note, e.g., *rajomūrtiḥ* (83.58a) and *tamomaye* (83.47a).

[11]In 9a, one might emend *śuddha* (i.e. *śuddhaḥ*) to *śuddho*, for this nominative is followed in the next pāda by a voiced consonant. However, **A** so often drops visarga in these circumstances, in lieu of other sandhi operations, that this begins to look optionally "correct:" in this chapter, note *syu vidyā°* (30ab), *syu mantra°* (30cd), *syu mudrā°* (31ab), and *syu maṇḍalaṃ* (31cd).

[12]The bahuvrīhi compound *anekajanmakarmā[ḥ]* in 10a has as its final member the thematized stem *karma*, declined in the masculine in agreement with *ye*. The number shifts unceremoniously from plural in 10a to singular in 10b (cf. Edgerton §5.5). **A**'s *kośikāra* has been understood to mean *kośakāra*, "silkworm." It is unclear whether the form is original; *kośakāra* and perhaps *kośīkāra* seem more plausible. The word *kośikāra* is attested in the Buddhist *Mahāvastvavadāna* in the sense of "silk cloth" (Edgerton 1953, vol. 2, p. 195). The image of the soul being bound like the silkworm by its own deeds is attested in a variety of sources, e.g. *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparvan* 292.4, 309.14, and 316.28–29. Among *Bhairavatantras*, cf. *Netratantra* 18.151: *evaṃ malatrayopetaḥ saṃsāre saṃsared aṇuḥ* | *kośakāraḥ krimir yadvad ātmānaṃ veṣṭayed dṛḍham* || ("thus endowed with the three impurities [*viz. āṇava, māyīya* and *kārma*], the soul would transmigrate through *saṃsāra*; like the silkworm, it would enclose itself firmly").

attainment (*siddhi*), [being] devoid of all desires, obtains mere liberation, impelled by the descent of *śakti*.[13] But he is purified by the Madhyamā Śakti, never the Primordial (*ādya-*) Śakti.[14]

12 Like rice (*tāṇḍula*) which has been separated from paddy's (*vrīhi*) chaff on the outside,[15] the condition of one whose origin lies in the Vāmā Śakti is that of having a little impurity remaining.

13 The one depending on Dakṣiṇā is extremely pure, [like] rice devoid of chaff and husk; free of impurity through washing, etc.,[16] it requires the mere action (*kriyā*) of cooking.

151cd of the latter echoes *Svacchandatantra* 10.361ab (which is also, apparently, the source of *Tantrasadbhāva* 10.396cd).

[13]In 11b, A's reading *śaktipātā* is probably original, an ablative singular having its final *-t* elided (cf. Edgerton §8.46–48).

[14]Vv. 10–11 contain a clear and polemical echo of the Saiddhāntika emphasis on the efficacy of ritual for removal of *mala*, with "mere" liberation as the primary desideratum.

In 11c, A's *madhyamā...śaktyā* could be interpreted as a split compound. Cf. Oberlies §10.4. The alternative is emendation to the instrumental *madhyayā*, which seems plausible in light of **A** transmitting this in 73a (*madhyayā preritenātha*). In 11d, A's spurious visarga in *kadācanaḥ* could potentially be original, despite the absence of metrical exigency. In this pāda, A's *nādyaśakti* (i.e. *na+ādyaśakti*), either a stem form or nominative (loss of *visarga* before *k-* is common in **A**), agrees with the instrumental *śaktyā* (11a). If one reads *madhyamā*, *ādyaśakti[ḥ]* may be viewed as agreeing in form with the first member of the split compound. This parallelism between the nominatives perhaps speaks in favour of retaining *madhyamā*; note also that in 11d, the instrumental *°śaktyā* would have been metrical.

Sanderson (2014: 34 [n. 123]) proposes an attractive alternative in 11d, conjecturing *nādho yāti kadācana* for A's *nādyaśakti kadācanaḥ* and adducing parallels from the *Tantrasadbhāva* and *Svacchandatantra*. As the expression *ādyaśakti* seems to suit the context, I have nonetheless provisionally retained this, for Ādyaśakti or Ādyā can refer to Dakṣiṇā. This is clarified in *BraYā* 27, which presents the seed-mantras of the *śakti*-triad under the names Ādyā, Dvitīyā, and Tritīyā (first, second, and third; *BraYā* 27.3–6). These are then described as *vāmadakṣiṇa-madhyamasthā[ḥ]*, which would imply that *ādyā* means *vāmā*. However, word order in this compound seems dictated by meter, for the subsequent presentation delineates the triad in the sequence Dakṣiṇā, Vāmā, and Madhyamā. Cf. 16c below: *vāmadakṣiṇamadhyastho*.

[15]A's orthography *°tusenaiva* (12a) for *°tuṣeṇaiva* is noteworthy, for it suggests confusion—whether original or scribal—between *ṣ* and the other sibilants, in addition to the more typical confusion between *ś* and *s*. The "correct" *tuṣaka°* is present in 13a. The dental *n* in *tusenaiva* is presumably triggered by the presence of *s* for *ṣ*. However, besides confusion of the sibilants, **A** does frequently transmit *n* where *ṇ* is expected, suggesting possible influence from pronunciation. Cf., e.g., A's *svasukrenaiva* for *svaśukreṇaiva* in 71.32b, and *tantrānāṃ* in 14b below. Compare with modern Bangla, which in pronunciation largely conflates the three sibilants and which in most cases treats *ṇ* as *n*.

[16]In 13a, A's *°kāmbūka°* is probably an error for *°kambūka°*, but cf. *Mataṅgapārameśvara*,

14 The *tantras* are proclaimed in accordance with the dispositions of the interlocutors. The *tantras* emerged forth from the flood of scriptural wisdom in three streams,[17] spoken to the pure, impure, and mixed, respectively.[18]

15 (¿) The wisdom is entirely undivided; however, *tantras* exist with distinctions in ritual (?) for the pure, impure, and mixed, O fair woman.[19]

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kriyāpāda 15:23ab: *nimbapatraṃ sakāmbūkaṃ jambūmiśreṇa dhūpayet*. In 13b, A's reading *nirmalo* is probably original, a case of the generalized *-o* ending of the Middle-Indic nominative singular masculine (see Edgerton §8.18).

[17]As here, A generally transmits *jñānogha* rather than *jñānaugha* (*jñāna+ogha*, "flood/mass of scripture wisdom"), influenced by Middle-Indic phonology; see the annotation ad *BraYā* 1.4d.

[18] Scriptural texts are framed as dialogues between questioner(s) and the sacred being who reveals teachings in response. What is rendered here as "interlocutors" refers more specifically to the "questioners" (*pṛcchaka*, 14a), while *āśraya* in 14a apparently refers to their dispositions—as though the word intended is *āśaya*. These are determined by the governing *śakti*s. The expression *pṛcchakāśraya* occurs in the same sense in 1.41a, and again below in 39.29c. As there is no meaningful orthographic variation, this use of *āśraya* in the sense of *āśaya* may be presumed to be authorial. Isaacson notes, "The confusion of these two words is well-known to me from the manuscript transmission of other texts" (personal communication, November 2017). Interlocutors are thus 'pure', 'mixed', or 'impure': *śuddha* (= *dakṣiṇāśrayaḥ* or °*ādhiṣṭhitaḥ*), *miśra* (= *vāmāśrayaḥ*), or *aśuddha* (=*madhyamāśrayaḥ*), respectively; see v. 9. Cf. v. 79, which refers to differences in *āśraya* and the "wishes of questioners" (*pṛccakecchā*) as factors in scripture's diversity (*trividhāśrayavaśā[d] devi pṛcchakecchā yathākramam | pūrvavaktreṇa coktāni*, 79abc). Cf. also *BraYā* 1.41, quoted as testimonia.

Note the absence of sandhi across the pāda boundary of 14ab: °*miśrebhyaḥ tṛbhiḥ*. A attests the sequence *-ḥ t-* mainly when odd pādas end in visarga, but occasionally elsewhere (e.g. *tataḥ tiṣṭhanti* in 46.80a).

[19] A transmits *nābhinnaṃ* in 15a, a double negative which seems suspect. I would instead propose reading *no bhinnaṃ* (i.e. *na+u bhinnaṃ*), understanding the verse to make a distinction between the singularity of doctrine (*jñāna*) and the multiplicity of ritual (*kriyā*), the latter necessitating scriptural diversity. Other possibilities include *na bhinnaṃ* and *abhinnaṃ*. On the notion that distinctions in ritual occasion the profusion of *tantra*s, note a verse quoted by Kṣemarāja ad *Svacchandatantra* 13.3ab: *kriyādibhedabhedena tantrabhedo yataḥ smṛtaḥ | tasmāt tatra yathoktaṃ tat kartavyaṃ nānyatantrataḥ* || ("Since the *tantra*s are held to be divided on account of distinctions in [their] *kriyā-* and other sections, therefore one should act as stated in those sources, not in accordance with another *tantra*"). Cf. Jayaratha, commenting ad *Tantrāloka* 4.251, 8.22ab, and 23.13ab.

The locative *kriyābhede* (15b) appears quasi-instrumental in meaning: "with/in accordance with distinction in ritual." Cf. *kriyābhedena* in 31d, which seems comparable in sense. The compounds with *kriyābheda*° in 18d, 21b, etc., are presumably to be interpreted on similar lines. On the locative for instrumental, cf. Edgerton §7.81 (where the examples are plural). One might also consider emending here to the instrumental plural, *kriyābhedaiḥ*.

16 The supreme flood of scriptural wisdom emerged forth in three streams, situated on the left, right, and middle, having manifold divisions.

17–18b Seventy million mantras emerge from the rightward stream,[20] with a profusion of manifold *tantra*s based upon it,[21] with distinctions in ritual.[22] Even within that [stream],[23] the disposition [of recipients] varies, being pure, impure, and mixed.[24]

18c–19 Through the path of the rightward stream arose *The Bhairava Tantra of Four Corpora* (*Catuḥpīṭhabhairava*),[25] possessing divisions in ritual. Everything manifesting in the rightward stream emerged forth from this.[26]

20 And likewise from the leftward stream (¿) [emerges] the group of *Vāmatantra*s and so forth (?). It is the lord of seven crore mantras,[27] having elab-

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[20]In 17a, A's *koṭyās* is probably original, for classical Skt. *koṭyas*, formed from the extended stem *koṭyā*. This pāda is identical to 11.117c (but cf. 20c below, where A has the singular, *koṭis*). Extension of *-ī* to *-yā* is commonplace in the *BraYā*, but this also occurs with *-i* stems (especially *śaktyā* from *śakti*, e.g. in 24.91d).

[21]The accusative pronoun *tam* in 17c is problematic. It might be speculated to have *dakṣiṇasrotra* as its referent (cf. *saḥ* in 20d, which possibly refers to *vāmasrotra*); but grammatically, it seems to pick up the feminine *dakṣiṇā* from the previous pāda. One might hence consider emending to the feminine *tām*. It is also possible that *tam* is a collective singular referring to the seven crore mantras mentioned in 17a. One could also emend *tam āśṛtya* to *samāśṛtya*, but this seems unlikely syntactically.

[22]On the interpretation of *kriyābhede* (17c), see note 19 above.

[23]*tatra* (18a), here understood to refer to the rightward stream, could instead refer to the *tantra*s of that stream—viz. "among all these [*tantras*]."

[24]Note the absence of sandhi or a hiatus-breaker in *tatrāpi āśrayo* (18a). Cf. OBERLIES §1.1.3.1. This is especially common across pāda boundaries, but common enough within a verse-quarter as well; note, e.g., *śubhāni aśubhāni ca* (*BraYā* 14.116d). Within a pāda, an hiatus-breaking *-r-* is sometimes inserted, particularly following *u* (e.g. *dikṣu-r-astrāṇi vinyaset*, 22.130d) but also after *i* (e.g. *muṣṭiṃ badhvā samāṅguṣṭāṅ kṛtvā śirasi -r- unnatā*, 88.160cd).

[25]Since **A** transmits the orthography *catuḥpītha* in most cases, this has been adopted, though note the occurrence of *catu°* (39.29a) and *catuṣ°* (30.1a and 57.69a) as well. The syntax of 19ab is awkward; I understand this to mean *catuḥpīṭhabhairavasaṃjñitaṃ tantraṃ samutpannam*. In several passages the *BraYā* refers to itself as the *Catuḥpīṭhabhairava[tantra]*, an epithet asserting its identity as Root Scripture (*mūlatantra*) of the *Bhairavatantra*s of all four "mounds" (*pīṭha*); see §2.4.

[26]The orthography *dakṣiṇāsrotra* (18c), rather than *dakṣiṇasrotra* (cf. *vāmasrota*), is probably original, as it occurs also in 19c and 28d (though note *dakṣiṇaṃ srotraṃ* in 1a). Concerning *sarvaṃm asmād* (19d), with the doubled nasal, cf. *lokānāṃm alpa°* in 1.50a, and see the annotation thereon.

[27]Verse 20 presents several difficulties, and 20e–23 is likely the chapter's most problematic

orations due to differences in ritual (*kriyā*) (¿) via the way of the pantheon (*yāga*) of the tetrad (?).[28]

21 (¿) And the collection of mantras manifested from the middle stream … She [the Madhyamā Śakti] … [this] emerged from her (?).[29]

22 Mantras thirty-five million by number manifest in the middle stream, O

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passage. *vāmasrotā*, as reads **A** in 20c, is probably intended as an ablative of the thematized stem *srota*, with elision of its final consonant—as with *śaktipātā* in 11b (cf. EDGERTON §8.46–48). 20b appears unintelligible as transmitted, **A** reading *vāmatantrādike guṇaḥ*. Cf. 89b, where **A** transmits *bhūtatantrādiko guṇāḥ*. In both cases the last element seems likely to be a corruption of *gaṇaḥ* ("group"); cf. *mantragaṇa* in 21b and 43a. This parallel in 89b suggests emendation to °*tantrādiko* in 20b, in agreement with the conjectured *gaṇaḥ*. *-ādikaḥ* ("etc.") is intelligible in light of vv. 77–78, which clarify that in addition to the *Vāmatantra*s, the Vāmā Śakti generates *rudra*-division *Siddhāntatantras* (in conjunction with Madhyamā and Dakṣiṇā). With these emendations, the sense and syntax nonetheless remain problematic. The pronoun *saḥ* could refer to the *gaṇa* (group) of tantras or, semantically more probable, to *vāmasrot[r]a* (20a). It appears that the "seventy million mantras" mentioned in 20c emerge from the leftward stream, distinct from those of the rightward stream (17ab), though the same in number.

[28] In 20e, **A**'s *catuṣke yāgamārgeṇa* is problematic; I would propose emending to *catuṣka-yāga*°—though the locative could perhaps be interpreted as instrumental in sense, agreeing with *yāgamārgeṇa* ("through the way of the *yāga* that is the tetrad"). The *catuṣkayāga* ("pantheon of the tetrad"), described especially in *BraYā* 25.8–37, is one of several inflections of the basic ninefold mantra-deity pantheon (*yāga*) embodied in the *BraYā*'s Nine-Syllable Vidyā. Syntactically, one could consider construing 20ef with v. 21, in this case emending °*pravistaraḥ* to the neuter °*pravistaram*; the syntax would be similar to that of 18c–19ab. However, the parallel construction of v. 17 also suggests the plausibility reading 20a–f as a unit. In favour of the latter, the link between *tantra*s of the *vāmasrotas* and the *catuṣka[yāga]* is mentioned again in v. 74, evidently on account of this system having as its cultic focus Tumburu-Bhairava and his tetrad (*catuṣka*) of Sisters (*bhaginī*).

[29] The text and interpretation of v. 21 pose several difficulties. Assuming that 20ef construe with 20a–d, 21ab seems to comprise an independent sentence, which is awkward given that the referent of *etan* is unclear. Perhaps a line of text has been lost. The referent of the feminine pronouns *sā* and *asyā* (21cd) is also uncertain; it seems most plausible that these would refer to the Madhyamā Śakti. Cf. *dakṣiṇāyā vinirgatāḥ* in 17b. 21c—*sā tatra jagajānāntu*, as reads **A**—is clearly corrupt, but a plausible solution eludes me. This should probably yield a nominative singular noun, either feminine, in agreement with *sā*, or perhaps more likely, neuter, in agreement with *vinirgatam* (21d). Conjectures considered include, e.g., *sā tantragaṇajātaṃ tu* (or *mantra*° rather than °*tantra*, and °*jālaṃ* rather than °*jātaṃ*).

goddess.[30] *Thus did speak Bhairava.*[31]

23 (¿) Attaining to being ninefold and eightfold, there arises the entire class of *Siddhāntatantras* (?),[32] situated with differences in ritual and mantra, O fair woman.

24–25b It is further divided by division into the twenty-eight [*Siddhāntatantras*].[33] Divided at length by divisions of branches and sub-branches, [the *tantras*] have been taught, and the gurus, beginning with Śrīkaṇṭha, shall [continue to] teach them.[34]

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[30]The MSS' locative *madhyame* in 22c seems improbable; this should presumably be in compound with the subsequent *srotra*°, as is the case in 21b. It seems likely that this compound should agree with the neuter °*trayaṃ* in 22a, though **A** transmits °*saṃbhūtā*. Probably this is a corruption of °*saṃbhūto* (masculine for neuter), with the frozen *-o* of the Middle-Indic masculine singular nominative; cf. EDGERTON §8.18. The sequence *-o* followed by *e-* is found more than twenty times in the *BraYā*, in the majority of cases across a pāda juncture, as here.

[31]The phrase *evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt*, a narrative aside in the third person, occurs nearly forty times in the *BraYā*, but not in other sources I am aware of currently. Cf. *ity evaṃ bhairavo 'bravīt* in *Svacchandatantra* 9.59d and 9.92d, *iti bhairavam abravīt* in e.g. *BraYā* 4.631d, and *yathā bhairavam abravīt* in *BraYā* 21.83b and 25.314b (also *Kubjikāmata* 5.48d and 25.170d, and many times in the *Tantrasadbhāva*). In the latter two cases, *bhairavam* appears to be neuter for masculine, metri causa, though the *-m* ending could be viewed as a hiatus-breaking consonant (see EDGERTON §4.59).

[32]In 23a, **A** transmits the unintelligible *navāṣṭaka tathāvāpyaḥ*. One should likely emend to *navāṣṭakaṃ*, as does **B**. It is difficult, however, to make sense of its apparent meaning—"nine octads." Perhaps this refers to the *rudras* of the *navanābhamaṇḍala*, a configuration in which they are distributed in nine lotuses of eight petals; *tantras* associated with the *rudras*, however, seem to number sixty-four (see vv. 29, 79ff.), as do the *rudras* themselves (as delineated in paṭala 31). Alternatively, *navāṣṭakaṃ* may refer to eightfold and ninefold mantra-deity pantheons (*yāga*)—cf. *catuṣka* in 20e—or to groupings of nine and eight *tantras* (note the reference to *siddhāntatantras* being further divided into twenty-eight in 24ab). None of these interpretations seem well-supported. The emendatiom adopted for *tathāvāpyaḥ* is *tathāvāpya* (i.e. *tathā+avāpya*). The unstated subject is perhaps *mantragaṇa*—the three and one-half crore mantras of the middle stream mentioned in v. 22. Other possible emendations include *tathā vāpi*—this occurs once elsewhere (34.259c), and *vāpi* is pervasive at the end of odd-numbered pādas—or perhaps *tathā vyāpya*, which occurs in 11.161c as well as *Guhyasūtra* 7.283c. Regarding the interpretation of *sarvasiddhāntajātaka* (23b), cf. 20.8b (*sidhyate mantrajātakam*), where *jātaka* seems to mean "the class/collection [of mantras]." Also, cf. *mantrajāta* in 14.176c (*anena mantrajātena*) and *kalpajāta* in 89c below.

[33]Twenty-eight refers to the number of principal *Siddhāntatantras*, as delineated in vv. 47–64. The causative participle *bhedita* (24b) seems non-causal in sense, probably occurring metri causa for *bhinna*. Cf. *vibhedita* in 29b.

[34]In 25b, **A** transmits *gurus*, singular, but it seems probable that this should be plural in

25c–26 Those which would be placed in the Śiva-division (*śivabheda*) [emerge] from the *Kāmika*, O fair woman, while the others are placed likewise within the *rudra*-division.[35] The division in which Śiva is the object of worship is called the Śiva-division.

27 Those *tantras* with sixty-four divisions, O pious woman, are placed within the *rudra*-division, [which is] named accordingly.[36]

28 Through Śrīkaṇṭha, O woman of renown,[37] impelled by the Raudrā [Śakti], is [the revelation] arising from the rightward stream, via the rightward face.[38]

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agreement with *śrīkaṇṭhādyā[ḥ]*. I have hence conjectured *gurūs*, an irregular nominative plural (cf. Edgerton §12.56) occurring metri causa for *guravas*. This should be the subject of *kathiṣyanti* (25a), a future plural apparently formed from the present stem *kathati* (cf. the optative *kathet*, e.g. in *BraYā* 85.48b). See Edgerton §38.25–26, 31. The syntax of 25ab is awkward: *kathitāni*, in apparent agreement with an unstated *tantrāṇi*, presupposes a passive subject (*gurubhiḥ*), while the active *kathiṣyanti* requires the nominative.

[35] On the canon of *Siddhāntatantras* and their division into a *śivabheda* (headed by the *Kāmika*) and *rudrabheda*, see Goodall (1998: xxxvi–xlvii, appendix III). An account of twenty-eight *Siddhāntatantras* is provided in vv. 47–64 below. The instrumental *rudrabhedena* appears quasi-locative in function in 26a, as well as in 27c below; cf. *kriyābhede/kriyābhedena*, discussed in note 19 above.

[36] In 27c, *rudrabhedena* is evidently locative in sense, and one might in fact consider emending to *rudrabhede ca*. The interpretation of 27d, *tathā saṃparikīrttitam*, is not fully certain. It would seem that °*kīrttitam* agrees with the plural *tantrāṇi*, with the pāda meaning "thus/accordingly (*tathā*) called/named"—i.e. these texts are placed in the *rudra*-division and are accordingly called *rudra*-division *tantras*. Cf. 26cd, which explains (in a less circular manner) why the Śiva-division is thus named. Alternatively, it might be possible to construe 27d with 28ab; °*kīrttitam* could have the sense of "spoken," with Śrīkaṇṭha (28b) the agent, viz. "[the *rudra*-division *tantras*] are spoken by Śrīkaṇṭha, impelled by the Raudrā [Śakti]." This would link the name "*rudra*-division" to the Raudrā, i.e. Dakṣiṇā, Śakti. However, it seems more probable that 28ab should construe with 28cd; *atha* in 28a strongly suggests a shift in subject.

The reference to tantras of the *rudrabheda* being sixty-four is somewhat confusing. A list of the primary eighteen is provided in vv. 49c–52 and 59c–64 (twice, with minor variations; see table 1.10), while additional *tantras* of the *rudrabheda*, mostly unnamed, are mentioned in vv. 79–90. It is possible that vv. 79–82 assign eight unnamed *rudrabheda* texts to each of the cardinal and ordinal directions, accounting for the sixty-four mentioned in 27ab; but the interpretation of these verses is somewhat problematic. Three *rudrabhedas* of the "lower stream" (*adhasrota*) are also listed in vv. 84–85, along with ten or more subsidiary texts (vv. 86–90).

[37] *mahāyaśe* (28b) is the vocative of *mahāyaśā*, formed by transfer of the *-s* stem of *yaśas* to the feminine *-ā* stem (see Oberlies §3.14).

[38] On Śrīkaṇṭha's role as recipient of the three streams of scripture originating from Sadāśiva,

29 Divided into 'pure' and 'impure', with division into four corpora (*pīṭha*), it exists manifoldly because of differences in the dispositions of interlocutors.[39]

30–31 Those [*tantra*s] based upon *vidyā*s comprise the Vidyāpīṭha, O fair woman,[40] and likewise, those based upon mantras are the Mantrapīṭha.[41] Those based upon *mudrā*s are the Mudrāpīṭha, O pious woman. The ones belonging to the corpus of maṇḍalas are called the Maṇḍalapīṭha.[42] And [thus] did emerge forth the *tantra*s, with differences in ritual (*kriyā*).

32–33 O Goddess,[43] the *Svacchandabhairava* and *Krodhabhairava*, *Un-*

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and transmitter of this wisdom in ten streams, see vv. 91–93 below (cf. also *BraYā* 1.17–19, 33–41). Presumably the "rightward/southern face" belongs to Sadāśiva, he being the ultimate source of scripture; but the phrasing leaves this ambiguous. Raudrā (28a) is a synonym of Dakṣiṇā Śakti.

[39]Regarding the interpretation of *pṛcchakāśrayabhedena* (29c), see note 18 above.

[40]Four times in this chapter—here in 30a, and in 30c, 31a, and 31c—**A** transmits *syu* for the optative plural *syur* before voiced sounds. This could be a Middle Indicism rather than a peculiarity of sandhi: on the ending *-(y)u* for *-(y)us* in the optative third-person plural, see EDGERTON §26.19 (he observes that this occurs "not always where meter demands a short final"). However, we also find *syuḥ* in 25c (before *k-*) and 45c (before *s-*), and *syur* in 81c (before *u-*) and 85c (*syur k-*!), in all cases at the end of odd-numbered pādas. While the evidence is mixed, **A** so frequently drops final visarga before voiced sounds at the end of odd pādas that this begins to look like an optional feature of the language (cf. *suddha miśro* in 9ab, where one expects *śuddho miśro*). Given these doubts, I have refrained from orthographic correction of *syu[ḥ]* in this chapter.

[41]In 30d, **A**'s *mantrapīṭhā* is doubtful. This could be a corruption of the masculine plural *mantrapīṭhās*, in apparent agreement with the neuter *mantrāśritāni yāni* (30c). The construction would hence be parallel to 31ab. 30b and 31d speak of the Vidyāpīṭha and Maṇḍalapīṭha, respectively, in the singular, and one could instead emend to °*pīṭhan* (i.e. °*pīṭhaṃ*), as has tentatively been adopted. It might also be possible that °*pīṭhā* is original, intended as a neuter nominative plural (see EDGERTON §8.100). A case could even be made for *mantrapīṭho*, with the frozen *-o* of the Middle-Indic masculine singular (cf. EDGERTON §8.18). An original stem form (*mantrapīṭha*) might account for this confusion of possibilities; cf. *pīṭha ucyate* in 31d.

[42]In 31b, the masculine plural °*pīṭhās* is doubtful; cf. 30d. In 31c, *maṇḍalāpīṭhakāni* exhibits metrical lengthening in the third syllable, thus avoiding the fault of short syllables in the second and third positions (see EDGERTON §3.5–7, 8.15). A less circular definition of *maṇḍalapīṭha* is given in vv. 45c–46. In 31d, **A**'s *pīṭha ucyate* could be emended to *pīṭham ucyate*, but this is difficult to justify on paleographic grounds. Parallels in any case show that *pīṭha ucyate* is original, in particular *BraYā* 55.162d: *āsanaṃ pīṭha ucyate*. Similar cases are numerous (e.g. *pañcamaṃ vaktra ucyate*, 11.145b and 14.160b; and *liṅgaṃ māhendra ucyate*, 87.27cd).

[43]Tables 1.3–6 in §1.9 compile all texts named below. For a tabulation of the *BraYā*'s Vidyāpīṭha texts alongside *tantra*s delineated in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *Jayadrathayāmala*,

mattabhairava and *Ugrabhairava*, *Kapālībhairava* and *Jhaṅkārabhairava*, *Śekhara[bhairava]* and *Vijayabhairava* [*Tantra*s];

34–35 and, furthermore, the *Rudrayāmala* and *Skandayāmala*,[44] *Brahmayāmala* and *Viṣṇuyāmala*, *Yamayāmala* and *Vāyuyāmala*, *Kuberayāmala* and *Indrayāmala*—

36 this octad of *Bhairavatantra*s did emerge forth from the Vidyāpīṭha,[45] and the eight *Yāmala*s emerged [from it] as well, undoubtedly.

37 Listen with single-minded attention to those divided into four divisions—[namely] of four, six, seven, and nine:[46]

38–39 the *Prapañcayoginījāla* and *Yoginījāla*, the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, *Siddhā*, and *Mantramālinī*,[47] the *Aghoreśī* and *Aghoreśvarī*,[48] the *Krīḍāghoreśvarī* and *Lākinīkalpa*;

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see TÖRZSÖK (1999: ix–x).

[44]In 34b **A** transmits *kandayāmalam*, which SANDERSON (2001: 7 [note 6]) is surely correct in emending to *skanda*°. A brief and not otherwise very similar account of the canon in the *BraYāSāra* (46.8–15) supports this: †*ārddha*†*yāmalakañ caiva tathānyaṃ skaṃdayāmalaṃ* ($\mathbf{S}_1$, 46.10ab).

[45]*bhairavāṣṭaṣṭam*, as reads **A** in 36a, could be a corruption of °*āṣṭāṣṭam*, as emends the scribe of **B**. This would ostensibly mean "sixty-four *Bhairava[tantra]*s," which is not entirely implausible; many sources do associate the number sixty-four with *Bhairavatantra*s (cf., e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.19), but here only eight are listed (vv. 32–33), while the number sixty-four is linked with the *rudrabheda* scriptures (v. 27). For this reason it seems much preferable to emend to *bhairavāṣṭakam*, "octad of *Bhairava[tantra]*s."

[46]The nonstandard sandhi in 37d—*śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā* for °*aikāgra*°—is likely original; see the discussion ad *BraYā* 1.15. The interpretation of v. 37 is in some respects uncertain. Though °*bhinnāni* could agree grammatically with *yāmalāni* (36c), 37ab seems instead to begin a new list, with *caturbheda* referring either to the four groupings that follow or, potentially, to the fourfold division of *pīṭha*s. The subsequent text list (vv. 38–42) does not map neatly to the divisions of four, six, seven, and nine intimated in 37cd. One might nonetheless make some sense of this: v. 42 enumerates a group of four texts of the Mantrapīṭha, v. 40 could enumerate six texts (see the note thereon), and vv. 38–39 probably enumerate nine—which still leaves the group of seven unaccounted for (see also note 47 below).

[47]Though the syntax is ambiguous, if vv. 38–39 enumerate nine texts (see the previous note), then *Siddhā* and *Mantramālinī* should represent distinct *tantra*s (possibly, TÖRZSÖK suggests [1999: ix], the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *Mālinīvijayottara*).

[48]*aghoreśvari-m-eva ca* (39b) appears to exhibit both metrical shortening (*-i* for *-ī*; see EDGERTON §3.37, 10.9–10) and an hiatus-breaking *-m-* (see EDGERTON §4.59), though the latter could be interpreted as a case of accusative for nominative, metri causa.

40–41b the *Mārī*, *Mahāmārī*, and the group of *ugravidyās*,[49] the twofold *Bahurūpa*,[50] and the *Aghorāstra*; these *tantras* emerged from the Vidyāpīṭha.[51]

41c–42 Next, the *Vīrabhairava*, *Caṇḍabhairava*, *Guḍikābhairava*,[52] and *Mahāvīreśabhairava*—these emerged as Mantrapīṭha [*tantras*], undoubtedly.

43 The entire multitude of mantras that emerged from the mass of scriptural wisdom, bestowing both supernatural experience and liberation, situated according to differences in ritual, should be known to have come forth from the Mantrapīṭha.[53] *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

44–45b Following the course of mantras, *mudrās* emerge forth from the Mudrāpīṭha with thousands of varieties of *mudrā*,[54] devoid of mantras, separated in all the [scriptural] streams, in accordance with the Śiva-, *rudra*-, and other divisions.

45c–46 The maṇḍalas that exist in all *tantras*, O pious woman—in the Śiva-division as well as the *rudra*-division—all these emerged from the Maṇḍala-

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[49] It is unclear whether *ugravidyāgaṇa* in 40b is the name of a text, or perhaps a generic name for a set or group (*gaṇa*) of texts—perhaps *kalpas* focused on "fierce" (*ugra*) mantra-goddesses (*vidyā*).

[50] Though redundant, in 40c **A** transmits the dual *bahurūpau* as well as the adverbial *dvidhā* ("twofold"). Conceivably, °*rūpau* is a corruption of the singular °*rūpo*. Bahurūpa is a common synonym of the mantra-deity Aghora, Sadāśiva's southern face, with whom the identity of Bhairava is closely linked. Cf., e.g., *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 4.3c, in the context of *bhasmasnāna* ("bathing" the body with ashes): *īśānena śiraḥ snāyān mukhaṃ tatpuruṣeṇa tu | hṛdayaṃ bahurūpeṇa guhyaṃ vai guhyakena tu ||*.

[51] The masculine plural *vinirggatāḥ* (41b) evidently describes the neuter *tantrāṇi*. Cf. Edgerton §6.12–13.

[52] In 42a **A** reads *guḍakābhairavaś*. This seems likely to be in error for *guṭikā*° or *guḍikā*° (the latter being more common in **A**), i.e. "[Tantra of the] Magical Pill Bhairava." I am not aware of parallels for this deity.

[53] *yāvan* (43a) appears adjectival, neuter for masculine in agreement with *mantragaṇo* (cf. Edgerton §6.14). 43c seems implausible as transmitted by **A**: *jñānoghā nirgatā jñeyo*. The least invasive solution would be emendation to the masculine singular, *nirgato*, understanding *jñānoghā* as ablative, with elision of the final consonant (cf. *śaktipātā* in 11b). (On *jñānogha* for *jñānaughā*, see the discussion ad *BraYā* 1.4d.) This verse implies a dual identity for the Mantrapīṭha: it is at once a subdivision of the rightward stream, like the Vidyāpīṭha, but also the source of the mantras permeating all categories of tantric scripture. In the latter respect it resembles the Mudrā- and Maṇḍalapīṭhas, as elaborated in the subsequent verses.

[54] *mudrāpīṭhe* (45a) appears to be a locative of source (Apte [1984] §77), equivalent in sense to ablatives such as *mantrapīṭhād* in 43c; cf. *yasmin* and *tatra* in 3ab.

pīṭha, undoubtedly.[55]

47–49b The first, *Sarvakāmika*; and the *Yogodbhava, Acintya, Kāraṇa, Ajita, Dīptābha, Sūkṣma, Sāhasra, Aṃśumat,*[56] and *Suprabha*: these are known as the Śiva-division [*tantra*s]. They manifested in the middle stream, emerging from the upper face.

49c–50 The *Vijaya, Niśvāsa, Svāyambhuva, Vāthula,*[57] *Candrahāsa, Raurava, Mākuṭa, Vīreśa,* and *Āgneya.*[58] Learn what is beyond these:[59]

51–52 *Candrajñāna, Bimba, Prodgīta,* and *Lalita*; the *Siddhi, Santānaka,* and *Śarvodgīta*;[60] the *Kiraṇa* and *Pārameśvara*, O Mahādevī. The *rudra*-division

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[55] *maṇḍalāpīṭhā* (46c) is probably to be interpreted as a compound in the ablative singular, with metrical lengthening in the third syllable (cf. *maṇḍalāpīṭhakāni*, 32c) and elision of the final consonant. Some sense could also be made of the nominative *maṇḍalāpīṭhā[ḥ]*. Cf., e.g., the parallel construction in 42cd; and 41ab, for agreement between masculine and neuter nominatives.

[56] It is possible that *aṃśumā*, as transmit the MSS., is original; but more probably, the anusvāra of the nominative *aṃśumāṃ/n* was lost in the course of transmission. Cf. EDGERTON (§18.77), who observes that the masculine singular in *-ā*, though regular in Pāli for *vant* and *mant* stems, is little attested in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

[57] In 50a **A** transmits *vāthule*, presumably a corruption of *vāthulaṃ*. A text by this title is common in lists of *Siddhāntatantra*s of the *rudrabheda*; see the chart of GOODALL (1998: 402–3), who observes that the unaspirated form *Vātula* occurs in South Indian sources, northern ones generally having *Vāthula*.

[58] What **A** transmits as *tathā cānyaṃ* in 50c, though plausible-looking, is likely to be a corruption of *tathāgneyaṃ*, for *Āgneya* is listed as a text in 61a below. **A**'s curious preservation of the visarga in *tataḥ ūrddhaṃ* is not without parallel; cf., e.g., *ataḥ ūrdhvaṃ* in 44.1a and *tataḥ ekamano bhūtvā* (48.5a and 23c). On the other hand, note the "correct" *ata ūrddhaṃ* in 32.97a. Double sandhi, e.g. *[t]atorddhaṃ*, is also common (four times in paṭala 17; also 55.115a).

[59] As the text is framed as a dialogue between Bhairava and the Goddess, one would expect the imperative *nibodhata* (50d), though plural, to have a singular subject. Cf. OBERLIES §10.2.2a. Given the possibility that this section of the *BraYā* depends upon the *Dīkṣottara*, or its source, this could be an indication of a redactional "slip." However, the plural in fact occurs widely in Śaiva scriptural literature where one expects the singular (*nibodha*); it is particularly common in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa* and in the *Tantrasadbhāva*. Cf., e.g., *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 380d. Here and in all six other occurrences, **A** transmits *nibodhataḥ*, with a spurious, metrically irrelevant visarga; this appears largely to be the case in MSS of the *Tantrasadbhāva* as well, as reported in the collation of DYCZKOWSKI. This apparent hyper-Sanskritism could well be original, and has hence been retained. For spurious final visargas not required by meter, which may not necessarily be original, cf. for instance the particle *vaiḥ*, transmitted at the end of six even pādas (4.703s, 17.581d, 24.36d, 30.55b, 49.13d, and 91.237d).

[60] 51c should be interpreted as providing the names of two texts, *siddhi* and *santānaka*, as

[*tantras*] have been taught, empowered by the Śakti and possessor of Śakti.[61]

53–54 Other mantras are taught as well, *vidyās* eighteen in number based upon the Śaiva scriptural wisdom (*śivajñāna*), O Mahādevī, divided by ontic level (*tattva*). The realms of heaven (*svar*), the skies (*bhuvar*), the earth (*bhūr*), and the waters (*bhuvis*): these are declared the [*tattva*] divisions of the received [wisdom].[62]

55 The Śaiva scriptural wisdom was taught by these deities, [and] by sages of great glory perfected (*vibhāvita*) through mantra-manuals (*kalpa*) of the *tantras*:[63]

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caiva suggests. An anusvāra has likely been lost; i.e., one should read *siddhiṃ santānakaṃ* rather than A's *siddhisantānakaṃ*. However, it is possible that *siddhi* has been treated as a neuter *-i* stem, and does not need correction. A transmits *sarvvodgītam* in 51d, which should be corrected to *śarvvodgītam* (see the chart of *Siddhāntatantra* titles in Goodall 1998: 402–3).

[61] In 52d, A's *śaktimācchaktyadhiṣṭhitāḥ* is perhaps a corruption of the compound *śaktimac°*, *śaktimat* referring to Śiva as the possessor of Śakti. Cf. *BraYā* 12.164b, *śivaśaktyādhiṣṭhitas tathā* (hypermetrical); and *Dīkṣottara* 4.21a, *śivaśaktim adhiṣṭhāya*. Sanderson (2014: 33 [note 123]) proposes an alternative solution to the problem in 52d, conjecturing *madhyamāśaktyadhiṣṭhitāḥ* ("presided over by Madhyamā Śakti").

52cd begins a passage with close parallels in *Dīkṣottara* 4.21cd–26ab, cited as testimonia from the edition of appendix C (which draws on the provisional edition of *Dīkṣottara* 4.18–39 by Goodall 1996: 405–7). On the relationship between this paṭala of the *BraYā* and the *Dīkṣottara*, see §1.9.1.

[62] The interpretation of vv. 53–54 is in several respects uncertain. Eighteen being the number of *rudra*-division *tantras*, *vidyāṣṭadaśa* in 53b may refer to *vidyās* related to these; but no such set seems to be mentioned elsewhere in the *BraYā* and related sources. The syntax of 53ab also seems somewhat awkward; perhaps emend *saṃkhyayā* to *saṃjñayā* ("the Eighteen Vidyās by name?"). One might also consider reading *tantrāntare* ("other *tantras*") for *mantrā°*, though this would be speculative given the other uncertainties present.

It seems that the division of *tattvas* referred to in 53c signifies the series of worlds (*loka*) enumerated in 54ab. (The parallel text in *Dīkṣottara* 4.23–25, incidentally, contains no reference to *tattvas* or worlds.) This would be consistent with the *BraYā*'s conflation of *tattvas* with *bhuvanas* or *lokas*, on which see the annotation to *BraYā* 1.36. It seems that *āgatasya* (54c) construes with *śivajñānasya* (53d). The series of four worlds in 54ab is somewhat unusual: one normally expects the full series of seven (from *bhūr* to *satya*), in which *bhuvis* is not included. In the conception of the *BraYā*, *bhūr* is the world of mortals, *bhuvar* that of *vidyādharas*, and *svar* of *gandharvas* (*BraYā* 32.109–110ab: *bhūrloke mānuṣā jñeyā bhuvarloke tu saṃsthitāḥ* [em.; *saṃsthitaḥ* cod.] *vidyādharā* [em.; *vidyādharaṃ* cod.] *mahādevi svarloke caiva saṃsthitaḥ* ‖ *gandharvā[ḥ] saṃsthitāś caiva śatakoṭipravistarāḥ* |). The denizens of these realms hence correspond, in some measure, to the beings described as recipients of the tantric revelation in 69c–71ab below.

[63] The ensuing list (vv. 56–64) contains both gods and sages, and it is uncertain whether

56–57 In the very beginning, Īśvara and Mahādevī,[64] O pious woman; [then] Brahmā, Vīrabhadra, and Kumāra;[65] Nandīśvara and Mahākāla; Nandīśvara's father,[66] Uśanas, and Bṛhaspati;[67]

58–59b Dadhīci, Kaca, and Lakulīśa;[68] Caṇḍa, Śātaparṇa,[69] and Sanatkumāra;[70] and Viṣṇu and Parameśvara,[71] O Mahādevī.

ṛṣibhis (55a) agrees with *ebhir devair* (55d); a connective *ca* or *tathā* may have been omitted. In 55b, **A** transmits *tantrakalpavibhāvitaiḥ*. It is possible that this is in error for *mantra*°. Texts of the *kalpa* or *mantrakalpa* genre set out "the procedure for the propitiation of a Mantra" (SANDERSON 2001: 13; cf. *Svacchandatantroddyota* ad 4.497cd). Several chapters of the *BraYā* are designated *kalpa*s, such as paṭalas 58 (the *kalpa* of Aghoreśī) and 78 (the *kalpa* of Mahāmardaka). In support of emending, note that the expression *mantrakalpavido* occurs in the same context in 66c, also describing sages involved in the revelation of scripture. However, the text of 55d is possibly original, with *tantrakalpa* being more or less synonymous with *mantrakalpa*—perhaps "*kalpa*-texts of the *tantras*." The parallel passage in *Dīkṣottara* 4.26ab supports *tantrakalpa*°. In *Dīkṣottara* 4.78d, however, two MSS read *mantrakalpa* while one reads *tantrakalpa*.

64 The vocative *mahādevi* which **A** transmits in 56a should be emended to the nominative, as the presence of *ca* suggests. 59d removes any doubt that the Goddess is second in the list of speakers.

65 While a reader of the *BraYā* comes to expect a mixture of nominatives and accusatives in lists, it seems probable that *kumāraś ca* underlies **A**'s *kumāraṃ ca* in 56d (*kumāraṃ ca* ← *kumārañ ca* ← *kumāraś ca*). In contrast, note 58d and 59b, where the accusatives are clearly original, metri causa.

66 The identity of "Nandin's father" (*nandīśvarapitā*, 57c) is uncertain. In the subsequent list beginning in v. 59, Candramas (the moon god) occurs in the parallel position. I am aware of no mythical link between the two. The old *Skandapurāṇa* identifies Nandin's father as a sage named Śilāda; see especially chapter 20.

67 **A**'s *usanā* must be intended as the nominative of *uśanas* (cf. OBERLIES §2.17), i.e. Śukra; the same occurs again in 62a, though the pāda has a corruption. In the subsequent list, the name Aṅgirasas is given in place of Bṛhaspati (62c).

68 The subsequent list provides the goddess Lalitā in place of Lakulīśa (63a).

69 What **A** transmits in 58c as *sātaparṇṇaś* occurs again in 63c as *sātaparṇṇā* (perhaps for °*parṇno*, with the generalized *-o* termination of the Middle-Indic nominative singular masculine; see Edgerton §8.18). The intended name is probably Śātaparṇa; Śātaparṇeya (patronymic of Śataparṇa) occurs in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 10.3.3.[1], though it seems otherwise poorly attested. The *Dīkṣottara* provides two parallels, and its three MSS., though all corrupt, might suggest the name *śātaparṇin*: in 4.31d, they read *śāntapāṇī* (T_{17}) and *śāntaparṇī* (T_{127}, T_{150}); and in 4.36a, *nāśapāṇiḥ* (T_{17}), *nāsipāṇi* (T_{127}), and *nāśivāṇi* (T_{150}).

70 Brahmā supplants Sanatkumāra in the subsequent list (63a, a problematic pāda), hence appearing twice: as speaker of the *Svāyambhuva* (60a) as well as the *Kiraṇa* (63d).

71 *sanatkumāram* and *parameśvaram* (58d and 59b, respectively) are accusative in form but nominative in sense, metri causa.

59c–60 Īśvara spoke the *Vijaya[tantra]*,[72] and the Goddess the *Niśvāsa*.[73] Brahmā taught the *Svāyambhuva*,[74] and Vīrabhadra the *Vīrabhadra*, O Mahādevī, with a profusion of rites (*vidhi*).

61 Kumāra taught the *Āgneya*, Nandin the *Raurava*, Mahākāla the *Mākoṭya*, Candramas the *Candrabhāsa*;[75]

62–63 (¿) Uśanas [spoke] the *Vīra* (?),[76] Aṅgirasas the *Jñāna*, Dadhīci the *Mukhabimba*, Kaca the *Prodgīta*, Lalitā the *Lalita*; Caṇḍa (¿) proclaimed

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[72] *īśvaro vijayovāca* (59c) must be understood as meaning *īśvaro vijayam uvāca*—nominative for accusative, with double application of sandhi, metri causa (cf. OBERLIES §1.8.4).

[73] Following the parallel in 49c, *viśvāsam*, as reads A in 59d, should be emended to *niśvāsam*, referring to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*.

[74] The nominative *svāyambhuvaś* is probably in error for the accusative, *śc* and *ñc* being easily confused in Nepalese MSS. of A's period. Cf., e.g., 56d above (note 65).

[75] Note in 61d the double application of sandhi with *candrabhāseti*, i.e. *candrabhāsaḥ iti* (cf. OBERLIES §1.8.3). Lists of *Siddhāntatantras* usually instead provide the name *Candrahāsa* (see the table of GOODALL 1998: 402–3), which, indeed, is given above in 50a. One might consider emending, but a good number of sources do attest the name *Candrabhāsa* as well, e.g. *Kiraṇatantra* 10.16a and 10.23a; the *Dīkṣottara* MSS. also provide support for this (see 4.28a, 34c, and 63d). In 61d, A's omission of the visarga (*candramā* for *candramāḥ*) could be original; see EDGERTON §16.29. The nominative *candramā* is also found in *BraYā* 32.111b, though *candramāḥ* occurs in 83.146b.

[76] What A transmits in 62a—*vīramvaundusanā caiva*—is clearly corrupt. It seems likely that *usanā* (i.e. sage Uśanas) is intended as the speaker, as listed in 57d. The intended *tantra* is less clear; probably *vīra*. Cf. *vīreśa* in 50c. One might conjecture *vīraṃ vai-d-uśanā caiva* or °*vai-r-uśanā*, with a hiatus-bridging *-d-* or *-r-*, both of which occur frequently in the *BraYā* (in contrast to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, where *-d-* is rare; EDGERTON §4.57, 4.64). Cf., e.g., 29.57b (*kṛtvā-d-etat samārabhet*) and 25.41a (*dikṣu-r-astrāṇi vinyasya*). Though *-r-* is more typical before *-u*, and has been adopted, note *-d-uttānaṃ* in 11.209c. For a similar construction, but without a hiatus-breaking syllable, see 56c above (*brahmā vai vīrabhadraś ca*). In *Dīkṣottara* 4.30d, in a parallel list of speakers of *tantras*, the MSS transmit *īśānaṃ* ($T_{17}T_{150}$) or *īśānaś* (probably corrupt for *uśanāś*, as conjectures GOODALL 1998: 406). In another, closer parallel, where teachers of the *tantras* and text names occur together, *Dīkṣottara* 4.34b is corrupt; by conjecture, it might read *vimalañ cośanās tathā*.

the *Siddhi* (?),[77] Śātaparṇa the *Santāna*,[78] and Brahmā spoke the *Kiraṇa*.[79]

64 Viṣṇu taught the *Śarvodgīta*, O pious woman, and likewise, Parameśvara spoke the *Pārameśvara*.

65–66 These are the propounders (*praṇetṛ*) of the *tantras*,[80] masters of Śiva's scriptural wisdom. And there are likewise others of great glory: [the *gaṇas*,] beginning with Kumāra; Indra;[81] and sages perfected through mantra, rich in penance, knowers of the mantra-manuals,[82] masters of Śiva's scriptural wisdom.

67–68b With mantras extracted from the Mantrapīṭha,[83] divided into the Śiva- and *rudra*-divisions (*bheda*), Śiva's scriptural wisdom is revealed manifoldly, and established on the earth by these very ones, O Mahādevī.

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[77]The text of 63d, if not its sense, is problematic. **A** reads *caṇḍa siddhiprabhāṣataḥ*. This might be expected to mean, more or less, "Caṇḍa spoke the *Siddhi[tantra]*." The first element should presumably be interpreted as *caṇḍaḥ*, in the nominative, while, following the pattern of the passage, *siddhi* should be emended to the accusative *siddhiṃ*. **A**'s *prabhāṣataḥ* seems likely to be a verb (cf. *provāca* in 60d), and should perhaps be corrected to read *prabhāṣata*—a non-standard imperfect-tense form of *pra*$\sqrt{}$*bhāṣ*; cf. the "correct" *prābhāṣata*. This could be viewed as a case of metrical shortening, or, more probably, be understood in light of the tendency in Middle Indic to drop the augment of the preterite. See EDGERTON §32.2–4. Although it would require significant departure from the MSS, one might alternatively emend to *caṇḍaḥ siddhim abhāṣata*, or perhaps *caṇḍe siddhiḥ prabhāṣitaḥ* (understanding the locative as instrumental in sense). The parallel text in *Dīkṣottara* 4.35d lacks a verb, and is very corrupt: *daṇḍahastaṃ tathaiva ca*, to be emended to *caṇḍaḥ siddhiṃ tathaiva ca*, or, as GOODALL proposes (1998: 407), *caṇḍaḥ siddhaṃ tathaiva ca*.

[78]Regarding *śātaparṇṇo*, see the annotation on 58c above.

[79]The text of 63d is uncertain, though the expected pattern suggests it should mean something along the lines of "Brahmā spoke the *Kiraṇatantra*." A transmits *kiraṇaṃ brahmayobravīt*, the most probable emendation of which appears to be *kiraṇaṃ brahmaṇo 'bravīt*, understanding *brahmaṇo* as a nominative formed from the thematized stem *brahmaṇa*, from *brahman*; cf. EDGERTON §17.22–36. The *BraYā* also attests genitive (83.145a, 162c) and instrumental (83.162a, 182a) forms on this stem.

[80]Verses 65–68b have a close parallel in *Dīkṣottara* 4.37–39, cited as testimonia (cf. GOODALL 1998: 407).

[81]In 65d, **A** appears to read *sacīpati*, although it is possible that it transmits *sarī°* (as reads **D**) rather than *sacī°*. The parallel in *Dikṣottara* 4.37d confirms that *śacīpatiḥ* is likely to be original. Though ambiguous, *kumārādyāḥ* has been interpreted as referring to Śiva's *gaṇas*; cf. *Niśvāsa*, *Mūlasūtra* 1.2cd (*brahmaviṣṇusurāḥ sarve gaṇāḥ skandapurogamāḥ*), which also occurs as *Guhyasūtra* 12.18ab.

[82]On *mantrakalpas*, see the annotation ad 55 above (note 63).

[83]On the Mantrapīṭha as the source of all mantra, see the annotation ad 43 above (note 53).

68c–69b The *tantras* are revealed, possessing maṇḍalas, with mantras thousands of crores in number.[84]

69c–71b Gods, anti-gods (*asura*),[85] demons (*daitya*), and wizards (*vidyādhara*); *kinnaras*, nymphs (*apsaras*), and also *kiṃpuruṣas*;[86] celestial musicians (*gandharva*), *yakṣas*, *rakṣas*, goblins (*piśāca*), and divine serpents (*pannaga*); humans, *yātudhānas*, and sages rich in penance—

71c–72 all of them attained mastery over mantras. Their longevity is engendered by mantra.[87] Through the practice of mantra-recitation all of them [became] known as *sādhakas*. After realizing the supreme truth, they attain liberation, undoubtedly.[88]

73 And so, all this [of the middle stream] is proclaimed by the upward face [of the deity], impelled by the Madhyamā [Śakti], divided according to the threefold dispositions (*āśraya*) [of recipients].[89]

74 Moreover, [*tantras*] based on the fourfold [pantheon are proclaimed] by the left face, impelled by the Vāmā [Śakti], for the pure, impure, and mixed [dispositions].[90]

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[84]Verses 68c–72 have a close parallel in *Dīkṣottara* 4.78–82b, quoted as testimonia.

[85]Emendation to the plural *devāsurās* seems warranted in 69c.

[86]In 70b, *-d-* should be understood as a sandhi consonant, i.e. *kiṃpuruṣā -d- api*. Cf. 62a above.

[87]Normally neuter, *āyus* in 71d agrees with the feminine adjective *mantrajā*. The text appears to be confirmed by the parallel in *Dīkṣottara* 4.80b.

[88]Following vv. 68c–72, which are parallel to *Dīkṣottara* 4.78–82b, the *BraYā* diverges considerably from the latter.

[89]It is likely that *madhyayā*, as reads **A** in 73a, is original, for the Madhyamā Śakti is designated *madhyā* elsewhere, e.g. in 84b below. On *āśraya* in the sense of "disposition" (as though *āśaya*), see note 18 above. The subdivision of streams according to the purity of recipients (*āśraya*, etc.) is mentioned above in 18ab and in the next several verses. The *BraYā* posits a threefold division of *sādhakas* within each stream of revelation, in this case the middle stream, mapped to degrees of purity (pure, impure, and mixed). A threefold typology of *sādhakas* of the rightward stream (*dakṣiṇasrotas*) is explicated in *BraYā* 45.

[90]It is not entirely clear what *catuṣka* ("tetrad") in 74d refers to; cf. v. 20. This may allude to the *caturbhaginīs*, the Four Sisters who, alongside Tumburu-Bhairava, comprise the core pantheon of scriptures of the *vāmasrotas*—the subject of this and the next verses. Alternatively, this could refer to the mantra-deity pantheon (*yāga*) known as the *catuṣkayāga*, which is taught in *BraYā* 25.9–37. This places Bhairava and goddess Raktā in the center of a three-petalled lotus, with Karālā, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā arrayed around them. Both possibilities link the *vāmasrotas* to a group of four goddesses, whose identities are perhaps conflated. Also potentially relevant, SANDERSON (2001: 12–13) reports that the *Śrīkaṇṭhīya* speaks of a quartet of *tantras*

75 The *Sanmoha*, (¿) *Naya*, *Nayottara* (?),[91] and *Śaukra* were taught. These emerged forth from the leftward stream. Many divisions (¿) exist which emerge forth based upon these (?).[92]

76 Moreover, by the upper face, impelled by the Madhyamā [Śakti], are revealed *tantra*s for the *sādhaka* of all three kinds.[93]

77 In the same manner, impelled by [both] the Vāmā and the Madhyamā [Śaktis], *tantra*s are spoken by the western face; the dispositions [of recipients] are threefold.[94]

78 In the same manner, impelled by both the Vāmā and Madhyamā [Śaktis], the Vedas and so forth are spoken by the eastern face [of Sadāśiva];[95] the dispositions are likewise [threefold].[96]

79 Due to [the distinction of] the threefold dispositions, and because of the interlocutors' [various] wishes, in due sequence,[97] the eastern face also spoke

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of the *vāmasrotas* called *catuṣka*s, associated with each of the four *bhaginī*s.

[91] What the MSS. transmit as *bhavā caiva* in 75c could contain the title of a text, but the name is corrupt. SANDERSON (2014: 33 [note 123]) here conjectures *tathā*, which is plausible. Should the name of a text have been lost, there is a significant possibility that it is *Naya*, for this occurs alongside the *Nayottara* in lists of *Vāmatantra*s in the *Jñānapañcāśikā* (22cd) and *Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya* (2.121). Moreover, the *Naya* or perhaps *Bhairavanaya* is listed among texts of the *vāmasrotas* in *BraYā* 77.92 (quoted in §1.9.2, note 236).

[92] *nirgame sthitāḥ*, as **A** appears to read in 75d, is puzzling. The *g* is ambiguous and could be *m*, i.e. *nirmame* (a dubious reading). It seems that the intended sense may be *nirgatya sthitāḥ*, "remaining/existing after emerging forth." However, it is unclear how the form *nirgame* might be explained or emended to yield this (perhaps a preterite with the ending *-e*? Cf. EDGERTON §32.93). It is also unclear how one might interpret it as a locative noun; perhaps "upon [their] emergence," singular for plural?

[93] These are apparently the ten *śivabheda* scriptures. Perhaps emend *madhyamācoditenātha* (76a) to *madhyayā co°*.

[94] It is perplexing that this verse does not specify the nature of the scriptures proclaimed in the western direction. *tṛdhāś ca yāḥ*, as reads **A** in 78b, seems unlikely, most probably a corruption of *tridhāśrayāḥ*. This could be understood as a compound—a masculine plural in agreement with the neuter *bhāṣitāni*—though it might be smoother to understand *tridhā* as an adverb. Cf. *tathāśrayāḥ* in 78d (by emendation of *tathāśrayā*), which also could be understood as either two words or an adjective of the neuter plural *vedādīni*.

[95] *vedādīni* ("the Vedas, etc.") is presumably intended to encompass orthodox revelation in the broadest sense, both *śruti* and *smṛti*.

[96] *tathāśrayā*, as reads **A** in 78d, seems likely to have lost its final visarga. On its interpretation, see the previous verse.

[97] While 79ab could construe with v. 78 rather than v. 79, its meaning overlaps with

[*tantras*] situated in the *rudra*-division, taking recourse to the octad[s of *rudras*] located in the eastern and southeastern directions.[98]

80 By the southern face are [proclaimed] *tantras* situated in the *rudra*-division, among the southern and southwestern octad[s].[99]

81 By the western face [are proclaimed] *tantras* located in the *rudra*-division, among the western and northwestern octad[s], (¿) no doubt (?).[100]

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tathāśrayāḥ in 78d, suggesting that it points forward. In 79a, **A** transmits the hypermetrical *trividhāśrayavasā*. The final element should be understood as °*vaśā*, an ablative singular with its final *-t* elided (cf. EDGERTON §8.46–48). The hypermetry is probably original; see the discussion in §1.4.2. It seems likely that *pṛcchakecchā* in 79b, though nominative in form, is instrumental in meaning. This is unambiguously the case with several other compounds ending with *icchā* and °*ājñā* in the *BraYā*; see the discussion add *BraYā* 1.36, and cf. EDGERTON §9.65.

[98] This verse and the subsequent three concern *rudrabheda* scriptures proclaimed in the eight cardinal and intermediate directions by four faces of the deity, presumably impelled (*codita*) by the Madhyamā Śakti. The number and identities of the scriptures are not specified, and how they relate to the eighteen listed above (vv. 49cd–52, 59cd–64) remains unclear. Somewhat puzzling are references to various octads (*aṣṭaka*) in four or eight directions (79c, 80b, 81b, and 82b), in which (or on which) scripture is said to be located or based (*āśrita*, *sthita*, etc.). The only plausible explanation which occurs to me is that the octads in question are groups of eight *rudras* in each of the eight directions, surrounding Sadāśiva—the five-faced deity who is the source of scriptural wisdom. This pantheon of Sadāśiva and sixty-four *rudras*, called the *navanābhamaṇḍala* (31.3ab), is explicated in *BraYā* 31. The association here implied between octads of *rudrabheda* scriptures and octads of *rudras* situated in eight directions clarifies the otherwise mysterious reference in v. 27 above to *rudrabheda* scriptures numbering not eighteen but sixty-four (*aṣṭāṣṭakavibhāgena* ...*tantrāṇi*). It thus appears that this chapter juxtaposes the (more archaic?) notion of *rudrabheda* texts numbering eighteen (apparently revealed by the upper face; see v. 49, but cf. 83 as well) with the conception of them numbering sixty-four, in the eight directions. Note also vv. 85–90's delineation of additional *rudrabheda* scriptures of the lower stream (*adhasrota*).

In 79d, **A** transmits *pūrvvāgneyadisāśrtau*, which is difficult to construe. This has been emended to the accusative, °*āśrtam*, in agreement with *aṣṭakaṃ* in 79c, following the pattern of case agreement in 80b. The compound contains the thematized stem *diśa* (or rather *diśā*) for *diś*.

[99] °*nairitake* in 80b appears to be original. In **A**, the "correct" orthography *nairṛta* ("southwestern") occurs only once, in 91.19d, compared to approximately one-hundred and forty occurrences of *nairita* (also *nairitya* and *nairitī*) and thirteen of *nairta*, etc. In the language of the *BraYā*, vocalic *ṛ* is treated as equivalent to *ri*, the two frequently alternating (cf. EDGERTON §3.94–95). The present case also exhibits degemination, viz. *nairrita* → *nairita*.

[100] The text of 81d is problematic; **A** transmits the rather doubtful *rudrabhedena cāśrayā*. One might expect the locative *rudrabhede*, as in 80d, rather than the instrumental, but *bhede* and *bhedena* seem largely interchangeable in this chapter. As for the remaining syllables, *na cāśrayā*

82 By the northern face would be spoken [*tantras*] located in the *rudra*-division, among the octad[s] of the north and northeast,[101] according with the wishes of *sādhakas*.

83 By the upward face, O Queen of the gods, divided according to the threefold dispositions, would be spoken [*tantras*] situated in the *śiva*-division, undoubtedly.

84 (¿) And likewise, [by the upward face,] (?) impelled by the Vāmā, Dakṣiṇā, and Madhyamā [Śaktis], would be [spoken] *tantras* located in the lower stream:[102]

85 the *Mākoṭa*, *Vibhūti*, and *Avyaya*,[103] placed in the *rudra*-division, which would be established in [the downward direction of] the Fire of Time.[104]

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could be a corruption of *na saṃśayaḥ* (cf. 80d, 83d, etc.), as is here conjectured, or perhaps something along the lines of *tathāśrayāḥ* (cf. 78d).

[101] Regarding 82b, the *BraYā* consistently provides *īśāna* rather than the abstract *aiśāna* (or *aiśānya*) for the northeastern direction. This is not unusual; cf., e.g., *Svacchandatantra* 2.122.

[102] The noun *coditena* (84a) modifies is unstated. This may construe with *ūrddhavaktrena* (83a) of the previous verse, the upward face thus revealing texts of the *śivabheda* as well as *rudrabheda* texts of the lower stream. The connectives *tathā caiva* (84a) and *tathā punaḥ* (84d) lend weight to this possibility.

In 84c, **A** transmits *adhasrotā sthitāni*. The final *-ā* of °*srotā* seems corrupt, since *adhasrota*, the lower stream, appears to be the locus of *sthitāni* … *tantrāṇi*; cf. 83c. One could hence emend to the locative °*srote* or to the compound °*srotasthitāni*—both with the thematized stem *srota*—or to the compound °*srotosthitāni*, with *srotas* having the generalized Middle-Indic ending *-o* (cf. Edgerton §4.38). The latter has been provisionally adopted, being the most paleographically plausible alternative given the frequent confusion of *o* and *ā*; also, cf. *adhosthita*, as reads **A** in 22.37c, 64.55d, and 70.62a.

[103] No parallels for texts entitled *Vibhūti* and *Adhyaya*, as read the mss, are presently known to me. It seems that the second title is corrupt, and should be emended to *Avyaya*: the names Vibhūti and Avyaya occur together in numerous lists of the Hundred Rudras, e.g. in *Guhyasūtra* 7.82 and *BraYā* 3.160 and 32.117. (They are associated with the eastern direction, rather than down.)

[104] What the manuscripts transmit as *kālāgne* in 85d is presumably a corruption of *kālāgnye*, which occurs in 90d (but note Edgerton §2.17 on loss of semivowels in triconsonantal clusters). The *rudra* of the "fire of time" (*kālāgni*) is situated at the base of the cosmic egg (*brahmāṇḍa*), below the hell-worlds; see e.g. *BraYā* 32.102–108b. It appears that the unusual abstract *kālāgnya* simply means "down"; cf. *BraYā* 75.182a (*kālāgnyā[d] diśim ārabhya*, "beginning with the direction of the Fire of Time").

In 85c, **A** transmits *syur* for the expected *syuḥ* or *syu*, despite being followed by an unvoiced consonant. See the discussion ad vv. 30–31 (note 40). (In 86c, in contrast, we find *syu* where *syur* is expected.) **A** in fact provides eight examples of *-r* before *k-*, e.g. *vividhair kusumais tathā*

86 [These] three *tantras* emerged from the lower stream,[105] O fair woman. Hear from me those *tantras* which are [situated] in the *Mākoṭa*:[106]

87–88 the Rites of Narasiṃha,[107] (¿) manuals (*kalpa*) of [the hidden] treasure fields (?),[108] manuals [for] going into subterranean realms,[109] and the Rites of Varāha, Rites of the Pañcarātra, and Rites of Vaikuṇṭha, [all] endowed with observances of the deity clans (*kulācāra*). *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

89 [Also,] the Rites of Garuḍa, (¿) the class of *Bhūtatantras* and so forth (?),[110] the multitude (*jāta*) of manuals on magical herbs (*oṣadhī*), and the Rites of

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(12.99d), in light of which it is here retained. One might speculate that the archaic *jihvāmūlīya* underlies what **A** transmits as *-r* in such cases.

[105]What **A** transmits in 86a as *atha srota* is in all likelihood a corruption of *adhasrota*°, in compound, or perhaps *adhasrotān*, an ablative. The compound °*srotanirgataṃ* is certainly plausible, and has been adopted; however, compounds infrequently scan across the pāda boundary in this text.

[106]Regarding *syu(ḥ)* in 86c, see the annotation to vv. 30–31 and v. 85 above. **A**'s omission of visarga before a semivowel here is rather suspect.

[107]Departing from the earlier pattern, vv. 87–90 present spurious text titles, these being generic names for scriptural genres; they have been translated accordingly. The texts include treatises on different branches of the magical arts, Vaiṣṇava *tantras*, and the *Gāruḍa-* and *Bhūtatantras*, which in many accounts of Śaiva revelation constitute distinct scriptural streams. See the discussion in the introduction (§1.9.2), and table 1.5.

[108]*vidhānaṃ kṣetrakalpanā*, as transmits **A** in 87b, appears corrupt. There is an interesting, if not fully intelligible, echo in *Dīkṣottara*, 4.61b, quoted as testimonia ad v. 90, where the MSS read *nidhanakṣetravādibhiḥ* (T_{17}) or *nidhane kṣetravādibhiḥ* ($T_{127}T_{150}$). This should perhaps be emended to *nidhānakṣetravādibhiḥ*, "by those versed in the precepts for [locating hidden] treasure fields;" cf. the expression *nidhivāda*, e.g. in *Jayadrathayāmala* IV, 54.38b and the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa. This might suggest *nidhāna* for **A**'s *vidhāna*, which suits the context well in light of 87c's reference to *kalpa*-texts for entering subterranean worlds; Bāṇa in fact mentions the latter alongside *nidhivāda*. Corruption of *nidhāna* to *vidhāna* may be explained by influence of *vidhi* and *vidhāna* in the surrounding pādas. One might hence conjecture *nidhānakṣetrakalpakāḥ* (or perhaps °*kalpanāḥ*?), metri causa for °*kalpāḥ*.

[109]Though very corrupt, there may be a parallel for 87c (*vivarāntargatāḥ kalpā*) in *Dīkṣottara* 4.61c, quoted as testimonia ad v. 90 below. There the MSS. read *nalāntarmatakalpaiś ca* ($T_{127}T_{150}$) and *nalāntarmātṛkalpaiś ca* (T_{17}). On the strength of the parallel, I have conjectured *bilāntargatakalpaiś ca* (*bila* = *vivara*), though one might also consider, e.g., *tadantarmantrakalpāś ca*.

[110]What **A** transmits in 89b, *bhūtatantrādiko guṇāḥ*, appears corrupt. Cf. 20b, where **A** transmits the equally problematic *vāmatantrādike guṇaḥ*. In both cases it seems necessary to emend to *gaṇaḥ*, in the singular; see the annotation on v. 20, and also cf. *ugravidyāgaṇa* in 40b. I note that the emendation in 89d is also proposed independently by SANDERSON (2014: 34 [note 125]).

Alchemy (*rasāyana*).

90 The five-hundred mantras [of the *Mākuṭa*] would be situated according to the four forms [of the deity]. The *Mākuṭa* has been taught, revealed in [the downward direction of] the Fire of Time.[111]

91 The primordial mass of scriptural wisdom emerged forth via three streams. The lord Sadāśiva expounded it to Śrīkaṇṭha.

92 Śrīkaṇṭha, O woman of renown, taught the mass of scriptural wisdom having [one hundred] and a quarter [thousand verses],[112] with division into ten streams, according with the wishes of *sādhaka*s.

93 Those who learned these further revealed [the wisdom] manifoldy,[113] with millions upon millions of elaborations, and mantra-manuals by the thousands.

Thus ends the Exposition on the Streams of Revelation,[114]
chapter thirty-nine of the *Brahmayāmala*.

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[111]No parallel is evident elsewhere for such subdivisions of the Mākuṭa. However, 90a–c has a close parallel in *Dīkṣottara* 4.60c–61a, in its description of the *Makuṭatantra*, quoted as testimonia. The expression *caturmūrti* (90b, as well as *Dīkṣottara* 4.60d) suggests a four-faced deity; cf., e.g, *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* 33.54, describing the *sakala* form of Viṣṇu.

[112]*sapādajñānasandohaḥ* (85a) would appear to be a contraction of *sapādalakṣajñānasandoha*: "the mass of scriptural wisdom (*jñānasandoha* = *jñānogha*) possessing 125,000 verses." Cf. *BraYā* 1.42, quoted as testimonia; see also the discussion in §2.4.

[113]*tadvidair* (93d) is the instrumental plural of *tadvida*, an *a*-stem thematized from *tadvid*. Cf. Oberlies §3.22.

[114]In the colophon, *ekūnacatvāriṃśatimaḥ* is non-standard Sanskrit for *ekonacatvāriṃśattama* ("thirty-ninth"). On *ekūna* for *ekona*, see Edgerton §4.24. The formation of ordinal numerals in the *BraYā* follows non-classical lines (see Oberlies §5.2.1), with those nineteen and higher regularized such that all end in *-ima*, with some exceptions ending in *-ma* (compare with the ordinal suffix *-tama* in classical Sanskrit). Hence there occur e.g. the "correct" *viṃśatima* (twentieth), but also e.g. *ṣaṭtriṃśatima* (thirty-sixth; cf. classical *ṣaṭtriṃśattama*) and *tripañcāśatima* (fifty-third; cf. classical *tripañcāśattama*).

40

Chapter of the Razor's Edge Observance

1 Next, I shall teach the great razor's edge observance (*asidhāravrata*).[1] It is said to bestow all *siddhis*, and is paid reverence by all *yoginīs*.[2]

2–3b [One should find][3] a woman desirous of lovemaking who possesses the

[1]While nominative in form, *mahān* in 1b should be understood as agreeing with the accusative °*vrataṃ*. Cf. *BraYā* 19.59d, *sadāśivapadaṃ mahān*.

[2]In 1d, it seems preferable to emend *sarvayoginipūjanam* to °*pūjitam*, a possibility suggested by Alexis Sanderson (personal communication). Cf. similar expressions in e.g. 71.6b (*sarvayogiprapūjitaṃ*, where *yogi* means *yoginī*) and 14.27cd (*cakraṃ vai yogipūjitam*, where too *yogi* means *yoginī*). If °*pūjanam* were retained, it should probably be interpreted in a similar vein; an instrumental bahuvrīhi seems improbable ("by which one worships all *yoginīs*"?). In this pāda, *yogini* has had its final vowel shortened to obtain the metrically required short syllable in the fifth position. Cf. Oberlies §3.1.

[3]The series of adjectives in vv. 2–7 describing the woman who performs the ritual are given mostly in the accusative case; no verb, however, justifies this, for the object of the next verb, *samalaṃkaret* in 8b, is *ātmānaṃ*, referring to the male *sādhaka*. The string of accusatives, moreover, is interrupted by several nominatives (e.g. 4d).

aforementioned qualities,[4] endowed with surpassing beauty,[5] proud of her pristine youth;

3c–4 flirting with humour and amorous dance,[6] making coquettish gestures and so forth, possessing [fine] garments and jewelry, adorned with all [kinds of] ornaments—endowed with necklaces, armlets, rubies, and strings of pearls—or obtained to the extent of one's means, even if she has very little adornment.[7]

5–6b (¿) Adorned with fragrant garlands, and smeared with lac (?),[8] ever

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[4] *ucchukā* in 2b is the Middle-Indic equivalent of Sanskrit *utsukā*, which may in fact be a hyper-Sanskritization of the former (Oberlies, p. lii). The expression *pūrvvalakṣaṇa-saṃpannāṃ* (2a) suggests that the characteristics deemed desirable in the woman have been described previously. However, the section of the *BraYā* most probably referred to occurs subsequently, in *paṭala* 45. Along with another passage, 14cd (see below), this suggests that the sequence of chapters may have been altered at some point in the text's redaction: the *asidhāra-vratapaṭala* would originally have followed *paṭala* 45, the *sādhakādhikārapaṭalaḥ*. The passage 2a apparently refers to is *BraYā* 45.186–189ab, quoted as testimonia from the edition of Kiss (2015), except as noted; see also the discussion in Hatley (*forthcoming* a). Longer passages describing the qualities desired of a female consort (*dūtī*) are adduced by Jayaratha ad *Tantrāloka* 29.99 attributed to the *Tantrarājabhaṭṭāraka* and *Triśirobhairava*.

[5] *atīva* in 2c appears to be used adjectivally, though usually an adverb; cf. 83.143d (*matputro 'tīvavallabhaḥ*) and see the discussion thereon.

[6] *vilāśinyā*, as the mss transmit in 3b, is probably in error for *vilāsinyāṃ*, the accusative formed from *vilāsinyā*, the extended stem of *vilāsinī*. The nominative *vilāsinyā* is also plausible (cf. 4d, etc.).

[7] The switch to the nominative in 4d appears triggered by meter, with metri causa elision of the anusvāra (*bhūṣaṇakā* for *bhūṣaṇakāṃ*). Use of the nominative continues in 5ab. *yathāvib-havasaṃprāptāṃ* (4c) could suggest that the woman herself is procured in accordance with one's financial capacity (*yathāvibhava*), as though a courtesan. However, the parallel passage cited as testimonia (*BraYā* 45.378) suggests that the intended sense is that the ornaments depend on one's means (378cd: *alābhe maṇimuktānāṃ yathāsaṃbhavabhūṣaṇaiḥ*, "Or, in the absence of gems and pearls, [they should be adorned] with ornaments to the extent possible.").

[8] What **A** transmits in 5a (*sugandhakālākālā tu*) appears corrupt, with no obvious solution. The text underlying this might consist of some combination of the lexemes *sugandha* (perfume) or *sugandhaka* (perfume; fragrant), *mālā* or *mālyā* (garland), *alakta* or *alaktaka* (lac), *alaka* (curly lock of hair), and/or *akta* (smeared). The possibilities are numerous. On a diagnostic basis, one might conjecture *sugandhālaktakāktā tu* ("smeared with perfumes and lac"), inspired by one of the suggestions of an anonymous reviewer. Alternatively, one might expect this pāda to make reference to fragrant garlands, given the mention of fragrant salve in 5b (*gandhapaṅka*). This could suggest, for instance, the conjecture *sugandhamālyā* (a common expression)—though the remaining adjective *kālā* ("dark"), which would follow, seems out of place. Perhaps instead *sugandhamālyālaktāktā*, "adorned with fragrant garlands, and smeared

marked with sandalwood paste, possessing plump, raised breasts very round in girth;[9] her nipples are beautified by flower strands, and her breasts firm.[10]

6c–8b Devoted and loving, (¿) [having] superlative bangles (?),[11] endowed by nature with good conduct, clever and flirtatious,[12] either a *kṣatriya* woman or a woman belonging to another caste;[13] and he should adorn himself with apparel of the same kind.[14]

8c–9 Knowing the procedure, he should perform the external mantra-installation on her, placed at his left side, based on his own mantra-deity

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with lac?" This (a *ma*-vipulā) has been tentatively adopted. Yet another possibility might be *sugandhāmalakāktā tu*, "smeared with fragrant myrobalan;" use of myrobalan ointment is frequently mentioned in the context of bathing "in the royal manner" (*rājopacāreṇa*, etc.). Note e.g. *Svacchandatantra* 2.12ab, *snāyād rājopacāreṇa sugandhāmalakādibhiḥ* ("he should bathe in the royal manner, with fragrant myrobalan and so forth").

[9] *ābhāsaparimaṇḍalāḥ*, as reads **A** is 5d, seems unlikely ("very round by way of appearance?"); minimally, one should emend to the accusative. Diwakar Acharya (personal communication) suggests *ābhogaparimaṇḍalām*, which seems considerably better, construing the compound as though an adjective of *stana* in 5c. It does seem probable that 5d should describe the woman's breasts, as do 5c and 6ab. Cf., e.g., *Viṣṇudharmottara* I.42.6cd (*ābhoginau maṇḍalinau stanau kanakasannibhau*) and *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* 580cd (*bibharti subhagābhogaṃ grāmyastrī stanamaṇḍalam*).

[10] If the text is correct, the grammar of 6ab is bizarre: *cūcukā* and *payodharā* appear to be nouns, but occur in the feminine singular rather than masculine dual, as though adjectives of the woman. Conceivably, these were originally plural nouns (though dual in meaning): in **A**, visarga is often dropped before sibilants, which would account for the text of 6a (but not 6b). Cf. Edgerton §5.6. A metrical variant (the *ra*-vipulā) is present in 6a.

[11] In 7a, where **A** reads *bhaktāś caivānuraktāś ca*, the apparent plurals are probably corrupt for the accusative singular, the result of confusion between *-ñ c-* and *-ś c-*. In 6d, *valayā* is highly suspect. While a statement concerning the woman's bangles (*valaya*; or perhaps girdle?) could be appropriate, this seems out of place in a verse that otherwise concerns her character. The apparent feminine singular ending (accusative or nominative, depending on whether *-m-* is an hiatus breaker) suggests that an adjective describing her, and not jewelery, underlies *valayā*; but this problem is also present in 6ab.

[12] **A** transmits nominatives in 7b, (*vidagdhā ca vilāsinī*), which could be original (cf. 4b, etc.).

[13] 7c, which **A** transmits as *rājānaṃ yoṣitāṃ*, should mean "*kṣatriya*/noble woman." One should likely emend, as Sanderson proposes, to *rājānayoṣitāṃ*, with the extended stem form *rājāna* compounded (cf. Edgerton §17.38).

[14] It seems impossible in 8a to interpret the nominative singular, *tādṛgvidhopabhogaś*, transmitted in the mss; this seems likely to be corrupt for the instrumental plural.

pantheon (*yāga*),[15] on the body, excluding the hands.[16] Likewise, he should accomplish the mantra-installation on himself, preceded by inner worship (*hṛdyāga*).[17]

10 After kissing and embracing, he should effect the external mantra-installation, [and] after mantra-installation on the consort's mound,[18] he

[15]In 8d, *bahinyāsaṃ* appears to be original and should probably be understood as a compound, equivalent to *bahirnyāsaṃ*. Cf. Edgerton §2.17 (loss of *r* in a triconsonantal cluster). The final element of *bahis* is frequently, but inconsistantly omited in the *BraYā*. Though the orthography *bahinyāsa* occurs most often, **A** also transmits the correct *bahirnyāsa* (34.28a, 45.354d, 371a, and 374a), as well as *barhinyāsa* in 10b below and 45.342d (perhaps owing to displacement of the repha). Note also *bahi* as an adverb in 18b below. 9b specifies that the mantras installed on the consort are those of the male *sādhaka*'s own mantra pantheon (*svayāga*)—apparently one of the Nine Pantheons (*navayāgāḥ*) outlined in *BraYā* 13. These are inflections of the primary deity maṇḍala in which each of nine goddesses (Aghorī, the Four Devīs, and Four Dūtīs) preside, in turn, in pair (*yāmala*) with Bhairava consort.

[16]**A** appears to read *vajyaṃ* in 9a, but this is not entirely certain. The scribe of **B** could well be correct in emending to *varjyaṃ*, understood as an adverb ("excluding [the hands]"). An irregular absolutive *varjya* (for *varjayitvā*) also seems plausible. One might consider other possibilities as well, e.g. *vakṣe*, "on the chest," following what **D** appears to read (*vakṣaṃ*); this seems redundant, however. Excluding the hands from mantra-installation (i.e. *karanyāsa*) is unusual, but this could be appropriate given that only the male *sādhaka* is here portrayed as an active ritual agent.

[17]The hypermetrical reading of the mss in 9c, *gṛhayāgapūrvakaṃ nyāsaṃ*, seems to contain a corruption: *gṛhayāga* from *hṛdyāga*, with which it shares phonetic elements. External mantra-installation (*bahirnyāsa*), principally on the body, is generally preceded by internal worship of the deities (*hṛdyāga*), the two being essential preliminaries to most ritual action. Cf., e.g., *BraYā* 34.294cd: *hṛdyāgaṃ pūrvavat kṛtvā bahinyāsa[ṃ] tathaiva ca* ("having performed *hṛdyāga*, as before, and also the external mantra-installation, ..."). Note also e.g. *BraYā* 24.84, which suggests a sequence of action similar to that of 8c–10: *tasyā nyāsaṃ mahāprājño tāvat kālam vicakṣaṇaḥ | hṛdyāgam ātmanaḥ kṛtvā kṣobhaṃ tasyāḥ* [em.; *tasya* **A**] *samācaret* || ("The [*sādhaka*] of great insight should at that time [perform] mantra-installation for her; the wise one should [then], after performing his own internal worship (*hṛdyāga*), sexually excite her"). It could be possible to interpret *gṛhayāga*, "pantheon for domestic worship;" nine *gṛhayāga*s are taught in the *BraYā*, based on the text's nine basic pantheon configurations (*navayāgāḥ*; see note 15 above), as stated in *BraYā* 30.234cd: *navayāgavibhāgena gṛhayāgā vyavasthitāḥ* ("the domestic pantheons are arranged in accordance with the division of the Nine Pantheons"). The compound *gṛhayāgapūrvakaṃ* could hence mean "[*nyāsa*] based upon the pantheons for domestic worship," perhaps referring to the mantras mentioned in 9b by *svayāga* ("one's own pantheon"). No parallels support this possibility, however.

[18]The locus of external mantra-installation enjoined in 10b is somewhat unclear: this usually refers to *nyāsa* on the body, which 9cd seems already to intimate. 10ab and 10c (a faulty *ma-vipulā*?) might refer to the same *nyāsa*, in which case the locus is the *śaktipīṭha*, "the consort's

should place her on a mat (*āsana*).[19] After kissing and embracing, he should insert the *liṅga* there.

11 He should perform the mantra-recitation (*japa*) of the regular daily rites (*nitya*), the occasional ones (*naimittika*), [or] the desiderative rites (*kāmya*) in a state of sexual restraint (*avagraha*),[20] abiding in the state beyond regulated conduct (*nirācārapada*),[21] engrossed in the ocean of the void.[22]

12 If by mistake orgasm (*kṣobha*) should occur just spontaneously, without making it happen, the *sādhaka* should recite the [Vidyā] mantra ten thousand times, contemplating the true reality.[23]

13 Looking on the supreme reality, accompanied by kisses and embraces and lusty hisses, he should not engage in orgasm.[24]

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mound." This term occurs several times in the *BraYā*, and clearly refers to the vulva. Note especially *BraYā* 45.277c–278b: *śaktipīṭhe tato 'rgham tu dattvā kṛtvā tu cumbanam | liṅgaṃ tatra kṣipen mantrī manāk cālanam ārabhet* ("After offering the guest-water on the consort's mound, and after kissing, the *mantrin* should insert the *liṅga* there and begin to move it around a little"). Cf. 45.314a, *pīṭhe praveśayel liṅgam* ("he should enter the *liṅga* into the *pīṭha*").

[19] *sthāpaye* (10d) is optative, with loss of the final consonant; see note 45 below.

[20] *avagrahe* in 11b at first seemed to mean, "in separation [from the *śakti*?]," or "during interludes," but Kiss (2015: 48–49) has argued convincingly that this refers to seminal retention. Cf. *BraYā* 45.289: *nityanaimittikaṃ kṛtvā āhnikād* [conj.; *āhniko* **A**] *āhnikaṃ budhaḥ | avagrahe japaṃ kāryaṃ sidhyate śaktisaṃyutaḥ* || ("After performing the regular or occasional rites, *āhnika* after *āhnika*, in a state of restraint (*avagraha*), a wise man should practice *japa*; he attains *siddhi*, conjoined with [or together with?] the consort").

[21] The expression *nirācārapada* occurs frequently in the *BraYā*, referring both to the meditative state the *sādhaka* enters into as a preliminary to ritual action, and to the transcendental state of the supreme Bhairava. See the annotation ad 2.2.

[22] One might normalize the spelling of *nisevaka* to *niṣevaka* (as does the scribe of **B**); but the evidence in **A** suggests caution: *nisevaka* occurs here, in 28.36b, and 28.42d, *nisevana* in 69.45b, and *nisevyate* in 69.49b; but *niṣevana* in 59.108b and 85.197d, and also *niśevana* in 83.124d. While confusion between sibilants is pervasive in the *BraYā*, it appears also that the internal sandhi by which *s* becomes *ṣ* is inconsistently applied.

[23] In 12a, *kṣobho syāt* is probably original, a case of the generalized *-o* ending of the Middle-Indic nominative singular masculine (see Edgerton §8.18). Note also the presence of hiatus in 12b (*eva akāritaḥ*; see Edgerton §4.55–56). On recitation of the mantra ten thousand times as a means of expiation (*prāyaścitta*), cf. *BraYā* 4.799c. It is difficult to interpret what **A** transmits as *tatvayuktis* in 12d. A number of parallels suggest emending to *tatvayuktas*, "united with/meditating on the true reality" (unless *tatva* refers instead to the mantra). This expression occurs in, e.g., *BraYā* 45.177cd: *kṛtarakṣaḥ kṛtanyāsas tatvayuktaḥ samāhitaḥ*. Cf. the expression *tatvadhyāyī* in 45.56a (*tatvadhyāyī japaṃ kuryād*), and *paratatvāvalokī* in 13c below.

[24] On the hissing sound *śīt* (13b) as an expression of erotic passion, see e.g. the *Gītagovinda*

14 He should prompt (*prerayed*) an interruption of the ritual process for the *āhnika*-rites.[25] He should accomplish the *āhnika*-rites according to the procedure stated earlier.[26]

15 And at midday,[27] the *sādhaka* should perform the *āhnika*-rite in that place.[28] After performing [the *āhnika*-rite of] the third period [i.e. evening], he may commence eating.

16 He should eat what was offered to the goddesses, and also meat.[29] He [and the consort] should eat following the procedure, placing [food] in each other's mouths.[30]

17 The wise one, undoubtedly, eating food face to face, should drink water

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of Jayadeva, 12.15a. In 13d, one should probably emend *kṣobho* ("orgasm") to the accusative *kṣobhaṃ*, though it could be original. The expression *kṣobhaṃ …samācaret* or *ācaret* occurs a number of times in the *BraYā* (note, e.g., 26b below).

[25] Interpreting 14ab along these lines was suggested by SANDERSON. It seems that *āhnikānāntarālaṃ* should be understood to contain a nonstandard genitive plural, *āhnikānā*, with metri causa elision of its final anusvāra—or perhaps even a Middle-Indic genitive, *āhnikāna* (cf. EDGERTON §8.117). Elision of final anusvāra is fairly common in the *BraYā*; note e.g. *tābhyā* for *tābhyāṃ* (genitive dual) in 83.73c (*kṛtvā tābhyāntarasthaṃ*).

[26] It is striking that 14cd should refer to a procedure "described previously" for performing the *āhnika*-rites, for these are described in detail subsequently in *BraYā* 45.12–58ab. It is possible that the sequence of chapters has changed in the course of transmission; see note 4 above.

[27] The orthography *madhyāne* could be original, as reads **A** in 15a; however, only *madhyāhne* is transmitted elsewhere.

[28] *tatra* (15b) could refer to the *yoni*, as in 10f (and below in 32c), indicating that the ritual is performed while in coitus; but the syntax suggests otherwise, for here the locative seems more naturally to indicate the location for the *āhnika*-rite. The idea seems to be that the *āhnika* is performed right where the couple copulate. Note that the spellings *āhṇika* and *āhnika* alternate freely in **A**, probably influenced by the compounds *pūrvāhṇika* and *aparāhṇika*, in which *r* triggers retroflexion.

[29] Presumably 16ab means that the *sādhaka* and *śakti* should eat the food offerings (*naivedya*) given to the goddesses during the evening *āhnika*. This would typically include meat, which makes either *āmiṣaṃ* or *caiva* somewhat redundant. A pertinent list of *naivedya* foodstuffs is provided in *BraYā* 45.257c–258.

[30] Cf. *anyonyādānam ācaret* in 21d, referring to the mutal feeding of betel leaf (*tāmbūla*). It is possible that *anyonyamukhadānena* (16c) should be understood as meaning that the two eat directly from each other's mouths (cf. 17b). In this verse, note the alternation between *bhakṣayet* (16b) and *bhakṣayeta* (16d), according to metrical convenience. In 16d, what **A** transmits as *vidhānatā* seems likely to be a corruption of *vidhānataḥ*, as emends the scribe of **B**, or—more probable paleographically—*vidhānato*, with the Middle-Indic generalized *-o* ending for *as* (see EDGERTON §4.38). Cf. *kāmato* in 23c below.

when thirsty;[31] and he should not engage in cleansing (*śauca*).[32]

18 (¿) After going outside, the consort should perform her ablutions (*abhiṣeka*) (?).[33] He should practice the regular observance (*nityavrata*) together with

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[31] It is possible that *bhakṣayato* in 17a is a dual verb, despite the apparent singular subject (A transmits *prājña*, though one expects *prājño*; see the discussion ad 39.30). However, it seems more likely to be an irregular present participle in the masculine nominative singular, based on an extended stem *bhakṣayata* for *bhakṣayat* (see Edgerton §18.6). The *-o* ending could be original, an instance of the generalized Middle-Indic nominative ending (Edgerton §8.18). Another possibility is that *bhakṣayato* is simply a corruption of the indicative, *bhakṣayate*. In this case, 17c ("when thirsty, he should drink water"), as well as 17d, could represent general instructions rather than ones specific to meal time.

In 17b, *mukhāmukhe* could be construed as *mukha-āmukhe*, an adverb meaning "face to face" (cf. Bangla *mukhāmukhi*). However, as Kiss proposes, this might instead be interpreted as *mukhā[n] mukhe* ("from mouth to mouth"), the ablative having its final consonant elided (cf. Edgerton §8.46–48). This pāda is unmetrical, possessing the disallowed "syncopated" pattern of alternating short and long syllables. It is possible that the pāda originally read *mukhāmukhena na saṃśayaḥ*; such hypermetry seems preferred to A's irregular pattern.

[32] *śaucaṃ naiva samācaret* (17d) probably means that the *sādhaka* at this time avoids attending to the call of nature, and hence the subsequent cleansing procedure (*śauca*, described in *BraYā* 45.663c–665b). However, it is possible this is a general instruction to the effect that after doing so, he should remain unclean. *BraYā* 45.558ab specifies thus when describing a particular discipline observed over a three-day period: *āvaśyake 'pi śuddhātmā śaucaṃ naiva samācaret*, "His nature pure, he should not engage in cleansing, even in attending the call of nature."

[33] The interpretation of 18ab is quite uncertain. It seems difficult to construe the two nominatives A transmits: *abhiṣekas tathā śakti* (i.e. *śaktir*?). In all likelihood, *abhiṣeka* ("ablution/ablution liquid") should be the object of the verb (*dhārayet* in the mss), and hence emended to the accusative (perhaps accounted for by the fact that A often reads *-ṃs* for *-ṃ* before *t-*). If the subject remains the *sādhaka*, then the genitive, *śakter*, seems the most plausible reading. Two lines of interpretation suggest themselves, both involving the consort having a consecratory wash (*abhiṣeka*). The first possibility is that the *sādhaka* performs *abhiṣeka* of her *yoni*, and collects (*dhārayet*) the liquid for subsequent ritual use. One might translate as follows: "After going outside, he should collect the ablution water (*abhiṣeka*) of the consort." Gathering the "secret nectar" (*guhyāmṛta*) after coitus is well-attested in the *BraYā*; cf., e.g., *BraYā* 45.250cd: *kṣobhayitvā tataḥ śaktiṃ dravyaṃ gṛhya tadudbhavam* ("after sexually stimulating the consort, and collecting the substance which arises from her, ..."). However, it seems improbable that one would collect the rinse water so long after coitus, after the evening *āhnika*-rite and subsequent meal. Moreover, understanding *abhiṣekaṃ ... dhārayet* to mean "he should collect the ablution-water" seems somewhat unnatural.

The second possibility is that the *śakti* has a bodily consecratory wash, whether performed by her (retaining the nominative *śakti* or *śaktir*) or by the *sādhaka* (reading *śakter*), perhaps in preparation for the *nityavrata* (18cd). In this case *dhārayet* (18b) seems difficult to interpret (perhaps it has the sense of "inundate?"). One might instead emend to *kārayet*—a possibil-

her, after going out.[34]

19 Surrounded by assistants who remain at a distance with their respective weapons ready,[35] he should meditate and do mantra-recitation, then proceed to the shrine of the deities (*devāgāra*).

20–21b Keeping silent, intent on meditation, the *mantrin* should observe separation from the consort. [But afterwards,] the *mantrin* should sleep together with her on the ground,[36] always embracing each other, with

ity mentioned by SANDERSON that has been tentatively adopted. The expression *abhiṣekaṃ …kārayet* is well-attested, occurring twice, for instance, in the *Tantrasadbhāva* (9.394d and 20.59d). Requiring change of a single syllable, this yields an interpretation which seems reasonably clear. If also emending to *śakter*, this would mean, "one should go outside and give the consort an ablution." Occurrence of *niṣkramya* ("having gone out") a second time in 18c might however support retaining *śakti* in the nominative: first she exits and has a wash (18b), then he exits (18c). The causative verb *kārayet* does not eliminate this possibility, for in the *BraYā*, it often has a non-causative sense (e.g. *devakarmaṃ na kārayet*, 24.87d); cf. OBERLIES §8.8.1.

On *bahi* for *bahir* in 18b, see note 15 above. It is not stated from where one "leaves" (*niṣkramya*, 18b). According to *BraYā* 45.58c–59b, the meal should be taken in a solitary place on the ground within sight of where the goddesses have been established (*ekānte vijane deśe devīnāṃ dṛṣṭigocare || dakṣiṇābhimukho bhūtvā pattrākīrṇe mahītale |*). What is described from v. 20 apparently takes place in the place of worship (*devāgāra*; see KISS 2015: 27–30), which is also enjoined elsewhere for coital ritual (see e.g. 45.245–51).

[34]The expression *nityavrata* (18c) occurs seldom in the *BraYā*. It might refer to the *vrata* associated with one's own mantra-deity pantheon (*svayāga*). Depending on the interpretation of *BraYā* 45.173, it seems one commences the *nityavrata* after practicing the *vidyāvratāni*, nine *vrata*s taught in *BraYā* 21 connected with nine inflections of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā. In the present case, the *nityavrata* perhaps involves a period of nocturnal wandering following the evening meal, performed together with the consort and presumably in a different garb (cf. *BraYā* 45.174–183).

[35]*sakhāyair* in 19a (*sakhāyai* in the MSS) is an instrumental plural based on the extended stem *sakhāya*, from *sakhi* (see EDGERTON §10.8). In the *BraYā* this word designates an assistant to the *sādhaka*, apparently synonymous with *uttarasādhaka*. The sense of *sva* in *svāyudha* (19b) is unclear. The reflexive pronoun would be odd should this simply mean that the assistants carry weapons. SANDERSON suggests this might imply that the assistants bear the weapons or emblems (*svāyudha*) of particular deities, ritually embodying them. The *dikpāla*s, guardians of the eight directions, are closely associated and sometimes identified with their respective weapons (*āyudha*). *Harṣacarita*, chapter 3 (pp. 164–165), describes a relevant scenario in which a king and three others act as *dikpāla*s for a Śaiva named Bhairavācārya while he performs the "zombie rite" (*vetālasādhana*).

[36]It is unclear how one could interpret what **A** transmits as *ekatraivāsite bhuvi* in 20d. The emendation *ekatraivāśrito* has been adopted, a suggestion of SANDERSON. This is nonetheless somewhat problematic, for while *ā√śri* normally takes the accusative, the locative *bhuvi* occurs

amorous movements and so forth.[37]

21c–22 They should always eat betel; they should engage in feeding it to each other.[38] They should always sleep facing each other, never facing away. He should always prevent orgasm, remaining in the state beyond regulated conduct.[39]

23 [If the fluid] is spilled by itself, a wise one should do ten-thousand mantra-recitations. [If] he reaches orgasm intentionally, he should perform expiation ritual (*prāyaścitta*).[40]

24 After one day without copulation, he should practice the *asidhāra* again for a month, O fair woman, in accordance with the procedure for the *asidhāra* observance.[41]

25 The *mantrin* should follow [the *vrata*] for one month, self-controlled, intent on meditation. After a month, the sky-travellers reveal themselves to him.[42]

26 Someone following [the observance] thus for a month who would again

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here.

[37] *ceṣṭitaḥ*, as read the MSS in 21b, seems likely to be a corruption of the instrumental plural. Note also the metri causa elision of the visarga preceding this (*vilāsādibhi*).

[38] While the verb forms remain singular in 21cd, their subject is evidently dual, though unstated. This is confirmed by the dual adjectives in 22ab (*saṃmukhau* and *parāṅmukhau*), where the verb still remains singular in form (*svapen*, 22a). Cf. EDGERTON §25.3. **A** reads *nityaṃm* at the end of 21c. Word-final *-aṃm* occurs frequently in **A** before vowels, both at the end of odd pādas and within pādas; cf., e.g., 35.4b (*caṃkāraṃm uccaret punaḥ*). While possibly original and here retained, this may instead represent a scribal "correction" of the anusvāra alone, for as in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, anusvāra appears to render a preceding vowel heavy. See the discussion in the introduction (§1.4.2).

[39] On the interpretation of *nirācārapada* (22d), see the annotation to v. 11 ad 2.2, and see note 21 above.

[40] The absence of "if" (*yadi* or the like) in 23cd might be explained by understanding *āyāti*, the indicative, to have the sense of the optative. The *-o* ending in *kāmato kṣobhaṃ*, 23c, is probably original, with generalization of *o* for *as* as is common in Middle Indic (cf. EDGERTON §4.38).

[41] The locative phrase in 24d has been construed as adverbial in function. It could perhaps be construed with 25ab, but this seems less likely.

[42] In 25d, **A** transmits the unmetrical *ātmāna darśayanti hi*, a corruption of *ātmānaṃ* (as reads **B**). In 25c, *khecarāḥ* is presumably the plural of the feminine *khecarā* (more commonly *khecarī*) rather than masculine *khecara*. Cf. the reference to a rendezvous with *khecarīs*) in 29d below.

willfully engage in orgasm, on account of pride,[43] should again follow the observance for a month.

27–28 A *sādhaka* who does not break the observance should follow [it] through this routine for two months, three months, or four months—or up to five or six months,[44] devoted to meditation. After each month he attains a higher divine [*siddhi*].[45]

29 After six months he would become endowed with the [eight] qualities of minuteness and so forth.[46] [And] in this case [transpires] rendezvous—a coming together with the aerial goddesses.[47]

30 The *mantrin* should ever practice this [*vrata*] for the sake of *siddhi*,[48]

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[43] In 26a, **A** transmits the implausible *eva māsaṃ*, the enclitic *eva* probably corrupt for *evaṃ*, as emends the scribe of **B**. Equally plausible is *ekamāsaṃ*, in the same sense. It is difficult to construe what **A** transmits as *darppasāmarthya* in 26c. One could potentially interpret a nominative; however, °*sāmarthyāt*, an ablative of cause, seems much preferable.

[44] As is the case in 28a (°*ṣatmāsikaṃ*) and 29a (*ṣatmāsena*), **A** typically transmits -*tm*- where one expects -*ṇm*- by way of sandhi. This seems original.

[45] One could alternatively construe 27ab with 26, viz. "by applying this procedure, he does not break the observance." Note the elision of final -*d* of the optative *care* in 28b, which, like *kuryā* below in 30b, is not triggered by metrical necessity. Cf. Edgerton §29.42, and, e.g., *BraYā* 57.95cd, which contains two such abbreviated optatives, along with two regular ones: *dhyāye jape nivedīta agnikāryaṃ tathā caret*. 28cd is problematic in several respects. Though stated unclearly, the idea is probably that progressively higher *siddhi*s arise every month. What **A** transmits as *pratimāsā* should be understood as ablative ("after each month"), with loss of the final consonant—similar to the case of *yāva* for *yāvac* in 28a. However, one might instead emend to the adverbial *pratimāsaṃ* ("every month"). *divyagocaraḥ*, as reads **A**, is problematic, for as a masculine nominative, this seems syntactically implausible. Isaacson suggests the possibility of *divyagocarā*, more or less meaning *divyā* ("divine") [*siddhi*], in agreement with *uttamā*. Cf. the expression *divyasiddhi* in e.g. *BraYā* 62.145d (*divyasiddhi[ḥ] prajāyate*). This reading has been adopted. *uttamā* in 28d could have the more precise sense of *uttamā siddhi*, highest in the triad of *adhamā* ("lowest"), *madhyamā* ("middling"), and *uttamā* powers (cf. e.g. *BraYā* 45.244cd: *adhamā madhyamā caiva uttamā siddhim icchatā*).

[46] *aṇimādiguṇa* (29b) refers to the set of eight *siddhi*s often called the *guṇāṣṭaka*. °*guṇānvitau*, as **A** transmits, seems implausible; this is perhaps a corruption of °*ānvito*, with the generalized Middle-Indic masculine nominative singular -*o* ending (see Edgerton §8.18).

[47] The syntax of 29cd is odd, especially with repetition of *samāgamaṃ* and the associative *saha* without an instrumental; no remedy seems obvious. *samāgama* is a synonym of *melaka* (/*melāpa*, etc.), a term denoting visionary, transactional encounters with the goddesses who are most commonly designated *yoginī*s or (as here) *khecarī*s.

[48] In 30a, *kuryā* is probably original; cf. *care* for *caret* in 28b above. *siddhiheto*, as transmits **A** in 30b, could be a corruption of °*hetor*, the genitive, or the locative, *hetau* (as adopted), in either case meaning "for the sake/purpose of *siddhi*." If genitive, the absence of a repha could

undoubtedly, either according to his *siddhikalpa* or else according to his *karmakalpa*.[49]

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be original; the evidence is mixed, for while one finds four occurrences of *siddhiheto* where *siddhihetor* seems expected, the latter also occurs thrice. Such inconsistency is widespread and may be original.

[49] Both the text and interpretation of 30cd are problematic. A *kalpa* is "the manuscript of a text setting out the procedure for the propitiation of a Mantra" (SANDERSON 2001: 13; see also the entry in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. II). The sense of the verse is probably that one performs the *asidhāravrata* when stipulated by one of two types of *kalpa* text. 30c (*siddhikalpoktakorddhe tu*) seems corrupt, but it is unclear what might underlie it; ISAACSON's conjecture °*kalpoktato vā tu* has been adopted on a diagnostic basis. The distinction between *kalpa*-texts designated *siddhikalpa* and *karmakalpa* seems unique to the *BraYā*, which only once elsewhere (12.222a) uses the expression *siddhikalpa*; this passage places *karmakalpa*s and *siddhikalpa*s in contrast, but is otherwise neither clear nor informative. *BraYā* 12.220c–22b:

> *eṣo 'yam padayāgas tu nityanaimittike vidhau* ||220||
> *kāmye caiva hi karttavyaḥ sādhakai[r] jāpyatatparaiḥ* |
> *kalpoktena vidhau kāryo* [*em.*; *kāryau* **A**] *karmakalpoktakādiṣu* ||221||
> *siddhikalpoktakaiḥ sarvvaiḥ pūrvveṇa vidhinā yajet* |
>
> "This *padayāga* [mantra arrangement] should be performed in the obligatory daily and occasional rites, and in rites for special aims, by *sādhaka*s intent on mantra-incantation. It is to be performed as taught in the *kalpa*—in accordance with what is taught in a *karmakalpa*, etc., [or else] one should worship according to the previously stated procedure using all that is taught in the *siddhikalpa*."

It seems that a *siddhikalpa* delineates practices known as *siddhiyāga*, rites beyond those stipulated in one's personal ritual manual (*kalpa*) for attaining particular occult powers. According to *BraYā* 45.267c–268ab, one commences *siddhiyāga* only after performing the ritual taught in the (default) *kalpa* and obtaining a vision of the *yoginī*s:

> *agnikāryaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā kalpoktaṃ pūrvacoditam* ||267||
> *evaṃ kṛte tu mantrajño yoginyaḥ paśyate dhruvam* |
> *siddhiyāgaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā icchāsiddhim avāpnuyāt* ||268||
>
> "Then, after performing the fire ritual taught in the *kalpa*-text, revealed earlier, when he has done thus, the knower of mantras surely sees the *yoginī*s. After then performing the *siddhiyāga*, he would obtain the desired *siddhi*."

(Edition of KISS 2015; translation mine.) Cf. *BraYā* 45.294–295 and 593–595ab; 45.294 clarifies that the *yoginī*s instruct the *sādhaka* to perform *siddhiyāga*: *anena vidhinā devi yoginyaḥ paśyate dhruvam | ādiṣṭas tābhy ataḥ kuryāt siddhiyāgaṃ tu sādhakaḥ* || ("Through this procedure, O goddess, he surely sees the *yoginī*s. Instructed by them, the *sādhaka* should subsequently perform the *siddhiyāga*.")

It uncertain what precisely *karmakalpa* refers to. This could just designate the *sādhaka*'s primary *kalpa*-text, synonymous with what is generally meant by *kalpa* alone. Another possibility is that a *karmakalpa* teaches procedures for elective rites with special aims (*kāmyakarman*).

31 The *mantrin* should follow the *asidhāra*-observance, whether he is [a *sādhaka* of the] *tālaka* [grade] or 'mixed' [grade]. The *carubhojin* should follow this [too], abiding by his special procedures.[50]

32 Alternatively, the *mantrin* should sleep at night after placing the *liṅga* in the

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Some passages make a clear distinction between a *karmayāga* and the *nityayāga* for regular worship; note e.g. *BraYā* 4.853c, *nityam vā karmayāgam vā* (cf. *BraYā* 25.81, which distinguishes between *nityanyāsa* and *karmanyāsa*). Analogous to *siddhiyāga* and *siddhikalpa*, the *BraYā* appears to use the expression *karmayāga* to designate rites taught in a *karmakalpa*. Note the following rather problematic passage, *BraYā* 45.511–514ab, the context being a description of the discipline of the "mixed" (*miśraka*) grade of *sādhaka*:

> *karmakalpoktakāle tu tryāhnike 'pi yathārthataḥ* |
> *karmakalpoktayāgaṃ tu karttavyam aviśaṅkinā* ||511||
> *nityanaimittikaṃ tyaktvā kāmyaṃ jāpyaṃ ca mantriṇā* |
> *karmakalpoktam ācārya pūrvayāge 'grahaṃ tathā* ||512||
> *siddhihetau gṛhītavyaṃ nātra kārya vicāraṇāt* |
> *siddhiyāgas tu caiveha kartavyaṃ kṣetrasaṃnidhau* ||513||
> *nityavrataṃ na moktavyaṃ muktvā kalpoktavidhiṃ tataḥ* |
>
> 511a °kalpokta°] **A** 512b kāmyaṃ] *em.*; kāmya° **A** mantriṇā] *conj.*; mattṛṇām **A** 513a °hetau] *em.*; °heto **A** 513c °yāgaṃ] *conj.*; °yāgais **A** 514b °vidhiṃ] *em.*; °vidhis **A**
>
> "At the time stated in the *karmakalpa*, in all the three *āhnika*-rites, a *mantrin* free of hesitation should perform correctly the *yāga* taught in the *karmakalpa*. After giving up the regular and occasional obligatory [mantra-recitation], he should observe the mantra-recitation for special aims taught in the *karmakalpa*, and he should then take up, for the sake of *siddhi*, practice of sexual restraint (*āgraha*) in accordance with the previously [taught *siddhi*-] *yāga* (?). In this matter, there is no need to deliberate. And in this case, the *siddhiyāga* should be performed in proximity to a sacred field. The regular obligatory observance should not be abandoned then (*tataḥ*?), except [according to] the procedure stated in the *kalpa*."

(Translation mine, indebted to Kiss 2015: 295.) Here it seems practice of the ritual taught in the *karmakalpa*, which differs from daily ritual (*nityakarman*), is followed by practice of *siddhiyāga*, as though they form a progressive sequence.

[50]This verse makes reference to the threefold typology of *sādhaka*s explicated in *BraYā* 45: the *tālaka*, *miśraka* ("mixed"), and *carubhojin* ("consumer of the oblation gruel"); see Kiss (2015: 35–55). It is striking that the *carubhojin* might engage in the *asidhāravrata*, for his discipline otherwise requires total celibacy. This exception might be on account of the sensory and seminal restraint enjoined by the *asidhāravrata*. (See also the remarks of Kiss 2014: 54.) 31d, *tadviśeṣavidhiḥ sthitaḥ*, appears to be intended as a compound, and I have emended accordingly to *°vidhisthitaḥ*. While the syntax suggests that this compound refers to the *carubhojin*, it could potentially refer to all three types of *sādhaka*, each of whom follows the *asidhāravrata* while observing his distinct ritual discipline.

vagina. He should not have an orgasm therein; he should ever be engaged in meditation.[51]

33 And this *asidhāra* [observance] is difficult even for the gods.[52] There is no *siddhi* without this; [so] it is proclaimed in all *kalpa*-texts. A wise one should therefore make every effort to follow the *asidhāra* [observance].

Thus ends the Chapter of the Razor's Edge Observance,
chapter thirty-nine of the *Brahmayāmala*.

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[51] This verse appears to offer an alternative, simplified procedure for the *asidhāravrata*. The second *vā* hence appears redundant.

[52] In 33a, **A** transmits the hypometrical *etac cāsidharaṃ tu*. The conjecture of **B**'s scribe, *etac ca asidhāraṃ tu*, seems the most plausible solution and has been adopted. **A**'s orthography in 33b, *duścaraṃs tri°*, could be original; the string *-ṃs t-* occurs fairly often where one expects the simple anusvāra or (most commonly) homorganic nasal. Cf., e.g., 4.750a (*[kapālaṃ] dīrghaṃ sthūlaṃs tathā pṛṣṭhe*).

83

The Origin of the Skull and Skull-staff

......[1]

1 (¿) After making offerings in the fire to his south, ... in number,[2] one should, situated to the north of both, facing east, commence ... (?).[3]

2–3 ... and white mustard seeds, yellow arsenic (*tāla*), cow-bile orpiment (*rocanā*), red arsenic (*manacchilā*), red ochre (*gairikā*), green sulphate (*kāsīsa*), ...[4]

4–6 ...[the herbs] ...*sārikā* (maina-bird), *kumārī* (maiden), *siṅghikā* (lioness), *vyāghrī* (tigress), *suramañjarī* (celestial handmaiden), *surasā* (sweet-sap), *sumanā* (high-minded), *kṛṣṇā* (dark), (¿) *kuṅkumā* (saffron), *suparṇikā* (?),

[1] An undetermined number of verses are lost, for the chapter began on folio 299, which is missing. See the discussion in §1.5. The present text from *f.* 300*r* concerns preliminaries—presumably pantheon-worship (*yāga*), with fire-sacrifice (*homa*)—to the main rite: a *sādhana* for ritually empowering a skull-bowl, which commences in v. 9.

[2] What **A** transmits as *svāṃsiddhisaṃkhyayā* (1b) seems impossible to interpret. One might emend to *sāṃsiddhi°*, but this would remain unclear ("with natural number"?).

[3] The ritual context is unclear, and I am unable to derive much meaning from the verse. The object of *ārabhet* was probably indicated in a prior verse.

[4] While 2ab is lost, 2c–3a contains a list of (mostly) mineral powders which may be magically empowered, such as are used for writing/drawing or in unguents. Cf. *BraYā* 66. Presumably *tāla* (2b) stands for *haritāla*, yellow orpiment. The orthography *manacchilā* is likely original, for *manaḥśilā*; this occurs several times in **A** (e.g. 50.8b, *haritālamanacchilā*) and also in *Jayadrathayāmala* IV, 6.16c.

ṛddhi and *vṛddhi*, *bhūdhātrī*, *bhūkadamba*, *tāla* (palm), *kharjūra* (date), *kesara*, *śyāmā* (dusky), immortal (*amṛtā*), and *vidārikā*.[5]

7 After worshipping [these, placed] on top of one's chosen deity pantheon,[6] mantra-incantation should take place, beginning with the weapon-mantras.[7] ...

8–9 ... And grasping [the skull?], he should afterwards commence the *sādhana*, O fair woman.[8]

10 He should make an auspicious little maṇḍala measuring four cubits, (¿) with cow urine, cow dung (?), cow-bile orpiment, and perfumed water.[9]

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[5]After a list of minerals, a list of herbs (*oṣadhi*) begins somewhere in the gap between 3a and 4d, continuing through 6d, it seems. A number of these herbs are listed in *BraYā* 66.3–10, a passage concerned with the preparation of magical pills, cited as testimonia. Verse 5 may give the impression of listing several goddesses; for while almost all of these feminine words are botanical names, many also occur elsewhere in the *BraYā* as *yoginī* names.

The text of 5d–6a is damaged in **A**, with the tops cut off; I have conjectured *kuṅkumā saptaparṇṇikā* || *riddhivṛddhi ca bhūdhātrī*. Of this, 5d is a mere guess, syllables 5–7 in **A** being lost altogether, with no clear parallel. One might also consider *viṣṇuparṇṇikā*, for instance, or *ca suparṇṇikā*. The herbs *ṛddhi* and *vṛddhi* are often paired, e.g. in a lacunose list in *Guhyasūtra* 2.64–65a which, like 5a, also includes *siṃhī* and *vyāghrī* (*siṃhīvyāghrīyutau dvau tu dvau tu puṣpasamanvitau* ||64|| *riddhivṛddhi ca* ...).

[6]Note the (somewhat faulty) *bha*-vipulā in 7b.

[7]The text of 7ab and the first syllable of 7c are written in the bottom margin of **A** (*f.* 300*r*) in another, probably later hand. The insertion may have comprised four pādas, but breaks off after the first syllable of pāda three. While the insertion marker has been lost, the insertion's placement suggests it was intended for line 2. What survives of the insertion is identical to v. 13 below, written on the same folio. I have restored 7cd on the basis of 13cd, though it seems doubtful that the same verse would have occurred twice in quick succession.

[8]Following a lacuna of eight pādas, 9cd seems to conclude a section on preparing magical substances. From 10a commences the *kapālasādhana* (rite of mastery of the skull), named as such in 24c. The lacunose section ending in 9d probably concerned the ritual preparation of the skull, involving *homa* and various empowered substances (cf. the preparation of magical pills in 66.3–10). **A** transmits only the final syllable *thā* in 9b. The final word was likely *tathā*, which, at the end of even pādas, occurs much more frequently than the other possibilities: about twelve times more often than *nānyathā*, and fifteen more than *yathā*.

[9]**A** is lacunose in 10c, reading *go* – – ⟨*ā*/*ī*/*o*⟩ *maye* – *va*. The last portion should probably be restored as *gomayenaiva*. The first element is presumably another product of the cow (*go*)—probably *gomūtra* (urine). Like cow urine, *gomaya* (dung) and ox bezoar or cow-bile orpiment (*[go]rocanā*) are auspicious cow products, and, fitting the context, cow urine and cow-bile orpiment are both used in drawing maṇḍalas. Owing to the lacuna, the syntax of 10a–11b is unclear. I have conjectured that *gomūtra* is in compound and that *rocanā* is also to be read in compound, the instrumentals expressing the means of making the maṇḍala.

11–12 After making this, the mantrin should spread a cloth coming from the home of the dead.[10] He should then place on top of this (¿) leaves of the *vṛddhi*-orchid, fully extended (?).[11]

12 …

13 After worshipping [this] on top of one's chosen pantheon, mantra-incantation should take place, beginning with the weapon-mantras.[12] Afterwards, the *sādhaka* should employ the root syllable (*mūlaguṇa*),[13] gazing upwards.

14–15 [He should do so] until midnight, (¿) or else the night's beginning (?),[14] at which time heat commences. In this case,[15] smoke arises, and then a flame one cubit high,[16] until the firmament is filled with terrifying noise

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[10]I.e. cloth scavenged from a cremation ground (*pretagṛha* meaning *śmaśāna*; cf. *pretasadman* in *Tantrāloka* 24.11b). Such cloth is sometimes called *pretapaṭa*, *śmaśānapaṭa*, etc.; see s.v. *paṭa* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

[11]The end of 11d is damaged in **A**, which reads *vidhipatrā suvi – ri –* . At the very end, the bottom of a "semicolon" style final *-m* may be visible. Either *suvistritam* or *suvistritām* would be consistent with what is written. The expression *vidhipatrā* ("ritual leaves") yields little sense, unless this refers to *aśvattha* leaves (cf. the note ad 14–15b below). Though speculative, I am inclined to conjecture *vṛddhipatrāṃ* ("leaves of the *vṛddhi*-orchid"), understood as the accusative plural object of *nyasya*; *vidhi* is explicable as a corruption of *vriddhi* (i.e. *vṛddhi*), and a final anusvāra may have been lost due to breakage in the line above. This suggests reading *suvistṛtām* as well, in agreement. For a parallel involving stretched (*vistṛta*) leaves, see *BraYā* 66.4 (quoted as testimonia). Leaves are perhaps laid down as the base for a skull, and may cover it as well (cf. 66.4–5).

[12]The text of 13ab and perhaps 13cd also occurs in the marginal insertion printed as v. 7 above; see the discussion thereof.

[13]*mūlaguṇa* (13c) seems to be a technical term pertaining to mantra, but is hardly attested elsewhere. It may have the sense of *mūlabīja* (root seed-syllable); this is perhaps its sense in the one other occurrence in the *BraYā*, viz. 57.33bcd: *ṣaḍ yoginyaḥ prakīrttitāḥ | ity etā nāmagotrāṅgavaktramūlaguṇānvitā[ḥ] ||* ("Thus are proclaimed the sextet of *yoginī*s, along with their names, clans, limb-mantras, face-mantras, and root qualities/syllables").

[14]In 14a, the meaning of *kṣapārdhamūlam vā* is unclear; perhaps two timings are stated—midnight (*kṣapārdha*) and the "root [i.e. beginning?] of the night"—but the latter expression is unusual.

[15]The spurious visarga (*-s*) in *cātras tato* (14c) is unusual and perhaps suspect, insofar it is not required by meter.

[16]In 14–15b is present the trope of heat, smoke, and/or fire arising as signs of increasingly higher degrees of *siddhi*. Cf. *BraYā* 66.11–15, quoted as testimonia. This occurs in several sources belonging to early strata of Śaiva and Buddhist tantric literature, such as the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* and *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*. For a detailed discussion, see Goodall & Isaacson

in all directions.[17]

16–17b …one should practice …[18] And one should not speak (¿), so long as the essence (*sāra*) is not placed/situated (*saṃsthita*) (?).[19]

17c–19b (¿) Then, when [the essence] is completely inside that [skull], which has been offered to Bhairava (?),[20] he should take hold of the offering-vessel, well-filled with alcoholic drink, and offer a libation.[21] Paying obeisance, he should dedicate the skull [to the deity, saying,] "this Great Vessel has become perfected (¿) by your grace, O Bhairava" (?).[22]

19c–20b …

20c–f … Then the lord Bhairava of powerful face said, "Excellent, excellent,[23]

(2016: §3.4–8); examples they cite from these two texts involve various enchanted substances (pills, a sword, etc.) being wrapping in *aśvattha* leaves and incanted over until they heat up, smoke, or burst into flames. In the current lacunose passage, few details concerning the ritual are certain; the context is that of magically empowering a skull-vessel, as becomes clear below in 18c–19b. Perhaps the skull, placed on leaves on top of (or before) a cloth maṇḍala, and perhaps covered by leaves, is used as a receptacle for the magical substances prepared in vv. 2–9; the latter are perhaps what heat up, smoke, or burst into flames, though it could be the skull itself which does so.

[17]The compound in 15d has been understood as though *bhīṣaṇarāvākulitam*, metri causa.

[18]The object of *samācaret* (16d) is not evident, being lost in the preceding lacuna; the sequence of action is unclear.

[19]It is entirely unclear what 'essence' (*sāra*) is referred to in 17ab, and what becomes of it.

[20]In 17c, A seems to read *upa⟨vi⟩ṣtenatastasmiṃ*, though a crack obscures the second and third akṣara, and the reading is not intelligible. Two emendations seem plausible: *upaviṣṭe tatas tasmiṃ*, and *upaviṣṭena tatas tasmiṃ* (hypermetrical, but with several short syllables); the former has been provisionally adopted. The noun described by *upaviṣṭe* is not evident; probably *sāra* (17b). *tasmiṃ* may agree with this, forming a locative absolute clause, or it could have another referent (e.g. the skull mentioned in 18d). In 17d, *bhairavārccite* could be a feminine vocative aside, referring to the goddess, though this epithet does not elsewhere occur. (Cf. *surārccite* in 55.60b, and *suravarārccite* below in 182d.) I have however understood this as an adjective, agreeing with *tasmiṃ*.

[21]The offering vessel (*arghapātra*) mentioned in 18a is presumably distinct from the skull being ritually empowered.

[22]In 19b, the conjecture *prasādāt tava bhairava* is purely diagnostic; A reads *prasādā tu bhavā⟨bha/nma⟩*–, the tops being cut off of the last three syllables. The cluster *-tta-* may have been cofused for *tu*, leading to further corruption.

[23]In the lacuna from 19c–20c, the *sādhaka*'s words in offering the skull may have continued, followed by Bhairava's manifestation before him. In 20c, *sādhvīti* (i.e. *sādhu iti*) exhibits metrical lengthening.

O steadfast man! Because of this heroic spirit [of yours],[24]

21 "That which was not obtained by the gods, *gandharvas*, *siddhas*, *rudras*, and the Sun, (¿) I am prepared to bestow (?),[25] [for] there is no one equal to you in the entire world.

22 "In this world, O spirited man, [who else] is fit [to attain] the Bhairavī-state? By my grace, O spirited man, (¿) you are the darling of the clans of *yoginīs* (?)."[26]

23–24b "... [hostile spirits], proud of their strength,[27] assuredly meet with destruction, incinerated by the fire of your power." And likewise, in the very same way, Bhairavī makes him overlord of the group of Mother-goddesses.[28]

24c–25 Through this *sādhana* of the skull, [he becomes] like a second Bhairava: giver of fear (***bhayadātṛ***), and master (***kartṛ***) of gods (***deva***), *asuras*, and divine serpents. (¿) Gifting [the enchanted] substances to his good helpers, he flies off into the sky (?).[29]

26 ...

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[24] In 20c, *nātha* should be understood as nominative (as though *nātho*), while *bhairaveśolbaṇānanaḥ* (20d) reflects double sandhi (cf. Oberlies §1.8.4). Although **A** is damaged in 20f, what is visible seems consistent with *satvenānena*, as reads **B**. On *sattva* as *vīrasattva*, "heroic spirit," see the discussion ad *BraYā* 1.41 (note 71). One might also consider emending to *vratenānena* (cf. *BraYā* 21.113d, quoted as testimonia).

[25] In 21c, one might also consider reading *tad ahaṃ* rather than *tad idaṃ*. In this pāda, *dātum udyāto* seems unintelligible unless understood as meaning *[ahaṃ] dātum udyataḥ*—perhaps an unusual case of metrical lengthening (cf. Edgerton §3.9–11). In *BraYā* 21.114cd, *udyataṃ* occurs in the very same context: *varaṃ varepsitaṃ vatsa udyataṃ tu bravīhi me* (perhaps understand *udyataṃ* as agreeing with *me*?).

[26] **A** breaks off entirely after the second syllable of 22d, and only the tops of the previous three akṣaras are visible. I have conjectured *yoginīkulanandanaḥ* on a diagnostic basis; this expression occurs in 14.208d and 14.263b.

[27] The adjective *baladarppitāḥ* (23b) should modify a list of hostile beings (*vighnas*, etc.) whom the *sādhaka* attains power over.

[28] It is possible that the boon-giving shifted from Bhairava to Bhairavī in the lacuna of 22d–23b, though this does not seem likely.

[29] Of 25d, only the first two akṣaras (*datvo*) and a smidgen of the top of the next two are visible in **A**. What survives of 25cd is nearly identical to 66.18ab, and 66.18b (*datvā yāti nabhastalam*) could be supplied to fill the lacuna. However, what is faintly visible of akṣaras 3–4 in 25d suggests to me instead reading *datvotpatati khetale*; cf. 83.186d (*na cotpatati khetale*). A lacuna of more than five pādas ensues after this point; a list of *siddhis* might perhaps begin in 26.

27 In case [the empowered substances in the skull?] give off smoke, O Queen of the gods, [he becomes] overlord of the *siddhas* and *vidyādharas*.[30] Using the power to make himself invisible, he could roam the entire realm of Māyā.[31]

28 In case [the empowered substances in the skull?] heat up, O Queen of the gods, he traverses the brine ocean in an instant,[32] and the seven continents as well. He does not drown in [the oceans of] water and so forth. There is no one who can thwart him among gods, *asuras*, and divine serpents.[33]

29 ...

The Goddess spoke:

30 Whence did the skull and skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*) arise,[34] O Maheśvara, such that you bear [them] always, served by the *gaṇas* and Mother-goddesses?[35]

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[30] The section ending in v. 25 or 26 must have concerned the case in which the empowered object bursts into flames, first mentioned in v. 14; see the discussion thereon. Its fruits are of the highest order: the state of Bhairava himself. Cf. the parallel passage in 66.11–18b (quoted as testimonia), where the case of bursting into flames correlates with ascending into the sky as Bhairava in a circle of Mother-goddesses (11.15d–18b). In contrast, vv. 28–29 below concern the lesser powers arising when the object merely heats up. The present verse seems to concern the intermediate case in which the object gives off smoke. Although the first three akṣaras of 27a are missing, the pāda can be restored on the basis of 28a (*uṣmāyite 'pi deveśi*) to read *dhūmāyite 'pi deveśi.*

[31] In 27d, *māyagocaram* exhibits metrical shortening (cf. Edgerton §3.30). This expression refers to the 'impure universe' (*aśuddhādhvan*) extending from *māyātattva* to earth.

[32] In 28b, **A** is torn; the first akṣara is missing, while the second may be *va*. **B**'s *lavaṇāmbho°* is surely correct, whether this is a scribal conjecture or a reading previously visible in **A**.

[33] In 29d, *°mahoragām* (a restoration; **A** reads *°mahora* –) should be understood as genitive plural; cf. Edgerton §8.124.

[34] **A** is lacunose from 29c until the fourth syllable of 30a. See §1.5 for a discussion of this lacuna, in which it is possible, though unlikely, that a chapter colophon was lost. **A** has gaps in 30a and 31ab due to damage, but the remainder of the two verses is almost identical to *BraYāSāra* 68.4–5 (quoted as testimonia with the siglum $\mathbf{S}_1$). I have restored the gaps on this basis, including the prefatory heading *devy uvāca* before 30a. Prior to discovering parallels in the *BraYāSāra*, I had conjectured *katham̧ kapālam utpannaṁ* rather than $\mathbf{S}_1$'s *kasmim̧ kapālam utpannaṁ*, of which the locative *kasmim̧* ("where") seems slightly odd. Perhaps it is to be understood as a locative of source ("from what/whom").

[35] The instrumental pronoun *yena* in 30c is odd: one might expect the object of *dhārayase*, which should be accusative dual—i.e. *ye*—referring to the *kapāla* and *khaṭvāṅga*. The emendation *ye tu* might hence be considered. I have instead understood *yena* in the sense of "by/because

31 And [what are the skull-staff's] measurements? For whom are the insignia [of the *mahāvrata*], and what is [their] application?[36] [Who are] the presiding deities (*adhideva*), and [what] results do *sādhaka*s gain thereby?[37]

Bhairava spoke:

32 Listen, O goddess, to the highest secret, which effects all *siddhi*s: the origin of both the skull and skull-staff.[38]

33 ... beginningless ... the world ....[39]

34 It is all embeded with (¿) the *rudra*s and hosts of *śakti*s (?),[40] O great-souled goddess.[41] I obey his [Paramaśiva's] volition ...[42]

35 You are the one who manifests (*virājase*) (¿) as his power of action (?) and his volition (*icchā*).[43] [You are] Māyā, Creation (*sṛṣṭi*), Beauty (*kānti*), Pa-

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of which," picking up on *kasmiṃ*. Some difficulty also obtains in construing *yena* in 31d. S_1 is here corrupt. In 30d, °*niṣevitam* likely refers to Maheśvara (30b), and has been emended accordingly to the masculine nominative. The neuter could, however, be original, and refer to the skull and skull-staff, as observes Kiss (personal communication).

[36]The 11-syllable lacuna of 31ab has been restored on the basis of S_1, whose syntax is doubtful: *pramāṇañ* (31a) should logically construe with *khaṭvāṅga* and possibly *kapāla* (30ab), rather than the genitive *mudrāṇāṃ* (31a); measurements of the *khaṭvāṅga* rather than the insignia (*mudrā*) are treated in this chapter. The referent and sense of *kasyaiva* (31) are also ambiguous.

[37]What A transmits as *–dhidevaphalañ* (31c) should probably be understood as *adhidevaḥ phalañ* (both collective singular); A often drops visarga before *p-*. In 31d, the referent of *yena* is ambiguous grammatically, though in view of the chapter's principal subject, it should refer to the *khaṭvāṅga*. Cf. the problematic *yena* in 30c.

[38]Six pādas (32b–33c) have been lost from A. As 32a is identical to *BraYāSāra* 68.6a, I have conjectured that the remainder of the verse is also.

[39]It is not possible to restore 33a–c on the basis of the *BraYāSāra*. In 32cd, the *BraYāSāra* and *Devīpurāṇa* converge (*BraYāSāra* 68.6cd ≈ *Devīpurāṇa* 119.13cd), after which the *BraYāSāra* departs from the *BraYā*, hewing closely to the text of the *Devīpurāṇa* until 68.65 (≈ *BraYā* 83.94). Only from that point is *BraYāSāra* 68 closely parallel to *BraYā* 83 again.

[40]In 34c, A's reading *rudrāṇuśaktisaṃghais tu* seems corrupt. As a list, *rudra*, *aṇu*, and *śakti* would be odd, and the expression *aṇuśakti* seems unattested. I have instead conjectured *rudraiś ca śaktisaṅghais tu*, for *rudra*s and *śakti*s are often paired in cosmological discourse. Cf. *BraYā* 63.28ab, *aśeṣatatvarudrais tu śaktisaṃghaiḥ samāvṛtam* ("[Bhairava], surrounded by the *rudra*s of all ontic levels, and by the hosts of *śakti*s").

[41]In 34b *mahātmane* is a feminine vocative formed on the irregular stem *mahātmanā*.

[42]34d has been lost from A.

[43]Three syllables are missing at the beginning of 35a, which reads – – – *ātmikā śaktis*. It seems likely that *ātmikā* was in compound with *kriyā* or perhaps *jñāna*, or even both, since one might expect *icchā* (35b) to complete a triad or a larger set. The *Devīpurāṇa*'s parallel passage

tience (*dhṛti*), [and] Intellect (*buddhi*), O fair woman.[44]

36 …[45]

37 … through you … (¿) impelling, I direct onto the path of creation and destruction (?).[46]

38 At the time of cosmic dissolution as well,[47] when the end of a *parārdha* had passed,[48] [I, as] fire in the form of Time,[49] prepared to incinerate the whole cosmos (*adhvasaṃsthāna*) in due sequence.[50]

39 With successions of countless *tuṭi*s, numbered according to their respective ontic levels (*tattva*),[51] I incinerated [the cosmos] by the will of the Lord,

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(119.15c–16) suggests that a reference to *kriyāśakti* is most likely to have been lost. Possible restorations include *jñānakriyātmikā śaktis*, *tasya jñānātmikā śaktis*, *tasya kriyātmikā śaktis*, or *seyaṃ kriyātmikā śaktis* (adopted; this occurs as *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* 167c, 278a; *Spandakārikā* 3.16a).

[44] In 35c, *sṛṣṭi* and *kānti* appear as stem forms in **A**, while *dhṛti* and *buddhi* (35d) are declined. I have tentatively conjectured the vocative *varānane* for the gap in 35d; what is visibile in **A** is consistent with initial *v-*, though not exclusively so.

[45] Verse 36 has been lost entirely in **A**, and the *Devīpurāṇa* and *BraYāSāra* provide no clear indication of what may be missing.

[46] After a gap, **A** resumes in the fourth syllable of 37b with *°vapuṣā*; this should be the final member of a bahuvrīhi compound agreeing with *tvayā*. In 37b, *vatmani* has been corrected to *vartmani*. This expression (*sṛṣṭisaṃhāravartmani*) also occurs as *Tantrasadbhāva* 10.392b and 11.179d. The verb **A** writes as *niyuṃkṣāmi* may stand for *niyokṣyāmi*, the first-person singular future of *ni-*$\sqrt{}$*yuj*, although an indicative verb form seems more appropriate. One might correct to *niyuṅkṣyāmi*, assuming inadvertent loss of a semivowel in the cluster. While the speaker Bhairava is presumably the agent, the object of the verb may have been lost in the lacuna.

[47] In 38a, *saṃbhāropi* (as read the MSS) must be corrupt for either *saṃhāro 'pi* or perhaps *saṃhāre 'pi*; the latter seems somewhat smoother syntactically, and has been adopted.

[48] An immense span of time, two of which comprise the lifetime of Brahmā.

[49] I.e. the *kālāgni*/*kālānala*.

[50] In 38d, the first-person singular imperfect verb *adaham [udyataḥ]* seems to be used for the infinitive, as though *dagdhum*. Cf. *kartum udyataḥ* in 33.8d, and *hantuṃ samudyataḥ* in 58.35d, 70.87b, 77.86b and 77.137b. While the imperfect is sometimes conflated with the optative, conflation with the infinitive is anomalous and indeed suspect. Perhaps *adahaṃ* is corrupt for *dahitum*? ISAACSON (personal communication, April 2018) suggests two other possible emendations: *kramā dāhārtham udyataḥ* and *kramā dagdhuṃ ham udyataḥ* (with *kramā* for *kramād*, and *ham* for *aham*, metri causa).

[51] While *tuṭi* (39a) could have the sense of "atom" (*aṇu*), it occurs widely in Śaiva literature in the sense of *truṭi* (a minute interval of time); see s.v. *tuṭi* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. Note also the expression *tuṭyādikālaparyāya* in *BraYā* 91.230c ("succession of time, with [intervals]

from the hells up to Māyā.[52]

40 Created again and again at his behest (*tasmai*),[53] when the world [attains] final dissolution (*mahāpralaya*) it becomes completely dark, O goddess, having entered the womb of Māyā.

41 (¿) Thus it is that I took hold of the skulls of all embodied beings (?).[54] Taking on a form garlanded with skulls, I sport as I please.[55]

42 (¿) All the numerous human bones (*nārāṇi*) of the inhabitants of those respective worlds[56] are [my] bracelets, armlets, and the cords on [my] waist

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beginning with the *tuṭi*"). 39b seems to mean that the number of *tuṭi*s required for incineration varies by position in the *tattva* hierarchy.

[52] *prabhuricchayā* (39d) should be understood as a compound, the medial *-r-* being an internal sandhi consonant. This occurs also in *Tantrasadbhāva* 10.1248c: *krīḍante prabhu-r-icchayā*. Cf. *śakti-r-ājñayā* in *BraYā* 1.26d, and see the discussion thereon.

[53] The interpretation of 40ab is somewhat uncertain. If the dative *tasmai* (40b) is original, it should refer to *prabhu* (39d)—perhaps "at his [the lord's] behest." It may instead be corrupt for *tasmā* (i.e. *tasmāt*), with a temporal sense ("[the world is created again and again;] afterwards, when ...").

[54] While the sense of 41b is probably "I took up [all] the skulls," **A**'s *kapālāni jigrāhatam* is unmetrical (the fifth syllable is heavy) and plainly corrupt. This probably disguises a form of $\sqrt{}$*grah*. One possibility might be *kapālāni jagrāha tām*, with *tām* representing the masculine accusative plural (used for the neuter, metri causa). While this does not necessarily resolve the metrical problem, in the language of this text a semivowel conjoined to a consonant need not make the preceding vowel heavy (see the discussion ad 76b). I have tentatively adopted this reading. Another possibility is *kapālāṃ nijagrāha tām*, in roughly the same sense. More speculatively, one could conjecture *kapālāni ajigraham* (with non-application of vowel sandhi). While such an aorist would not have been natural to the author(s), some of the material in this chapter could derive from other sources. Another remote possibility might be *kapālāni gṛhītavān*, with the past active participle.

In 41a, *sarvvāṃ* appears to be genitive plural, in agreement with *dehabhṛtāṃ*. However, it could instead be masculine accusative plural, agreeing with *kapālāni* in 41b, despite the latter being neuter. This would be more likely if one reads *jagrāha tān/m* in 41b.

[55] One might emend *cecchayā* in 41d to the paleographically close *svecchayā*, though the former could be interpreted in the same sense. Perhaps in favour of emendation, the initial *ce* has may be written over an erasure. Cf. *BraYā* 102.9b (*krīḍate svecchayā priye*) and *Tantrasadbhāva* 27.72ab (*krīḍate satataṃ yogī svecchayā yatra rocate*). Note also, however, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 25.87a: *krīḍate cecchayā loke*.

[56] What **A** transmits in 42b as *tadadhvani nivāsinām* may be corrupt for *tadadhvānanivāsinām*, the difference between *adhvāna* and *adhvani* being a mere hook above the vertical stroke for the vowel. Syntactically, the compound seems preferable to the locative. For *adhvāna* as an irregular stem in compound, note *Kubjikāmata* 15.79 (*ṣaḍadhvānaprayogataḥ*). Cf. Edgerton §17.37–38.

(?).[57]

43 Seeing the cosmos absorbed (*līna*) into (*gata*) my body in a subtle form,[58] the *bhuvaneśvaras* proclaimed that I have the form of a *liṅga*.[59]

44 Seeing me garlanded with skulls at the end of time, the world-lords spoke [of me] using the synonym[s] Kāleśvara (Lord of Time) [and] Kapālīśa (Lord of the Skull).

45 Seeing me fierce (*raudra*) while destroying in my own time, O Maheśvarī, [they] called my fearsome form arrayed throughout the cosmos "Bhairava."[60]

46 For though without name, O Queen of the gods, [I am] called by a crore names by the various [world] lords in accordance with how they see [me] at that time. You too are then named by way of that very form by those who apprehend it.[61]

47–48b Afterwards, when all the cosmos is dark, absorbed [into its source],[62] [I,] the deity with no foundation, take seat in the *sadāśivatattva* with a

[57] 42cd is rather problematic, especially A's reading *kaṭideśe janāni tu* in 42d. *kaṭa* (42c) probably stands for *kaṭaka*, "bracelet," for *kaṭaka* and *keyūra* ("armlet") are often mentioned as a pair; cf., e.g., *kaṭakakeyūrādibhiḥ* ... *ālaṅkriyate* in Abhinavagupta's commentary on *Dhvanyāloka* 2.5. Occurrences of *kaṭa* as *kaṭaka*, paired with *keyūra*, include *BraYā* 57.69d (*kaṭakeyūrakaṇṭhakam*) and *Niśvāsamukha* 1.117c (*kaṭakeyūradānena*). Neither possess *sūtras* (cords), nor are they located on the waist (*kaṭideśe*). The *kaṭisūtra* (a belt of cords) is common in ornament lists, however, and thus the line may mean "bracelet, armlet, and cords on the waist area." It does not seem possible to interpret *janāni* in this context. On a diagnostic basis, I have conjectured *ca tāni*; the correlative seems appropriate, and this is not so distant paleographically. One could also consider reading *gatāni*, agreeing with *sūtrāṇi*.

[58] It is possible that A's *sūkṣmā* in 43b agrees with the instrumental *vapuṣā*, for it is otherwise difficult to construe. It seems preferable to emend *sūkṣmā ca* to *sūkṣmeṇa*, however; cf. *Mataṅgapārameśvara* 25.32 (*sūkṣmeṇa vapuṣā vahner*). In the same pāda, *adhvanam* is accusative, formed on the thematized stem *adhvana*; cf. EDGERTON §17.26.

[59] In 43c, A's *liṅgākṛtistvena* must be corrupt, presumably for the abstract instrumental °*ākṛtitvena*, which has been adopted, or perhaps for °*ākṛtis tena*.

[60] It seems that *īritam* in 45d is to be construed as the verb independently from the adjective *sarvādhvavihita*, though they appear to compounded. Cf. EDGERTON §8.35.

[61] In 46d, I have emended *udāhṛtam* to the nominative, agreeing with *dṛṣṭas*, given the frequent confusion between visarga and A's "semicolon" type pāda-final *-m* or anusvāra. In 46c, *sadā* seems doubtful, and has been emended to *yadā*, a possibility supported by the presence of *tadā* in 46f. However, *yathā* is also plausible, which would have *tadvad* as its correlative.

[62] A wormhole in A has damaged several akṣaras in 47a, but what is visible is consistent with B.

throne (*āsana*) made of my own *śaktis*,[63] longing for the pastime of yoga (*yogakrīḍā*).

48c–49 While my mind (*jñāna*) was immersed in *samādhi* in the ultimate reality (*pare tattve*), darkness rapidly enveloped [my] body, which is the shelter of the world.[64] [At that time] my activity (*vṛtti*) appears as the sleep of yoga, O devoted woman.

50–51 When the end of a *parārdha* had passed,[65] and, by the will of Śiva,[66] I had re-awakened, from my body emerged that *tattva* in which the universe had been retracted (*saṃhṛta*)—from Māyā to earth, consisting of the dispositions (*bhāva*) and created things (*bhūta*),[67] created by the will of the supreme cause, the wondrous [universe] as it truly is (*yathā tathā*).[68]

52 This was a mass of atoms (*paramāṇu*) of the earth element not adhering together. By means of yogic power, I produced sweat, then gathered it [all] together, O fair woman.[69]

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[63] The expression *svaśaktivihitāsanaḥ* in 47 alludes to the lotus-throne of Sadāśiva, consisting of a series of nine *śaktis* from Vāmā to Manonmanī. See Goodall et al. (2004).

[64] *tamasā vyāptitan* in 49a has been emended to *tamasā vyāpitan*. One might also consider *tamasāvāpya tat*. In the *jagāśrayam* in 49d, *jaga* occurs for *jagat*, in compound with *āśraya*. Such is the case in 58.20d as well, where *jagāmbikām* represents *jagadambikām*. Cf. Edgerton §15.2. In paṭala 53, *jagākhilam* may occur twice for *jagad akhilam*, with the stem form *jaga* used for the nominative-accusative singular.

[65] In 50a, A's *gate parārdhakāle tye* could be a corruption of °*kāle 'ntye* (loss of anusvāra), or perhaps °*kāle 'nte* or °*kālānte* (cf. *parārdhānte* in 38a). I have tentatively emended to the latter. On the *parārdha*, see v. 38 above.

[66] In 50b, although it could be read in compound, *śivecchā* may be nominative in the sense of instrumental; cf., e.g., 56.23b: *[sā yoginī] śivecchā vyaktitāṃ vrajet*. A number of cases of the feminine nominative for instrumental occur elsewhere, such as *sadāśivānujñā* in 1.36a. Cf. Edgerton §9.65.

[67] The idea of creation consisting of *tattvas* (implied by 51b), *bhāvas*, and *bhūtas* (51a) derives from Sāṅkhya. See e.g. *Yuktidīpikā*, introducing *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 10 and commenting on *kārikā* 21, which speaks of creation (*sarga*) as threefold: the *tattvasarga*, *bhāvasarga*, and *bhūtasarga*. Śaiva sources sometimes add worlds (*bhuvana*): for instance, Rāmakaṇṭha commenting ad *Nareśvaraparīkṣā* 3.75–76 expresses the view that creation (*saṃsāra*) comprises *tattvas*, *bhāvas*, *bhūtas*, and *bhuvanas*: …*karma sarvasya kalādikṣityantasya tattvabhāvabhūtabhuvanātmanaḥ saṃsārasya hetubhūtam* … ("Karma is the cause of all saṃsāra, extending from *kalā* to earth, which consists of ontic principles, dispositions, beings, and worlds").

[68] The syntax is not entirely clear: I have construed 51cd with 50–51b, but it could perhaps point forward. *yathā tathā* has been construed as adverbial, but perhaps a relative-correlative construction was intended.

[69] In 52c, I had originally adopted A's *yogena svena -m- utpādya* (52), understanding

53 Placing this in the palm of my hand, I churned it through the application of *śakti*. It came to blaze greatly (¿) by [my] gaze, while looking [upon it] (?).[70]

54 Well-baked by the power of that [gaze], it became hard, consisting of gold.[71] It shines in the palm of my hand with the radiance of a crore of suns.

55 Possessed of the three *guṇa*s [of *Prakṛti*], it has a threefold foundation.[72] It is the abode of the world-guardians (*lokapāla*s) and home to the fourteen classes (*kula*s) [of beings][73]—their locus (*nidhi*) for sensual experience (*bhoga*) and liberation.

56–57b Within this (*tatrānte*),[74] Brahmā, who was born from *sattvaguṇa*, (¿)

°*samūhan* (52a) as the object of *utpādya* and *-m-* as a sandhi consonant ("By means of my yogic power, having produced a mass of atoms ..."). Phyllis Granoff (personal communication) pointed out to me, however, that the *Devīpurāṇa* reads *svedam utpādya* in a parallel passage (119.29a); this reading must surely be adopted in the *BraYā* as well. The resulting syntax is not entirely clear, however. One might understand *utpādya* as having two objects—earth atoms and sweat. (The *Devīpurāṇa* passage, quoted as testimonia, speaks of the creation of sweat, but not earth.) Otherwise, 52ab could be understood as a nominal sentence, as I have provisionally taken it. The interpretation of *tad asaṅgatam* in 52b is uncertain: a compound seems unlikely, for the referent of *tad* would be unclear. The parallel material in the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa*, quoted as testimonia, is not entirely helpful, for it is unclear what the deity churns in his hand: apparently *kāmaṃ* ("desire"), possibly in the sense of semen?

[70] An anusvāra has been restored to *atyuṣṇatā* in 53c. The text and interpretation of 53b are uncertain; A reads the unintelligible *diśā tac ca nirīkṣaṇam*. The idea seems to be that Bhairava's gaze causes the muddy mix of sweat and earth in his hand to "bake." This theme of creation by way of the deity churning and gazing occurs again below in 155–156b (cf. 163ab). On a diagnostic basis, I have conjectured *dṛśā tac ca nirīkṣaṇe*, although *dṛśā* and *nirīkṣaṇa* seem tautologous. For *diśāṃ* one might also consider reading *daśāṃ*, agreeing with *atyuṣṇatāṃ*, and for *tac ca* one might rather read *tasya*.

[71] *kāñcanāmayam* in 54b exhibits metrical lengthening in its medial *-ā-*; cf. Edgerton §3.5.

[72] In 55a, A reads *triguṇaṃ tritayādhāraṃ*, the two compounds describing the golden orb held by Bhairava. The sense is probably that the three *guṇa*s comprise its "triple foundation," and one might therefore emend to a single compound, *triguṇatritayādhāraṃ*.

[73] In 55c, *caturdaśakula* presumably refers to the fourteen-fold manifest creation (*bhautikasarga*) of Sāṅkhya: the eightfold beings of divine birth (*devayoni*), five classes of animals and plants (*tiryagyoni*), and human beings (*mānuṣya*); see *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 53. Among Śaiva sources, cf., e.g., *Svacchandatantra* 4.108ab, and also 10.350–55, where the fourteen-fold beings are enumerated as comprising the sphere of transmigration (*saṃsāramaṇḍala*).

[74] In 56a, *tatrānte* appears to mean *tatrāntar*, "inside that;" cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 10.210c (*vanaṃ pitṛvanaṃ nāma supārśvasya samīpataḥ* | *tatrānte tu mahābhadraṃ taḍāgaṃ sumanora-*

was indeed dispatched as guru.[75] In the creation, he truly is the one made first (?),[76] he who becomes manifest in the [*tattva* of] Intellect (*buddhi*). He indeed is the cause of creatures, the one who illuminates consciences.[77]

57c–58 Afterwords, from conjoining [the *guṇa*] *sattva* with *tamas*, out of both I created a second [deity] made of *rajas*, by the will of the supreme cause. For the purpose of engaging in preservation,[78] I then placed him within the [cosmic] egg.[79]

59 Abiding by their own respective natures, those two lords (¿) were assigned to be creators by means of [the *guṇa*] *tamas* (?).[80] O Goddess, I impelled

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mam ||). Yuko Yokochi (personal communication) instead suggests, quite plausibly, emending *tatrānte* to *tatrāṇḍe*, in light of *tadaṇḍe* below in 58d.

75 What **A** transmits as *gurutvayā* in 56b is difficult to construe. A second-person pronoun, *tvayā*, referring to the Goddess, is improbable, as she is otherwise uninvolved. An abstract instrumental—*gurutvena* or *gurutayā* ("[dispatched] as guru")—would fit well semantically, but both are unmetrical. One might also consider *gurutvataḥ* (cf. *prabhutvataḥ* in 71.92d), though the ablative/causal sense is not suitable. I suspect that *gurutvayā* in fact occurs in the sense of *gurutayā*, metri causa. Alternatively, one might emend to *gurur mayā*, a possibility I have considered that was also suggested by Yuko Yokochi. This is an appealing solution, though it is not obvious why *-rm-* would become corrupted to *-tv-*. A simpler solution might be *gurus tathā*.

76 As transmitted, 56c is unintelligible, **A** reading *vṛtyo tu prākṛtaḥ sro vai*. The final element could be corrupt for *so vai*, but there might be confusion with *so vai* below in 57b. For *prākṛtaḥ*, Judit Törzsök has suggested the emendation *prākkṛtaḥ*, describing Brahmā, which seems entirely apposite. As for *vṛtyo tu*, this seems beyond obvious remedy. I have conjectured *sṛṣṭau tu* on a diagnostic basis.

77 One might emend *vivekān samprakāśakaḥ* (57b) to *vivekānāṃ prakāśakaḥ*, analogous to the genitive in *prajānāṃ kāraṇam* (57a), or perhaps understand *vivekān* as *vivekāṃ*, an irregular genitive plural (cf. Edgerton §8.124).

78 The term *adhipālana* does not seem well-attested; one might hence consider reading *so hi pālanayogāya* in 58c.

79 *tadaṇḍe* in 58d appears to have been intended to mean *tasmin aṇḍe* (i.e. *brahmāṇḍe*, "in the cosmic egg"). One could perhaps construe *tad* in the sense of *tataḥ*, but this seems atypical of the text's usage.

80 On account of fading, **A** is only partially legible in 59b. The scribe of **B** was also unable to decipher **A**, his likely exemplar, reading *ka – – tamaso hi taiḥ*. **D**, which is also dependent on **A**, reads *kartun vratasamāhitaiḥ* (*f.* 209*r*, line 1); however, this seems inconsistent with what is visible in **A**, which reads *ka⟩tt⟨u/r⟩ – tamas⟨o/ā⟩⟩ hitaiḥ*. The missing akṣara, though only partly visibile, could perhaps be *tva* or *tve*, hence my conjecture *karttṛtve tamasā*. The final element, *hitaiḥ*, seems impossible to interpret, and may be corrupt for *hitau* (adopted) or perhaps *hi vai*. Other conjectures I have considered include *karttṛtve tamasānvitau* and *karttṛtvena samanvitau*.

them by means of *tamas* for the purpose of creation.[81]

60 That form (*tad rūpaṃ*) [I created] possessing the state of *rajas*, arising from aspiration (*abhilāṣa*), stimulated the *sattva* arising from Brahmā greatly by means of *rajas*.[82]

61 When this [*sattva*] was agitated, [Brahmā] abandoned his state of consisting of *sattva* [and thought],[83] "who else exists inimical to me equal to me here on this earth?"[84]

62 And before him he saw Viṣṇu,[85] whose body was extremely radiant. Controlled by my application of *tamas*, he commanded, "who are you?"[86]

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[81]In 59d, °*hetunā* has been understood as dative in sense (unusually so). It could, however, be interpreted as an adjective of *sṛṣṭinā* ("[by *tamas*], which is a cause for creation").

[82]The text and syntax of 60–61b are in several respects problematic. In the parallel passage of the *Devīpurāṇa* (119.35c–37b), quoted as testimonia, the *sattva* arising from Brahmā was disturbed by the creation of Viṣṇu through *rajas*, leading Brahmā to become agitated. This may well be the basic meaning of verse 60. In 60b, *yadi* seems inappropriate semantically. It is possible that *yady abhilāṣajam* is corrupt for *yad abhi*°, but *yad dhy abhi*° might better account for what **A** transmits; this conjecture has been adopted. In 60c, **A** transmits the unintellgible *tatvasaṃkṣobhamāyāsa*. The expression *kṣobham* + *ā*$\sqrt{}$*yā* occurs frequently, and one could perhaps read *āyāti* or *āyātam*. The pāda remains doubtful, however, and I am inclined to emend *tatva* to *satvaṃ* on the strength of the *Devīpurāṇa* parallel (119.36d, *tat sattvaṃ brahmajaṃ priye*). The syntax would remain unclear, however: could *āyātaṃ* be causative in sense, with *rajobhāvaṃ rūpaṃ* the subject and *brahmajaṃ sattvaṃ* the object? An alternative solution is to emend to *sattvaṃ saṃkṣobhayām āsa*, which I have adopted. This periphrastic perfect verb accounts for the consonants **A** transmits, and is echoed by a periphrastic verb in *Devīpurāṇa* 119.36c (*rajena udayām āsa*). Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 46.8–11, which describes Parameśvara stimulating (*kṣobhayām āsa*, 46.9c) *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* to give rise to Brahmā in the *brahmāṇḍa*; cf. also *Vāyupurāṇa* 5.10c–14 (Nag Publishers edition), among other cosmological passages attesting this expression. In 60d, *mahān*, though apparently nominative, is accusative or (more likely) adverbial in sense. Cf. 40.1b (*asidhāravrataṃ mahān*). It is also conceivable that it is instrumental in sense, agreeing with *rajasā*.

[83]The subject of *muktvā* (61b) is not stated, though logically it should be Brahmā.

[84]The verb *dviṣati* (61c) occurs for *dveṣṭi*. Cf. Epic *dviṣate* (Oberlies, p. 451), which would be unmetrical. In 61d, I had initially read **A** as *matsamo tu mahītale* (as also **B**). However, it seems rather to read *matsamo 'ttra mahītale*, which is much preferable; a wormhole has damaged the character in question. Cf., e.g., *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* 5.37: *te narā matsamā jñeyāḥ siddhās te 'tra mahītale*.

[85]Curiously, the plural perfect *dadṛśuś* occurs in 62a for the singular, though the singular *dadṛśe* would be metrical. Cf. *ūcur* in 63c.

[86]What **A** transmits as *saṃjñāyā* is difficult to interpret. An instrumental (metri causa) of *saṃjñā* seems unlikely. Being preceded by *iti*, the syntax suggests it could be the gerund of a verb for speaking, probably *saṃjñāya*, perhaps in the causative sense ("commanding"), which

63 But then Upendra, [Viṣṇu,] grew angry and said to Viśvātman, [Brahmā,] "in this world, I am the master (*kartṛ*), the best of lords."[87]

64 Those two arise from [the *tattva*s of] Mind (*manas*) and Intellect (*buddhi*), [respectively].[88] (¿) From them arose [the *tattva* of] Ego (*ahaṃ*), filled with arrogance (?).[89] [Thinking] "I am the one who impels!", they were intoxicated by their exceeding egotism.[90]

65 After the dispute, there arose a battle between the two of them by gaze, speech, arms, fists, and then weapons.[91]

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would explain Viṣṇu's angry reaction.

[87]The syntax of 63cd is unclear. It appears that the plural perfect verb *ūcur* is singular in meaning (cf. *dadṛśuś* in 62a). If its agent is Brahmā, then 63ab lacks a verb; but if the agent is Viṣṇu, the second *iti* is puzzling. Indeed the latter *iti* seems dubious, following as it does upon the (evidently) genitive plural noun *viśvātmanām*, which can neither be dialogue text nor plural genitive in sense. On this account I am inclined to conjecture *viśvātmanam prati*, the noun being accusative (with the weak stem, metri causa; see EDGERTON §17.26) and referring to Brahmā (the epithet *viśvātman* would be appropriate for either deity). It is also possible that corruption in 63cd disguises a back-and-forth dialogue, such as is present in *Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.3 (cited in the testimonia).

Note the double application of sandhi in 63a (*tatopendraḥ*), the non-application of vowel sandhi in 63c (*karttā iti*) and across the pāda boundry, and the faulty meter in the 63c (or is it a rare *sa*-vipulā?).

[88]In 64a, *manobuddhībhavau* appears to be a compound with (metrical?) lengthening of the vowel (*ī*), possibly influenced by the fact that *manobuddhī* would be the correct dual nominative. The association of Brahmā with the *buddhitattva* is intimated above in 56d; thus Viṣṇu is presumably linked to *manas*.

[89]The text and interpretation of 64b are highly doubtful, and I am tempted to crux the pāda. As transmitted, *tayo 'haṃ* should stand for *tayor ahaṃ*, with non-standard sandhi (the visarga in *-oḥ a-* being treated as it would be in *-aḥ a-*; cf. *ubhayo 'pi* in 85.76a, and *ubhayo py evaṃ* in 18.77a). In this case *haṃkṛta* should mean *ahaṃkṛta*, which seems doubtful. The pāda may instead be corrupt for something like *tayor ahaṃkṛtāmatā*, which, however, has a metrical fault (a *ra-gaṇa* in syllables 2–4). In Sāṅkhya, the *tattvas buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, and *manas* form a sequence as the higher evolutes of Prakṛti, and these two pādas seem to account for the rise of *ahaṃkāra*—fitting with the narrative's cosmogonic theme.

[90]The rather doubtful *prerako mad* in 64c could perhaps mean *matprerakaḥ*, "[you are] impelled by me." The emendation *prerako 'ham* has been preferred, proposed by Kengo HARIMOTO (personal communication). What **A** reads as *itistvena* is likely corrupt for *iti svena*, the instrumental agreeing with *mamatvena* in 64d. In the latter pāda, °*mohitāḥ* is plural for dual.

[91]What **A** transmits as *tatoyudhaiḥ* should be understood as *tataḥ āyudhaiḥ*, a non-standard sandhi found in Epic (OBERLIES §1.2.4) and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (EDGERTON §4.13), especially when the following word is *ātman*. The expression *tato 'tmānaṃ* occurs several times in the *BraYā*: 4.705c, 14.165c, 33.6a, 45.24c, and 103.47c.

66–67 (¿) While the two great heroes vehemently assaulted each other (¿) they made a whirlwind of noise with their long arms.[92] The earth, struck by a mass of weapons and feet, shook in every direction as though it were splitting apart, O woman of renown.[93] It seemed as though earth and sky wish to unite.[94]

68 The sky was covered with vultures, and [the earth] overrun by jackals.[95] Deep, thunderous sounds reverberated and there was a blazing rain of fire.

69–70b While [they] ranged about, the orb [of the earth] teetered exceedingly, [like] a [potter's] wheel impelled by a stick.[96] Mountain peaks plummeted in every direction, (¿) terrible [on account of showers of] skulls and entrails (?), resounding with mighty storms, swaying in the fierce winds.[97]

70c–71b Seeing the final destruction [of the universe] approaching in the battle of these two, dense with the crashing of the great ocean's surging waves;

71c–72 [and] seeing the very terrible battle obtained because of an excess of

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[92] What **A** transmits as *ājaghānau* in 66a does not seem intelligible. It is reminiscent of the singular perfect *ājaghāna*, of *ā√han*, but this ill-suits the syntax, while the *-au* ending suggests a dual nominal form. I have tentatively adopted Peter Bisschop's conjecture of *ājaṅghantau*, the present participle of the intensive of *ā√han*. In this interpretation, the object of *kṛtavantau* is *°nirghātaṃ* in 66c.

[93] *mahāyaśe* (67b) is a feminine vocative formed on the thematized stem *yaśa* for *yaśas*. Cf. Oberlies §3.14.

[94] In 67d, the singular verb form *samicchate* occurs for the dual.

[95] In 68a, Judit Törzsök's proposal (personal communication) to emend *gṛdhrasañcchannagamanaṃ* to *°gaganaṃ* is convincing, for the compound surely describes the sky.

[96] Though plural in form, the instrumental present participle *bhramadbhi[r]* in 69a stands for the dual. In 69b, *maṇḍala* presumably has the sense of *bhūmaṇḍala*. The interpretation of 69ab is the suggestion of Granoff (personal communication), on the basis of parallel text in *Devīpurāṇa* 119.45 (where 45b, *cakravad daṇḍacoditam*, has the comparative suffix *-vat*). This might otherwise mean "impelled by [Viṣṇu's] discus."

[97] In 69cd, it seems desirable to emend *antrakapālogrāṃ ... °svanāṃ* (as reads **A**) to the nominative plural, agreeing with the subject of *patanti*—evidently *giriśṛṅgā[ḥ]* (70b), by emendation of *giriśṛṅga*. Even so, the compound *antrakapālogrāḥ* is highly suspect; one might read *attra kapāl°*, but this helps little. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.45c instead reads *abhrakapālāni*, perhaps meaning "shards of the sky;" while an intriguing possibility, the two texts are not otherwise very close in this passage.

The compound-final *°valina* in 70a is corrupt for *°valitā* (as suggests Yuko Yokochi), in the plural. This pāda contains the *na*-vipulā metrical pattern. In 70b, *diśo diśaṃ* is perhaps in error for *diśo diśaḥ*, a variation on the common phrase *pradiśo diśaḥ*. Another common expression, *diśo daśa*, also seems plausible.

tamas,[98] without considering the impending destruction;[99] I quelled their pride with my own very body.[100]

73–74 In the dreadful singular ocean, I created the form of an extremely radiant lingam[101] between the two of them,[102] drawing apart from each other [the pair] locked in hand-to-hand combat, who had their anger depart instantly, O noble woman. I was present in a immeasurable form [extending] upwards and downwards.

75 Terrifying them with the radiance of the Great Fire of Time,[103] my dear, they were overcome by stupor, as though they had become feeble.[104]

76–77 Seeing the blazing lingam,[105] they were astonished, O fair woman.

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[98] *°tamasā labdhaṃ* in 71c is somewhat doubtful; perhaps read *tamasārabdhaṃ*?

[99] The syntax of 72ab (*cintayitvā vinā devi*) is doubtful, for it is unclear how *vinā* construes. Perhaps "without [further] thought" (a suggestion of GRANOFF)? I am tempted to conjecture *mayā* for *vinā*; cf. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.54d: *iti sañcintito mayā*. Reading *vinā*, it is conceivable that the subject of *cintayitvā* is the pair of dueling deites rather than the narrator, Bhairava, who is the agent of *dṛṣṭvā* (70d, 71d) and of the primary verb, *kṛtaṃ* (72d). Hence, the sense of 72ab might be "[they,] without considering the impending destruction," the subject shifting back to Bhairava in 72cd.

[100] The accusative compound *darppopaśamanan* in 72c might, surprisingly, have the sense of the dative of purpose (as though *darpopaśamanāya*). I have instead construed it as agreeing with *kṛtaṃ* ("I did/made pacification of their pride with my own body"). The compound is an emendation of **A**'s *dargho°*, supported by *Devīpurāṇa* 119.57c (*darpopaśamanopāyas*). The ostensibly dative dual *tābhyāṃ* appears genitive in sense (cf. 73c below, and EDGERTON §7.43), construing with *darpa*, though perhaps the sense intended was "[I accomplished the quelling of pride] for them").

[101] *liṅgarūpa* in 73b should be understood as a stem form standing for the nominative-accusative *°rūpaṃ*; cf. EDGERTON §8.22–23, 8.31–35. This agrees with the accusative *atitejasam*.

[102] It seems in 73c that *tābhyāntarasthan* represents *tābhyām antarasthaṃ*, with metri causa loss of the nasal (cf. EDGERTON §2.72); here the irregular dual dative/instrumental *tābhyā* has the sense of the genitive *tayor* (cf. 72c above, and EDGERTON §7.43).

[103] *°rocībhi*, as reads **A** in 75a, appears to occur for *°rocibhis*, with metrical lengthening of the stem (cf. *°koṭībhir* in 89c, and OBERLIES §3.3) as well as non-standard elision of visarga before an unvoiced dental consonant. Note also the absence of vowel sandhi in 75b, which is more typical at the end of an odd pāda.

[104] The optative plural *syur* in 75d occurs in the sense of the dual. In the same pāda, one might consider the emendation *hīnatāṃ gatau* in place of **A**'s *dīnatāṅ gatau*, though the latter is plausible.

[105] What **A** transmits as *sujālvanam* in 76b is probably corrupt for *sujvālanam* (as reads **B**). While the latter is unmetrical by classical standards—the fifth syllable of an even pāda must be light—in the *BraYā*'s language, a consonant conjoined with a semivowel does not necessarily

[They thought,] it is neither stone nor gold, nor silver (*tāra*), brass (*ārakūṭa*), or iron; it is not of the class of tin, copper, or lead,[106] nor is it of bell-metal (*kāṃsa*) or anything else. It had the form of a light of great radiance, (¿) stealing away the gods' sight (?).[107]

78 Coming together, the two supreme beings went upwards and downwards. Seeing no end [to the lingam],[108] they grew afraid, and began to praise the Lord:

79 "We bow to [you,] Śambhu, fierce as the Fire of Time, benevolent (*śiva*) dispeller of woe (*aśiva*), whose form is both unmanifest and manifest, gross and subtle;

80 "We bow to you (¿) whose consciousness contains [all] expressions of knowledge (?), who contains [all] creatures' actions,[109] infinite and formless, with neither lord nor locus.

81 "O mighty power of the powerful,[110] [we bow to you,] bearer of the radiant flame, embodiment of earth, sky, and heaven, the great soul whose form is the void. O great lingam of perfect evenness, to you we bow, Mahādeva."[111]

82 While being praised thus by their divine speech,[112] I manifested for them in my true form,[113] O mother of the *gaṇa*s.

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render the preceding syllable heavy. Cf. 49.13b, *tato vahniṃ prajvālayet.*

[106] 77a is hypermetrical.

[107] 77d is problematic, with A reading *dṛgmuṣantadivaukaso*. This should perhaps be emended to *dṛg muṣantaṃ divaukasoḥ*, the latter being genitive dual. The unusual expression *dṛg muṣantaṃ*—"stealing the sight"—is suspect, though the non-standard accusative *dṛg* (for *dṛśaṃ*) is plausible.

[108] It is very likely that A's *adṛṣṭvāntargatau* is corrupt for *adṛṣṭvāntaṅ gatau*, for otherwise *adṛṣṭvā* lacks an object. Cf. *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 34.40 (*tāvat kālaṃ gataś corddhvaṃ tasyāntaṃ jñātum icchayā | śrānto 'tyantam adṛṣṭvāntaṃ p[apā]tādhaḥ pitāmahaḥ ||*).

[109] What A reads in 80a is unintelligible: *jñānātmavṛtticotāya*. The basic meaning of the two divine epithets in 80ab may be that all knowledge and action are subsumed by Śiva. Perhaps °*cotāya* is corrupt for °*cetāya*, as reads B, a dative on the themized stem *ceta* (for *cetas*); this solution has been adopted. It may also be that °*cotāya* is corrupt for °*codāya*, in the sense of °*codakāya*, "impeller [of all knowledge]."

[110] °*teja* in 81 is the vocative of the thematized stem *teja* (from *tejas*).

[111] The epithet *mahāsāmya* (as A may read) is somewhat suspect, though intelligible. While the stotra ending here contains ten verse-quarters, there is no indication of loss of text.

[112] The indeclinable *yāva* in 82a is likely original (for *yāvat*); cf. Edgerton §2.91. More unusually, the nominative *devātmikā* (82b) must be instrumental in sense, agreeing with *girā*; cf. Edgerton §9.65.

[113] Although there is no metrical exigency, A's *tābhyā* for *tābhyāṃ* in 82c could be original (cf.

83–84 I created my terrifying (*bhairava*) form as Time with twelve eyes, garlanded with skulls and fierce, with a dazzling trident in hand,[114] with a serpent as sacred thread, [resembling] a fire emitting sparks (*visphuliṅga*),[115] bearing a skull-staff, three-eyed, radiant with a skull in hand.[116]

85 I terrorized gods, *asura*s, and divine serpents with my growls (*ghoṇaśabda*),[117] having in my mouth crooked fangs and a gaze darting about like lightning.[118]

86 Seeing this, the two great gods stood transfixed in fear with eyes firmly shut, breathing heavily, and asked [of me] the ultimate observance (*vrata*):[119]

87 "What is this strange form of yours,[120] O lord? What is this adornment?

73c above); I have however restored the expected anusvāra, which is easily lost at the end of a pāda. It appears that the oblique dual pronouns *tayoḥ* and *tābhyāṃ* are interchangible. Instead of *āvirbhūtas tu vai tābhyāṃ*, one might also consider the somewhat redundant *āvirbhūtas stavaiḥ tābhyāṃ*, "I manifested on account of their hymns."

[114] *śūla* here has the sense of *triśūla*; see 87d below. **A**'s orthography *pāninam* (for *pāṇinam*) could be original: *na*/*ṇa* confusion is so pervasive that some of this may be authorial.

[115] The interpretation of 84b is doubtful; **A** reads *visphuliṅgaṃ havirmukhaṃ*. The latter expression seems unattested, but may mean "oblation eater" (*havirbhuj*), i.e. "fire." Alternatively, reading °*sphuliṅgahavir*° in compound, the pāda could mean "having sparking oblations in his mouth."

[116] The description is curious insofar as the deity is described as both twelve-eyed (83b), i.e. having four three-eyed faces, as well as three-eyed (84c). He is also described as carrying both trident (*śūla*, 83d) and skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*, 84c), though the detailed iconographic descriptions which follow make clear that this is a single, composite object. Perhaps vv. 83–84 have been spliced together indifferently from different source material.

[117] The compound °*mahoragām* should be understood as genitive plural, as it is above in 25b.

[118] In 85, *draṣṭrā*° is corrupt for *draṃṣṭrā*° (i.e. *daṃṣṭrā*°), an orthography pervasive in **A**; see the discussion in §1.4.2 (note 79). The interpretation of 85d is doubtful. I suspect that **A**'s reading *vidyulolāvilolitaṃ* is corrupt for °*vilokitam*, "his gaze darts about/is tremulous like lightning" (*vidyu* = *vidyul*). Expressions such as *lolalocana*, etc., are very common. If the text is correct as transmitted, the compound should be probably still be understood as describing the deity's eyes. Cf., e.g., the description of the goddess Chinnamastā as *vidyullolākṣiyugmāṃ* ("having eyes tremulous like lightning") quoted in the *Bṛhattantrasāra* of Āgamavāgīśa (p. 602). In any case the long *-ā-* of *lolā* seems inexplicable, and could be emended (viz. °*lola*°). An additional possibility might be to read *vidyulolāvalokitam*, with *avalokita* used in the sense of *vilokita* ("gaze").

[119] *pṛcchatau*, as reads **A** in 86d, is doubtful. This could be corrupt for the dual present participle *pṛcchantau* (loss of visarga), or for the dual indicative verb *pṛcchato* (confusion between *o* and *au*). Both are plausible, and I have tentatively adopted the latter. *Devīpurāṇa* 119.63d also has an indicative verb, though in the plural (*pṛcchanti vratam uttamam*).

[120] In 87a, **A** transmits *etanmadbhutaṃ*, presumably for *etad adbhutaṃ* (as emended; cf.

What is this radiant spear with three prongs that shines in the firmament?

88–89b "Whose auspicious best of limbs [i.e. head] is this in the palm of your hand? From whose body come the ornaments of human (*mahā-*) bone which shine on you (*virājate*)?" I then replied to them with these words of address:[121]

89c–90 "This garland on me, which shines with many crores of heads (¿) from the bodies of countless world-lords (*bhuvanīśa*), is fastened at the time of universal destruction, O Brahmā, [as they are] destroyed over and over again (?).[122]

91 "All of the human remains (*nārāṇi*) placed on [my] neck, arms, and waist are entirely yours, O Nārāyaṇa, and those of the world-lords, from the time of dissolution.[123]

(¿) ......

92 "[At the time of destruction, these remains became] covered [with] flesh by the power of Māyā. [The *asura*] began to agitate for that purpose (?),[124]

87bc). The nasal doubling is not required metrically. Perhaps the text originally read *etaṃ adbhutaṃ*, subsequently re-written as *etaṃm* and then *etanm* (see the discussion of word-final *-ṃm* in §1.4.2, note 80).

[121] *vaca*, as **A** reads in 89b, may be original, though it is perfectly likely that a pāda-final visarga has been dropped.

[122] There are a number of problems in v. 90. In 90a, °*bhuvanīśānam* seems likely to be corrupt for the genitive plural °*īśānāṃ* (i.e. *bhuvaneśānāṃ*); cf. 91d below, where *bhuvanīśāñ* may be an irregular genitive plural. 90b is unintelligible, with **A** reading *pralayais tu tvajais tathā*. A parallel verse in the *Devīpurāṇa* (119.66) makes Brahmā the source of the garland of skulls. Its reading *tvadīyais tanubhir* (66c) has suggested to me the conjecture *pralaye tanujais tathā* in 90b, adopted on a diagnostic basis. Another possibility that comes to mind is *pralaye tu tvacais tathā* ("[garland of skulls bound] by [their] hide at the time of destruction"). In 90c, **A** may read either *vinibaddhā tu* or *vinibadhvā tu* (an irregular gerund), the two being indistinguishable. I have adopted *vinibaddhā*, in agreement with *mālā* (89d). The vocative *brahma* (for *brahman*) is likely original (cf. Edgerton §17.7). Forms based on the stems *brahma*, *brahman*, and *brahmaṇa* freely alternate in the text.

[123] °*sthitām* in 91b has been understood as accusative plural, agreeing with the neuter *yāni*, etc. A similar accusative plural in *-ām* (for *-ān*) is present below in 99d: *adhidevām*. Cf. Edgerton §8.85. In 91d, *bhuvanīśāñ* must be construed as genitive plural (Edgerton §8.124); cf. °*bhuvanīśānām* in 90a above (by emendation of °*īśānam*), and the irregular genitive °*mahoragām* in 85b. The orthography of *nārāyana* (as reads **A** in 91c) has been corrected to *nārāyaṇa*, although the medial dental *-n-* could be original.

[124] The text and interpretation of 91c–92b are highly problematic. Text appears to have been lost before 92a, for the referent of the pronoun *so* in 92c (viz. Khaṭvāsura) does not become

but I restrained him effortlessly with the sound of HŪṂ.[125]

93 "He is the *asura* known as Khaṭvāsura, tormentor of the gods. Finally, O goddess, with my mind possessed by the *śakti*, I playfully slew the wicked *asura*, proud of his strength, destroying him instantly.[126]

94 "Because[127] [I] rapidly took up his body (*aṅga*), consisting of a great, divine *vajra*,[128] and bore the great weapon, it is [called] the *khaṭvāṅga* ["body (*aṅga*) of *khaṭvāsura*"]."[129]

95 After hearing this, the two gods prostrated before me again and again, terrified by fear of the cycles of birth and death. I again revived them.

96–97 I gave them thousands of boons in accordance with their minds' desires,

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clear until 93a. Moreover, the *Devīpurāṇa* passage (119.68–70) parallel to vv. 92–93 is clearer and more detailed, introducing both a change of topic (the origin of the *khaṭvāṅga*) and the protagonist, Khaṭvāsura.

92a should mean "covering flesh with/by Māyā," but who covers whose flesh with what is unstated. This appears to describe the origin or revival of Khaṭvāsura; perhaps the idea is that the remains of the gods mentioned in the previous verse take on life by means of Khaṭvāsura's Māyā. Cf. note 137 below. No similar tale is present in the *Devīpurāṇa* or *BraYāSāra*, which speak of the *asura* arising as an Obstacle (*vighna*) to the deity's yoga. As transmitted, 92b is unintelligible, A reading *tallakṣāt kṣobhyam udyataḥ*. The noun *udyata* often takes the infinitive; cf., e.g. *hantum samudyataḥ* in 58.35d. It is possible that *kṣobhyam* is used in this sense, as though *kṣobhitum* (cf. the curious case of *adaham udyataḥ* in 38d above). *kṣobhyam* might instead represent a gerund, its object unclear, with the *-m-* a hiatus-breaker. It seems *tallakṣāt* is corrupt, perhaps for *tatkṣaṇāt* or for *tallakṣyāt* (as conjectured by TÖRZSÖK and provisionally adopted). Another possibility might be *taṃ lakṣya*, i.e., "observing him [the *asura*]," or *tal lakṣya*, in the same sense.

[125] *anāyāsā* (92c) is ablative, with loss of its terminal consonant; cf. EDGERTON §8.46.

[126] The syntax of 93cd is somewhat doubtful, with the apparent object of the gerund *vidhvaṃsya* being in the nominative (*duṣṭo [asura]*).

[127] The *BraYāSāra* begins to converge more closely with the *BraYā* in verse 93 of the latter, and the two texts are almost entirely parallel from *BraYā* 83.94 onwards (*BraYā* 83.94–186 ≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.65–158). For the remainder of the chapter, significant readings of the available *BraYāSāra* MS. are reported in the main apparatus with the siglum S_1.

[128] The apparent masculine nominative *mahāṃ* in 94b should be understood as neuter/masculine accusative; cf. *mahān* in 40.1b. One might also consider adopting S_1's neuter *mahat*.

[129] A appears corrupt in 94d, reading *khaṭvāṅgan tu tatas tvitaṃ*. Underlying the final element is probably *tatas tv idam*, as reads S_1 (cf. *tayos tv idam* in 70d). Prior to discovering parallels in the *BraYāSāra*, I had considered this possibility but leaned towards the conjecture *tatas smṛtam*, which might still be entertained; cf., e.g., *BraYā* 71.45b: *pavitran tu tataḥ smṛtaṃ*.

[saying], "O Brahmā, perform creation![130] And you, Janārdana, preserve! You will be invincible in the three worlds, and very fortunate.[131] You shall have strength equal to my own body's, dear child.[132]

98 "O Brahmā, you will be the creator of progeny [i.e. Prajāpati], the arbiter (*vivektṛ*) of those who know the Vedas, (¿) the awakener (*boddhṛ*) of those acting for the good of living beings (?)."[133] After speaking thus, I disappeared again.[134]

99 I have told in brief the origins of the skuff-staff and skull-bowl (*kapāla*), O Bhairavī. Now hear their presiding divinities:[135]

100 Taking up his [*Khaṭvāsura*'s] body, it was made [into a weapon] containing all deities. Grasping his hair, (¿) I affixed [it] right there (?),[136] O goddess.

101–2 Smearing his clothing with [his] blood, O fair-eyed woman, I fash-

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[130] The vocative *brahma* in 98a is likely original; the same occurs above in 90c.

[131] The masculine singular adjectives in 97ab could be dual in sense, though they seem more likely to refer to Janārdana.

[132] If A's dual °*balau* is correct in 97c, then the singular verb *bhaviṣyasi* occurs for the dual in 98b, and the vocative *vatsa* should be dual in sense as well. It seems more likely that one should follow S_1 in reading °*balo*, understanding the adjectives in 97 to refer to Janārdana. In 97d, the first person pronoun *mat-* appears redundant after the occurrence of *mama* (97c).

[133] The interpretation of 98c is uncertain, and the text suspect. A's *satvamarthapravṛttānāṃ* has been construed as a compound, *satva-m-artha*°, with a sandhi-breaking *-m-* (cf. Edgerton §4.59). One might also consider reading *satya-m-artha*°. Parsing as *sa tvam artha*° yields little sense, given what would be a redundant second *tvaṃ* in 98d. The text of 98a–d is entirely absent from S_1, which thus provides no useful variants.

[134] The doubled nasal of *ahaṃm*, as reads A in 98c, may be original; cf. *lokānāṃm* in 1.50a, and see the annotation thereon.

[135] In 99d, *adhidevām* should be understood as accusative plural, i.e. *adhidevān*; cf. °*sthitām* in 91b, and Edgerton §8.90. The term is used extensively in this chapter in the sense of "presiding deity," alongside the synonym *adhidevata*, for classical Sanskrit *adhidevatā*.

[136] It not entirely clear what locus A's *tatra* refers to in 100c; most probably the *asura*'s body (*tasyāṅge*), which has perhaps already been fashioned into a *vajra*, as v. 94 suggests. It is also unclear what is affixed (*niveśitā*, 100d); A's *niveśitā* appears to modify *tatkeśāṅ* ("his hair," accusative plural; *tatkeśād* is also a possible reading of A), and should perhaps be emended to the plural nominative. Reference to grasping the hair may suggest that the *asura*'s head, rather than hair, is what is affixed to the vajra-body. Perhaps he was decapitated? S_1's readings differ more than usual in this verse, perhaps suggesting early confusion over the intended meaning. In place of A's *tatkeśāṅ gṛhya tatraiva mayā … niveśitāḥ*, S_1 reads *tasya keśāṃ samādāya nibaddhāni śubhāni tu* ("Taking his hair, I fastened these auspicious [things to the weapon]").

ioned colourful flags made of the limbs of the gods.[137] I affixed peacock and goose feathers there, using the triple threads (*triguṇena sūtreṇa*) which comprise the warp (*tantu*) of Māyā.

103 Then I affixed Ananta by way of the base of the skull-staff.[138] [He] should be known in the form of the [shaft's downward] spike. The Fire of Time (*kālāgni*) [should be known] by way of the ring (*kāñcī*) [around the base].[139]

104 Above this are the three hells,[140] having intervals of [one] *aṅgula* between them. The [seven] netherworlds (*pātāla*) and [seven] worlds are situated above [these], one after another.[141]

105 Brahmā is situated there below the cords' knot.[142] Above him is placed

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[137] The reference in 101cd to flags comprised of the gods' limbs (*devāṅgāni dhvajāni*) is somewhat confusing. It seems as though the gods' limbs are made into flag poles to which are affixed banners made of the dead *asura*'s blood-dyed clothing. Below (111c, 129d), however, the impression is given that a *khaṭvāṅga* has a single flag (*dhvaja*). S_1 reads *lambitāni* ("dangled") rather than *nirmitāni* ("fashioned"), perhaps a revision for the purpose of clarity.

[138] The instrumental °*mūlena* in 103a appears locative in sense, locus of *sanniveśitam* (103b); this usage is not noted by Edgerton. S_1 transmits the expected locative, which might be original.

[139] In cosmology, the divine serpent-lord Ananta, the Fire of Time (*kālāgni*), and the hell-worlds form an ascending series at the base of the cosmos, e.g. in *Svacchandatantra* 10.346cd (*anantaṃ caiva kālāgniṃ narakāṃś ca yathākramam*). Syntactically, 103ab is ambiguous; I have construed *anantam* in agreement with the masculine nominative *śūlarūpas*, since the downward-pointing spear at the base of the *khaṭvāṅga* should represent the object's lowest part. This appears to be called *kīlaka* ("stake, spike") below in 126d. The locus of Kālāgni has been understood as the *kāñcī* (103b), a (probably metal) ring around the base of the shaft where the spike attaches. An upper *kāñcī* is mentioned as well; see 109a below. The compound *kāñcideśataḥ*, with the adverbial/ablative suffix *-tas*, appears to be locative in sense, while *kāñci* exhibits metrical shortening of its final vowel. Cf. Oberlies §3.1.

[140] In 104a and several times below (108c–10c), the adverbial *upariṣṭā* exhibits loss of its terminal consonant, as with *adhastā* in 105a and 126d. Cf. Edgerton §8.46. While S_1 transmits the 'correct' *upariṣṭān*, this may be secondary.

[141] While hell-worlds are usually more numerous, *Svacchandatantra* 10.78c–92 describes the set of three principal hells which may here be intended: Avīci, Kumbhīpāka, and Mahārauravarāja, which subsume thirty-two more hells. Cf., e.g., *Mālinīvijayottara* 5.1–2. In the *BraYā*'s exposition of cosmology in 32.102d–107, the principal hells are ten in number, each surrounded by seven "secondary hells" (*upanaraka*); below these lie the Fire of Time and the *rudra* Hūhuka, rather than Ananta (cf. 1.36 and the note thereon). If each of three hells, seven netherworlds, and seven worlds span only one *aṅgula* along the shaft of the *khaṭvāṅga*, they total a mere 17 *aṅgulas*, less than a single *hasta*, which seems improbably short.

[142] In 105a, the adverbial *adhastā* exhibits loss of its terminal consonant (likewise in 126d; note also *upariṣṭā* multiple times in 104–10). In this pāda S_1 presents its first important vari-

Viṣṇu, and on the head (*mūrdhni*),[143] myself, O fair woman.

106 In the white thread is [the *guṇa* of] *sattva*; there, Brahmā is presiding deity. It is to be understood that *rajas* is in the red one; there, Viṣṇu is presiding deity.[144]

107 One should know *tamas* to be in the black one; there I am the presiding deity.[145] In the [thread of] mixed [colour] it is said Prakṛti (*avyakta*) is present, containing *rajas*, *sattva*, and *tamas*.[146]

108 In the same way, [the ontic levels of] the Soul (*puṃs*),[147] Fate (*niyati*), Time (*kāla*), and Māyā are located sequentially above the feathers.[148]

109 The circular band (*kāñcī*) above this: the Knot (*granthi*) [of Māyā] is lo-

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ant: *sūtragranther* ("[below] the cords' knot") for A's *śūlagranther [adhastā]* ("[below] the trident's knot/joint"). S_1's reading is more intelligible, especially given that the subsequent verse describes the three cords which form a knot. The knot is presumably located in the upper portion of tha staff, at the base of the trident. (If A's *śūlagranthi* is original, the knot or joint is presumably located where the *khaṭvāṅga*'s trident joins the staff.) Cosmologically, the knot may correspond to the World of Brahmā (*brahmaloka*) or the *satyaloka*, the summit of the seven worlds (*saptaloka*). Less convincing is S_1's reading in 105b: *brahmāṇḍamutra kalpitaḥ*, presumably in error for *atra kalpitam*.

143 In 105d, *mūrdhniścāhaṃ* should be understood as (or possibly emended to) *mūrdhni cāhaṃ*, possessing a "metrical" visarga that is not in fact metrically required. Puzzlingly, this pāda contains one of the only allusions to the head or skull of the skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*), and even this is not unambiguous, for *mūrdhni* could simply mean "above [Viṣṇu]" (cf. 110cd below).

144 A's orthography *tatrādhidaivataṃ* in 106b could be original, although in all but one other instance (89.5d) the noun is transmitted as *adhidevata*. In the *BraYā* this is treated as either neuter or masculine, though based on the feminine *adhidevatā* ("presiding deity"); the change of gender may be influenced by the abstract noun *ādhidaivata*. In 106d, unusually, A might read °*devatāṃ*, which could be a corruption of the "correct" feminine °*devatā*. S_1 reads *adhidaivataḥ* in both 106b and 106d, and this could be original.

145 *mama*, as reads A in 107a, seems likely to be corrupt for *tamaḥ* (or just *tama*), following the pattern of v. 106a. The emendation is supported by S_1's reading *nama* (confusion of *t*/*n*).

146 One might correct *raja*° (107d) to *rajaḥ*°, following S_1, but the word is often treated as an *-a* stem.

147 In 108a, S_1's reading *evaṃ pun niyatiḥ* is clearly preferable to A's *evan tu niyatiḥ*, supplying the name of a *tattva* (*puṃs*/soul) otherwise absent from the list.

148 Here (108ab) *piñcha* (i.e. *piccha*) probably means "tail feathers;" note the reference to feathers (*patrāṇi*) of the peacock and goose above in 102a, and *piñcchake* below in 113b. It seems that the feathers are fastened to the *khaṭvāṅga* by threads above the *sūtragranthi* or *śūlagranthi* (105a) and below the skull. The *tattvas* of *niyati*, etc., it seems are arrayed on the shaft above.

cated there.[149] Understand the Triad of Śaktis to be on the trident above.[150]

110 Vāmā, Jeṣṭhā, and Raudrī are on the left, right, and middle [prongs, respectively]. Above is the quiescent Śiva, placed at the head of all.

111 The ontic levels of *kalā*,[151] *vidyā*, and *rāga* are situated on the [trident's] base (*pādaka*).[152] Vāyu is located on the flag, O goddess, surrounded by all the Winds [i.e. *maruts*].[153]

112–13b The wise should understand the eight serpent (*nāga*) clans to be in the [locks of] hair.[154] Ghosts (*bhūta*), spirits (*preta*), goblins (*piśāca*), *yakṣas*,

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[149]The interpretation of 109ab is uncertain. The term *granthi* could mean "knot" in the sense of where the threads fasten, or a joint between two sections of the object. However, the syntactical pattern suggests that *granthi* should be a cosmological category, and *granthi* can indeed be a synonym of Māyā, the highest *tattva* of the impure universe and thus "joint" between the lower and higher cosmos (see s.v. *granthi* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. II). Māyā was mentioned just above (108b), which could speak against this interpretation, although on the other hand 109ab might specify the location of the same Māyā. A further possibility is that *granthi* represents the 'higher' form of Māyā, i.e. Mahāmāyā, sometimes synonymous with *śuddhavidyā* (the 'higher' *vidyā* of the pure universe).

[150]*yat triśūlopariṣṭā* should mean "which is above the trident" (note the loss of the final *-t* of the ablative). However, the sense seems rather to be *yat triśūlam upariṣṭāt*, "the trident which is above [the *khaṭvāṅga*'s circular band]." If this is correct, *triśūla* is a stem form occurring for the nominative, metri causa (cf. Edgerton §8.22).

[151]In 111a, A may read *kālā* or *kalā*, the former perhaps having been corrected to the latter. In any case one should read *kalā*, following S_1, for the *tattva* of *kāla* was already mentioned in 108a.

[152]The part of the *khaṭvāṅga* meant by *pādaka* ("foot") is not clear. Following the hierarchy of *tattvas*, it should be in the upper middle portion between the trident prongs and the shaft, near to the *granthi* mentioned in 109b. It is thus probably the base shaft of the trident proper, which attaches to the longer staff; according to 127cd, it measures a full cubit (*hasta*). The three *tattvas* mentioned here should be in descending sequence.

[153]In 111c, *vāyu* may be original (neuter for masculine), though a final *-r* could have been dropped. In 111d, A's *sarvvāsuparivāritaḥ* should be understood as the compound *sarva-asu-parivāritaḥ*, *asu* referring to the *maruts*. This reading seems to have been lost in S_1's line of transmission, where one finds instead the plural *vāyūṃ* in 111c and what amounts to verse-filler in 111d.

[154]A's *keśai* in 112a may be corrupt for the locative *keśe*, following the pattern in the previous and subsequent verses; the absence of visarga before *-n* and of gemination of the consonant also point in this direction. S_1, however, supports reading the instrumental plural, which has been adopted; cf. the instrumental *jaṭābhi* in 115c, in the sense of the locative. A set of eight *nāgas* (*nāgāṣṭaka*) appears for instance in *Somaśambhupaddhati* IV, 12.8d–9. These are sometimes referred to as "the [eight] clan serpents" (*kulanāgāḥ*), i.e. *nāga* lords, but not, it seems, the "clans of serpents (*nāgakulāni*)," as they are in 112a. The latter might be a clumsy manner of

kinnaras, celestial bards (*cāraṇa*), *rākṣasas* and zombies (*vetāla*) are located in the feathers.[155]

113c–14b On the little bell are located *rudras* and *gaṇas*, O fair woman.[156] In its sounding (*śabda*) is the goddess Sarasvatī; in its ringing (*sphoṭa*) is the primordial drop (*bindu*); in its resonance (*dhvani*) is Resonance.[157]

114c–15 The *yoginīs*, Mothers (*mātṛ*), *lāmās*, Sisters (*bhaginī*), Stinkers (*pūtanā*), and likewise the Seizers (*graha*), beginning with Skanda, and the *sehārikās*, etc.,[158] are situated in the matted locks,[159] as are various weapon-mantras.

116–17b In [the act of] taking hold [of the *khaṭvāṅga*] are present the ancillaries of the Veda (*vedāṅga*) and the fourteen loci of knowledge (*vidyāsthānāni*);[160] and in releasing [is present] the Gāyatrī. When held, oṃ [is present]. When placed (*sthāpite*), [the wise] know the Sāvitrī [to be present].[161]

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expressing the former. How precisely the hair is arranged on the *khaṭvāṅga* is unclear; it might be along the lines of the decorative yak-tail chowries of Vajrayāna tridents, spears, etc. (cf. e.g. figure 6.2 and Beer 1999: plates 124–26).

[155] In 113b, the locative plural *piñcchakeṣu* read by S_1 has been adopted; cf. the genitive plural above in 108c.

[156] The orthography *ghaṇṭhā* (etc.) occurs for *ghaṇṭā* with such frequency in **A** that *ghaṇṭhikāyāṃ* (113c) could be original (S_1 also supports this).

[157] In 114b, **A** reads *bindur ⟨dv/ddh⟩ani dhvanau.* S_1 supports interpreting this as °*dhvani[r] dhvanau*, with *dhvani* ("resonance") having the sense of *nāda*. The latter is often paired with *bindu* as a stage of the sonic emanation (see s.v. *nāda* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III).

[158] In this list of mostly female deities and spirit-beings, the *lāmā* and *sehārikā* (also *sehārī*; "the broom witch?") are comparatively obscure. Neither appear in delineations of the primary goddess clans elsewhere in this text, though the *sehārikāyāga* is eighth of the Nine Pantheons of the *BraYā*, listed e.g. in 3.2–4.

[159] In 115c, *jaṭābhi[ḥ]* is instrumental in the sense of the locative, a usage not noted by Edgerton. Cf. the doubtful *keśaiḥ* above (112a).

[160] The phrasing of 116a–c differs in **A** and S_1, although the meaning is not in question: *vedāṅgāni tathā vidyāsthānāny eva caturddaśaḥ | grahaṇe saṃsthitā vedā[ḥ]*, as per S_1; or *vedāṅgāni tathā vedā sthānāny eva caturddaśaḥ | grahaṇe saṃsthitā hy ete*, as per **A**. The latter requires one to understand *sthānāni* as short for *vidyāsthāni*, which seems rather too elliptical to be likely; I have accordingly followed S_1 in reading *vidyāsthānāny*. These refer to the Brahmanical "loci of knowledge" (*vidyāsthāna*), of which fourteen are enumerated in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.3: the (four) Vedas and (six) *vedāṅgas*, along with Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, and Dharma. The readings of both **A** and S_1 are hence somewhat tautologous. As S_1's *saṃsthitā vedā[ḥ]* renders the verse even more repetitive, I have retained **A**'s *saṃsthitā hy ete*.

[161] In context, it seems that *sthāpita* refers to the act of setting down the *khaṭvāṅga* (perhaps

117c–18 Thus it is that I made the *khaṭvāṅga* to contain all deities at the time [of slaying Khaṭvāsura], O fair woman. It is ordained (*hita*) to be supremely pure.[162] Afterwards, Khaṭvāsura reached the state of [eternal] peace,[163] O beautiful woman.

119 One who truly knows this [tale of the] skull-staff's origin attains to the world of Brahmā when the body perishes,[164] without a doubt.

120 As for an initiated person who would bear [the skull-staff], possessing a concentrated mind, he merges into the state of the Lord of Heroes and does not return downwards.[165]

121 A man who, possessed of mantra, would bear the skull-staff for six

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upright?), though it could perhaps refer to the *khaṭvāṅga*'s ritual empowerment (*sthāpana*), as described in *BraYā* 4.788–800b.

[162] A's *paramaṃ hitam* in 118b, where *hita* has the sense of *vihita* ("decreed," etc.), could also be parsed as *paramaṃ hi tam*, with the masculine accusative *tam* used for the neuter nominative-accusative *tad*. In this case understand the pāda to mean "for [the *khaṭvāṅga*] is supremely pure." The same construction is present below in 123d (*mantrasiddhikaraṃ hitaṃ* or °*hi taṃ*). Cf. 4.890cd, where *hitaṃ* is almost certainly intended: *raktāyās tu yadā pāto gotraṃ māheśvaraṃ hitaṃ*. S_1's reading, *mahat*, is a plausible alternative, containing the same consonants as *hitam*. In this case, 117cd and 118 would construe separately.

[163] In 118d, it seems preferable to emend A's *padaprāpto* to the more standard expression *padaṃ prāpto*. S_1, reading *paraṃ*, provides support for the anusvāra.

[164] In 119a, *khaṭvāṅga-utpattir* should be construed as a compound, despite the vowel hiatus; cf. Edgerton §4.51–54. S_1 instead supplies a sandhi consonant, *-m-*, between the words in compound, which is more typical. This feminine noun and the pronoun *eṣā*, ostensibly nominative, are accusative in sense.

[165] In 120, S_1 seems to preserve several less 'correct' and probably more original readings: 1) in 120a, S_1 reads *yo purna*, a simple scribal error for *yo punar*, while A reads *yaḥ punaḥ*; *yo* has a middle-Indic frozen *-o* ending (cf. Edgerton §8.18). 2) In the same pāda S_1 reads *dīkṣitān-māno*, a scribal error for *dīkṣitātmāno*, where A reads *dikṣitātmā vai*; *-ātmāno* is masculine nominative singular, formed on the extended stem *ātmāna* (cf. Edgerton §17.37, 39). 3) In 120b, S_1 transmits *yuktacetasaḥ*, an irregular masc. nom. singular formed on the extended stem *cetasa* (cf. Edgerton §16.3), while A reads *yuktacetasā*, an unremarkable associative instrumental. 4) In 120d, S_1's *nāvarttati-r-adhomukhaḥ* ("[he] does not return, facing down") seems plausible and has been adopted, the ātmanepada verb *ā√vṛt* being treated as parasmaipada, with *-r-* appended as a sandhi consonant (cf. Edgerton §4.61). Here A instead reads *na cāgacchatv adhomukhaḥ*, perhaps a corruption of *na cāgacchaty adhomukham* ("and [he] does not return downwards").

months,[166] or for one year, O goddess, will attain divine power.[167]

122 I shall now teach its measurements: listen, being of single-minded attention.[168] It should be made to the measure of one's body, or else larger.[169]

123 [But length] greater than four cubits (*hasta*), O goddess, does not bring happiness for mortals.[170] Know three cubits to be auspicious, ordained for effecting mastery of mantra.

124 (¿) One may [instead] make [the *khaṭvāṅga*] fifty digits (*aṅgula*), using the segment of the thumb [as the basis for] measuring [the digit] (?).[171] [In

[166] The orthography *ṣaṭmāsam* (121a) may be original, for **A** very frequently transmits *-ṭ* before voiced consonants. **S**$_1$, on the other hand, writes the equally plausible °*ṣaḍ*°, while **B** corrects to *ṣaṇ*°. It may be that *ṭm* and *ḍm* are simply orthographic variants for the scribe of **A**.

[167] In 121d, **S**$_1$'s *divyasiddhim* ("divine power") seems more plausible than **A**'s phonetically similar *vidyāsiddhim* ("mastery of the [Nine-Syllable] Vidyā"?), and I have accordingly adopted the former. Cf. 62.145cd: *saptāhayajanā[d] yena divyasiddhi[ḥ] prajāyate* ("by which, after seven days' worship, divine power arises").

[168] The spelling *śṛṇuṣvekamanā* (122b) for °*aikamanā* is probably original; see the discussion of *śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā* in 39.37b.

[169] In 122c, *svaśarīrapramāṇena* should mean "equal to the measure [i.e. height] of one's body." The parallel passage in *BraYā* 21.73c–75b quoted as testimonia provides two options: a single span (*prādeśa*) or one's own measure.

In 122d, **S**$_1$ preserves an intelligible non-standard reading, which **A**'s recension seems to have revised away: while **A** writes *adhikan tathā*, **S**$_1$ transmits *adhikaṃ pi vā* ("or else larger"), with the Middle-Indic particle *pi* for *api* (cf. Edgerton §4.3). Though here corrected, **A** elsewhere transmits *-ṃ[/m] pi vā* in the same pāda-final position seven times (e.g. 34.276b: *sāgaraṃ vā nagam pi vā*).

[170] **S**$_1$ provides a significant variant in 123b: *na martyeṣu sukhāvaham*, where **A** reads *marttyajeṣṭasukhāvaham*. I am much inclined to **S**$_1$'s reading, a prohibition on *khaṭvāṅga*s larger than four cubits (*hasta*). In what follows below, the four-cubit *khaṭvāṅga* is the larger of several options. The length in question is presumably the span of the entire *khaṭvāṅga* rather than the staff portion alone, though both are possible. **A**'s reading would mean, "[Length] greater than four cubits] brings happiness to the best of mortals." The latter expression (*martyajeṣṭha*) could refer to brāhmaṇas, for the expressions *jyeṣṭhavarṇa* and *varṇajyeṣṭha* occur in this sense. Considerations of caste are otherwise absent. According to the *Kriyākramadyotikā* of Aghoraśiva (p. 18), quoting the *Suprabhedāgama*, brahmins and gurus (*deśika*) are to carry the longest bamboo staves, equal to their own height (e-text courtesy of Goodall). The spelling *jeṣṭa* (for *jyeṣṭha*) could be original, though **A** more frequently writes *jeṣṭha* (cf. Edgerton §2.8), and occasionally *jyeṣṭha*.

[171] The text and interpretation of 124ab are problematic. Kṣemarāja defines the expression *aṅguṣṭhaparvan* ad *Netratantra* 3.69 as follows: *aṅguṣṭhasya madhyarekhāto 'grāntaṃ yat parva tat*: "that segment which begins with the thumb's middle line and ends in the tip." However, the *aṅguṣṭhaparvan* seems in other contexts to refer to the breadth of the thumb, and to be

this case] the circumference is four *aṅgula*s by measure.

125 A three-cubit [*khaṭvāṅga*] is said to be five thumb-segments by ways of diameter. For the [*khaṭvāṅga*] of four cubits, the diameter is eight digits (*aṅgula*),[172] O pious woman.

126–27b The circular band (*kāñcī*) [at the base] measures four digits; the spike (*kīlaka*) measures twelve digits. While the 'entrance' (*praveśa*) [of the spike?] is four digits, below it should be eight digits.[173] The measurement [of the *khaṭvāṅga*] is thus explained.[174] One should not make anything

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equivalent to, and perhaps defining the *aṅgula* or 'digit' unit of measure (APTE 1998 [1957]: 28), 24 of which form a cubit (*hasta*). It may hence be that the *parvan* (see also 125ab) and *aṅgula* are in this context interchangible.

It is not clear of what 124b specifies the measurement. Perhaps 124ab stipulates a third option for the length of a *khaṭvāṅga*, for below, three possible girths (*parīṇāha*) are specified (124c–25d), and more than three measurement options for the trident (128). Moreover, the reading *pañcādaśāṅgulaṃ* is problematic; does this really mean fifteen (*pañcadaśa*) *aṅgula*s, or is it perhaps corrupt for *pañcāśadaṅgulam*, fifty digits? One might indeed expect the third option to be in the range of two cubits (*hasta*), i.e. forty-eight digits (*aṅgula*), rather than a mere fifteen *aṅgulas*; in terms of proportion, note that in the case of the shortest *khaṭvāṅga*s, the trident is to measure six digits, compared to the twelve-digit trident of a four-cubit *khaṭvāṅga*. The conjecture *pañcāśadaṅgulam* has thus been adopted. Below, *BraYā* 21.73c–75b does envision the possibility of a miniature *khaṭvāṅga*, but this is to measure a 'span' (*prādeśamātra*), i.e. twelve digits; cf. the discussion below ad vv. 129c–130b. This length is mentioned in 4.792ab as well, in a description of the ritual empowerment (*sthāpana*) of the *khaṭvāṅga*. There **A** reads *prāgdesan vātha hastam vā athavā tu svamāṇavaṃ*, which should be emended to *prādesan vātha hastam vā athavā tu svamāṇakaṃ*—i.e. the options for *khaṭvāṅga* length are one span/a half cubit (*prādeśa*), one cubit, or one's own height.

[172] °*parīṇāha* in 125c is apparently the intended form, occurring for metrical reasons instead of *pariṇāha* (cf. 124d and 125b). One should perhaps emend to °*parīṇāhaś* (as adopted) or °*parīṇāhe*, or simply restore an anusvāra. In place of °*parīṇāha*, S_1 reads °*pramāṇaṃ tu*, which might also be considered (in the same sense).

[173] The *kāñcī* is presumably a circular metal band at the base of the staff, where the stake (*kīlaka*) at the bottom attaches. It is also mentioned in 103d. Another *kāñcī* is evidently present above where the trident (*triśūla*) attaches (see 109ab). It seems that 126cd elaborate upon the *kīlaka*, although the term *praveśa* ("entrance") is not clear; perhaps this is the portion of the spike that attaches to the staff at the *kāñcī*. Concerning *adhastā* in 126d, see ad 105a above. It is amusing to note that in 126cd, **A** reads the neuter °*praveśan* but masculine °*āṅgulo*, while $\mathbf{S_1}$ reads the °*praveśas* (masculine) and °*āṅgulaṃ* (neuter).

[174] In 127a, S_1 reads *etat pramāṇa śūlasya*, in contrast to **A**'s *etat pramāṇam ākhyātaṃ*. Although the discrepancy is not readily explained, S_1's reading is not very plausible, since measurements for the trident (*śūla*/*triśūla*) are specified in v. 128. One might, however, consider the possibility of corruption from *etat pramāṇa mūlasya*: "these are the measurements of the

deficient.[175]

127c–29b One most learned in the treatises (*śāstravittama*) should make the base (*pādaka*) [of the trident] measure a cubit.[176] [For the four-cubit *khaṭvāṅga*,] the trident above this measures twelve digits; but in the case of the three-cubit [*khaṭvāṅga*], it is nine digits. In the remaining [shorter] cases, it is six digits. The [trident's] base (*pāda*) should likewise be made [proportionately].[177] The flag one may make [as long] as one desires.[178]

129c–30b Male householders should also make [a small *khaṭvāṅga*, measuring] from twelve *aṅgula*s up to twenty four,[179] such that it is hidden.[180]

[*khaṭvāṅga*'s] base."

[175] A's reading in 127b, *śūnyaṅ kiñ cin na kārayet*, is unintelligible, and *śūnyaṅ* is surely to be emended to *nyūnaṅ* ("deficient," "defective," etc.). The contextually appropriate phrase *nyūnaṃ … na kārayet* occurs in a number of sources, e.g. *Mātṛkābheda* 11.9: *sahasraṃ homayen mantrī śatanyūnaṃ na kārayet*. This conjecture is confirmed by the *BraYāSāra*, for S_1 reads *nyunaṃ*. I have nonetheless followed A in reading *kiñcin*, rather than S_1's *tan tu* (i.e. *tat tu*), where the referent of the pronoun is unclear.

[176] Though nominative in form, *pādako* (127c) appears to be the object of the verb *prakuryāt* (127c). S_1 differs here, reading the not entirely intelligible *pādakas tvatpramānaś ca* (i.e. *tat-pramāṇaś*?). The meaning of *pādaka* ("foot, base") is unclear; it is also mentioned above in 111b. From context, it seems to be the trident's shaft-like base portion, attached to the main shaft of the staff.

[177] If *pāda* refers to the same part as *pādaka*, then *tadvat* in 129a should mean "like the *triśūla*" in the sense of having its size reduced in proportion to the whole. According to 127c–28b, the *pādaka* is twice as long as the *triśūla*. This interpretation is has been adopted, for it is not clear what two different parts the *pāda* and *pādaka* could represent, nor why the "little base" (*pādaka*) would be larger than the "base" (*pāda*).

[178] Note that in 129b, S_1 transmits a non-standard optative, *kuryā*, with loss of the final consonant, where A reads *kuryād*.

[179] It was not possible to interpret 129c–30a without the aid of S_1. A's *gṛhasthenāpi* (130a) is likely a corruption of *gṛhasthair api*, triggered by confusion between similar characters (*e/ai* and *n/r*). This possibility is suggested by S_1, which reads *gṛhasthaiḥ ⟅saṃ⟆prakarttavyaṃ*. Adopting *gṛhasthair* ("by householders") renders intellegible *naraiḥ* (129d), which I had previously cruxed. The text of 129d is still uncertain: after *ārabhya* ("starting from") in 129c, one expects a number, perhaps ending with *-antam* or the like ("up to/ending with"). The instrumental in S_1's *caturvviṅśaṅgulair* seems odd, while A's *caturvinsatikan* is also unconvincing. One might consider *caturviṃśāntikan* or the ablative *caturviṃśatikān*.

[180] The intended meaning of 130b is probably along the lines of S_1's *aprakāśya[m] yathā bhavet*: "such that [the householder's miniature *khaṭvāṅga*] would be invisible." A's *yathā guptaṃ prajāyate*, however, would more naturally mean "such that it arises/is produced secretly." This verse confirms that the paradigmatic *khaṭvāṅga*-bearer is in fact an ascetic, as envisioned in the Atimārga.

130c–31b When a *sādhaka* makes [one] without the correct characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*),[181] it would effect bewilderment (*vibhrama*), agitation, enmity, and the loss of *siddhi*.[182]

131c–33b [The *khaṭvāṅga* should be made of] straight banyan,[183] good bamboo, the sarala pine, deodar pine, oleander (*karavīra*), the arka plant, agati (*buka*), the ashoka tree, acacia catechu (*khadira*), wood-apple (*bilva*), pipal, Indian rosewood (*śiṃśapa*), alstonia (*saptaparṇa*), sandalwood, or red sandalwood.

133c–34 Or else it is to be made of wood from the cremation ground. Likewise, it may be of silver, gold, copper, or made from 'flower-metal' (*puṣpaloha*), O Maheśānī.[184] The great-souled *sādhaka* should make [a *khaṭvāṅga*] according to what [material] he can obtain.

135–36b The mantrin must venerate it with appropriate diligence.[185] One who worships the skull-staff worships the triple universe; one who holds the skull-staff bears the animate and inanimate creation.

136c–37b A man who would bear the skull-staff, though devoid of mantras and observances and attached to his village, is not stained by the most grievous sins.

137c–38b The skull is proclaimed to have Brahmā as its presiding deity, O goddess. It is supremely pure and divine, of the [purifying] nature of Agni and arising from Brahmā.

138c–39b The mere darshan of one who always bears the skull-staff, intent on

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[181] The causal link that *hi* ("for," 130c) implies between 130ab and 130c–31b is not clear; probably none was intended. Note in 130d that S_1 preserves an irregular optative, *kuryā*, which in A's line of transmission has been revised to *kurvvīta*.

[182] In 131b, S_1's *siddhihānis tadā bhavet* could well be original, though A's *siddhihānikaram bhavet* is perfectly plausible.

[183] *ṛjve* in 131c appears to be an irregular locative of *ṛju*, "straight," perhaps formed on the anamolous stem *ṛjva*. The orthography is probably original, for *ri* is here treated as consonantal for sandhi purposes. In this passage, locatives and nominatives freely alternate in referring to the materials used for a *khaṭvāṅga*.

[184] On the *puṣpaloha* alloy, see TÖRZSÖK ad loc in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. Regardless of the material used for the shaft, presumably the upper and bottom spear blades are always made of metal.

[185] In 135a, *tam* occurs for the neuter *tad*; cf. EDGERTON §21.11. S_1's *yathāyuktena retasā* in 135b is presumably corrupt for *cetasā*, a plausible alternative to *mantriṇā* (as reads A).

me and abiding by the disciplines (*niyama*),[186] destroys sin for all mortals, O Pārvatī.

139c–40 A brahmin-slayer, patricide,[187] fratricide, [or] matricide [who] would carry out the skullbearer's observance for twelve years living on alms is purified in this way, without a doubt,[188] even when devoid of mantras and initiation.

141–42b One who is initiated and knows the mantras, possessing devotion to Śiva, becomes free of taint after a week, even if [he be stained by] a thousand brahmin-slayings. One possessing mantras and free of sin, however, would become fit for *siddhi* after six months.[189]

142c–43b (¿) After an interval of six months, a man (?)[190] would become invulnerable to *rākṣasa*s, *yakṣa*s, goblins (*piśāca*), ghosts (*bhūta*), zombies (*vetāla*), and *guhyaka*s.[191]

143c–44 He also becomes my exceedingly beloved son,[192] O Maheśānī, and dear to *yakṣiṇī*s, *guhyakā*s, and *yoginī*s. Their proximity to that [skull] was effected by me previously.[193]

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[186] In 138d, S_1's *niyatavrataḥ* ("whose vow is constant") could be preferable to **A**'s *niyama-sthitaḥ*.

[187] Ostensibly nominative plural, *hantāro* in 139c is probably intended as singular. Cf. Edgerton §13.19, who sees such cases as formed on the stem *-āra* for *-ṛ*.

[188] In 140d, I have emended **A**'s *śudhyaty evaṃ na saṃśayaḥ* to *śudhyaty eva°* (i.e. *śuddhyaty eva°*), for the expression *eva na saṃśayaḥ* is exceedingly common. Both readings fit the context. $\mathbf{S_1}$ helps little in weighing the options, reading *śudhyate nātra saṃśayaḥ*.

[189] **A**'s *ṣaṭmāsā* in 142b is ablative, exhibiting loss of its final *-t*. Note also the non-standard internal sandhi (*ṣaṭ* rather than *ṣaṇ*), which is common in **A**. $\mathbf{S_1}$ writes *ṣaḍmāsān* (in error for *ṣaḍmāsāt*).

[190] As transmitted, 143b is quite corrupt, with **A** reading *ṣaṭmāsāc chaṅkhabhun naraḥ*. $\mathbf{S_1}$ differs substantially, reading *ṣaṇmāsā⟨dga/ṅga⟩dbhyatu⟨dga/ṅga⟩raḥ*. Drawing elements from both, I have on a diagnostic basis conjectured *ṣaṭmāsābhyantarān naraḥ*.

[191] In 142d, *°guhyakām* (following $\mathbf{S_1}$; **A** reads *°guhyakān*) should be understood as genitive plural. Cf. Edgerton §8.124. In 143a, **A**'s *apradhṛṣyā* appears to be corrupt for *apradhṛṣyo*, with a Middle-Indic frozen *-o* ending; this is not shared by $\mathbf{S_1}$, however, which reads *apadhṛṣya* (i.e. *apadhṛṣyaḥ*).

[192] Although in classical Sanskrit *atīva* is an adverb (see s.v. Apte 1998 [1957]), this seems in the *BraYā*, in 143d and some other cases, to be used as an adjective or prefix. Cf. *atīvasāhasaṃ* in 177b, and *atīvabhayaṃkaraḥ* in *BraYāSāra* 68.127b. (In 155d, however, *atīva* is adverbial.)

[193] *sānaidhyaṃ* (144c) is a non-standard abstract noun formed from *saṃnidhi*; cf. classical Sanskrit *sāṃnidhya*. It occurs widely in the *BraYā*, including 163c below. The syntax and text of 144cd are doubtful, even if the meaning is clear. One would expect something along the lines

145 Of Brahmā,[194] a fifth foremost limb [i.e. head] came into being, exceedingly powerful and vast; this enveloped the world [with its radiance].[195]

146 [On its account] the sun, planets, constellations, and moon no longer shine with their own light, just like stars at sunrise.[196]

147 Then the gods, together with the greatest of sages,[197] sang my eulogy; afterwards, through my yoga, I understood that [which] needed to be done for the denizens of heaven.

148 On the lovely banks of the Gandhavatī, I revealed my form as the greatly fearsome Mahākāla,[198] blazing with my own light.[199] I swiftly covered the Grandfather [Brahmā] with my radiance.

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of *tāsāṃ sānaidhyaṃ kalpitaṃ* ("their proximity [to the skull] was effected"), or just possibly *tāḥ sānaidhyāḥ kalpitāḥ* ("they were made proximate [to the skull]"); but neither **A** nor **S**₁ provides a convincing text. I have tentatively adopted **S**₁'s *°kalpitam*, while understanding the pronoun *tās* as genitive in sense.

[194]In 145a, *brahmaṇasya* is genitive, formed on the extended stem *brahmaṇa*; cf. Edgerton §17.31.

[195]As transmitted, **A** is unintelligible in 145cd, reading *pañcamantrasamudbhūtan tena saṃcchāditam japet*. Granoff (2009: 10) suggested, convincingly, that *japet* should be emended to *jagat*. This led me to the observation that *pañcamantra°* is also corrupt, and should be emended to *pañcaman tu*; similarity in the writing of *ntu* and *ntra* likely contributed to this confusion, coupled with the corrupt reading *japet*, which suggested the idea of mantra. Granoff (op. cit.) observes that there are parallel verses in *Padmapurāṇa, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* (I, 14.96); and in the *Āvantyakhaṇḍa* of the late *Skandapurāṇa* (V, 2.40).

In 145b, **A**'s reading *atīvāsyulbaṇam* also seems corrupt. This should describe the fifth head of Brahmā, and is likely an error for *atīvātyulbaṇam*; though *ati-* seems redundant with *atīva*, the expression *atyulbaṇa* occurs again describing Brahmā's face in 149b. It was gratifying to find that **S**₁ confirms all three of these emendations.

[196]In 146a, *ādityāś* ("the [twelve] Ādityas"?) has been emended to the singular *ādityaś* ("the sun"), given the context of delineating luminary bodies. The text of **A** is doubtful in 146cd, with the verb *yānti* lacking an object. In all likelihood this is corrupt for *bhānti*, "they shine," confusion between *ya* and *bha* being not uncommon in Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. *Padmapurāṇa* 14.96cd, cited as testimonia, where appears the synonymous verb *prakāśante*. The emendation *bhānti* has now been confirmed by **S**₁.

[197]In 147b, the orthography of *sariṣi°* (for *sarṣi*) is surely original, *ṛṣi* being treated as *riṣi*, metri causa; cf. Edgerton §3.94.

[198]In 148a, *gandhavatyātaṭe* has been interpreted as a compound (*-yā* for *-ī*; cf. Edgerton §10.6), though *gandhavatyā* could conceivably be an irregular genitive. According to Dey (1927: 61), citing Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, the river Gandhavatī is "a small branch of the Sipra, on which the temple of Mahâkâla in Ujjain is situated."

[199]*prajvalaṃ* in 148d should be understood as a present participle (i.e. *prajvalan*). **S**₁ instead reads *jvalanta* (i.e. *jvalantaṃ*), which also seems plausible.

149–50 With a fingernail of my left hand, I severed the extremely powerful (*atyulbaṇa*) head.[200] Taking this,[201] I left dancing for where Janārdana, the ancient Puruṣottama, abided seated in yoga,[202] shining with his own radiance, paid obeisance by gods and *asuras*.

151–52b O goddess, I beseached him, [saying] "give alms, great ascetic." Seeing me garlanded with skulls and understanding [my purpose], the mighty Puruṣottama showed me his arm, being of great heroic spirit.[203]

152c–53 I then struck him [there] with my trident, O fair-eyed woman. A stream of blood thence emerged with great speed.[204] With great noise it fell into the lustrous skull.

154 The earth trembled because of its mighty sound.[205] With my left hand I then covered the vessel.[206]

155 Day after day I shook up [the skull] (¿) and enjoyed myself, O Nārāyaṇī (?).[207] I beheld [inside] there my shadow, which was exceedingly dense with

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[200] *nakharā* in 150a, as reads **A**, appears to be instrumental in sense, though nominative in form. Cf. EDGERTON §9.65. S_1's *nakharān* could be corrupt for the ablative, which is not an obvious improvement. One might consider emending to *nakharayā*, which, while hypermetrical, preserves the correct *ya-gaṇa* (⏑ — —) in syllables 5–7. Another possibility might be to read *nakhāgre*, locative for instrumental (cf. *nakhāgreṇa* in *Matsyapurāṇa* 183.86a, quoted as testimonia). A more satisfactory solution, however, is the instrumental *nakhena*; corruption of *na* to *ra* (and vice versa) is frequent in **A**. Cf. *nakhena* in *Brahmāṇḍapurana* III, 40.56ab, and *Skandapurāṇa* 5.43a, quoted as testimonia.

[201] *tad gṛhya* (149c) could as easily (and plausibly) be read as *taṅ gṛhya* in both **A** and S_1.

[202] In 150a, S_1's *āsīno*, with the Middle-Indic frozen *-o* ending, could be original.

[203] The expression *mahāsattva* denotes *vīrasattva*, "heroic spirit;" see the discussion ad 1.41 (note 71).

[204] In 153a, the orthography *śroṇita* (**A**'s post-correction reading) is likely original, in the sense of *śoṇita*, blood. The form occurs eight times in **A**, including 53.184, which, alluding to the very myth in question, describes Brahmā's skull as "filled with Viṣṇu's blood" (*viṣṇusroṇitasampūrṇṇe* [em.; °*pūrṇṇa* **A**]). Cf. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 15.19b (*snāyuṃ ca śroṇitaṃ samaṃ*). Note however the "correct" *śoṇita* in 162d; S_1, moreover, does not share the non-standard orthography.

[205] A *na*-vipulā is present in 154a.

[206] In 154d, *tato* exhibits frozen *-o*, analogous to the frozen *-o* of *-a* stems in the masculine nominative singular (EDGERTON §8.18).

[207] The text and interpretation of 155ab are problematic. What **A** reads as *vikṣebhya* should in all likelihood be emended to *vikṣobhya* ("shaking"), an emendation confirmed by S_1. If 155b is correct, the vocative *nārāyaṇi* is surprising indeed (a redactional slip?). Two verbs are possible: *ramāmy* (**A**) and *namāmy* (S_1), *ra* and *na* being easily confused in Newari writing. I

radiance.[208]

156–57 Therein was born of me a creation wondrous and extremely frightening. In [the skull in] my left hand, I beheld *yoginīs* conjoined with *vīras*; the Queen of Vidyās, Mahācaṇḍā [Kāpālinī]; and [the *devīs*] Raktā and Karālinī.[209] (¿) I then beheld that terrible (*bhairava*) lord of the Guhyakās, O goddess (?).[210]

158–59b I beheld the Six Yoginīs and the Mother-goddesses, whose bravery is terrible. Countless great goddesses originated therein,[211] as well as [their] female and male attendants, possessing the lustre of the twelve Ādityas,[212] O pious woman.

159c–160 Because of this [shaking of the skull], the supreme Lord is called Bhairava the Churner (Manthānabhairava). In one thousand divine years that [skull] became full [of Viṣṇu's blood],[213] O goddess praised by heroes.

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am tempted to crux the pāda.

[208] *paśyāmi* (155c) and subsequent present-tense verbs have been rendered in the past tense in translation. It seems °*chāyāṃ* is the object of the verb, modified by *ulbaṇāṃ*, perhaps in the sense of "dense" (though elsewhere in the text *ulbaṇa* seems to mean "powerful," or perhaps even "blazing;" cf. the expression *bhairaveśolbaṇānanaḥ* in 20b).

[209] *vidyeśvarī mahācaṇḍā* (157a) refers to Caṇḍā Kāpālinī, goddess of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā. Raktā and Karālinī (i.e. Karālā) are the first two of the eight goddesses of her core pantheon (table 2.1).

[210] *guhyakañ ceśvaran* in 157c seems implausible. One should perhaps emend to *guhyakāñ*, understood as a highly irregular feminine genitive plural. Another possibility is *guhyakāneśvaran*, the genitive plural *guhyakānāṃ* having lost its anusvāra for metrical reasons, or being instead the Middle Indic genitive *guhyakāna* (see Edgerton §9.106). The Guhyakās are the Four Devīs, Raktā, etc., and Guhyakeśvara is an epithet of Bhairava as their lord. It is of course odd that the narrator should see himself within the primordial brew in the skull: is Mahākāla distinct from Guhyakeśvara? In 157d, it is tempting to follow **S**$_1$ in reading *tatra paśyāmi* rather than *tat prapaśyāmi*. If **A**'s reading is retained, *tat* presumably has the sense of *tataḥ*, or could be corrupt for *taṃ*.

[211] In 158d, **S**$_1$ provides the verb *utpadyatti* (corrupt for *utpadyanti*), where **A** reads *utpannās tu*. Though I have retained it, the latter might be a secondary 'improvement' of the former, which treats the ātmanepada *ut√pad* as parasmaipada.

[212] In 159b, **S**$_1$'s °*varccasāḥ* could be original, formed on the extended stem *varcasa* (for *varcas*); **A** reads the more correct plural, °*varccasaḥ*.

[213] *tatpūrṇṇā*, as reads **A** in 160b, is doubtful. It would be much smoother to read *tat pūrṇam*, referring to the skull, in which case *tat* is picked up by *tatra* in 160c. This is supported somewhat by **S**$_1$, which reads *tat pūrṇṇa*, and I have emended accordingly. Cf. *tat pātraṃ* above in 154c. The idea is echoed in *Matsyapurāṇa* 183.91ab, quoted as testimonia, which refers to the blood of Viṣṇu flowing into the skull for a thousand divine years. According to *Padmapurāṇa*,

The goddesses originated therein, greedy for blood and alcoholic drinks.

161–62b Seeing the goddesses present in the skull, I honoured them.[214] Viṣṇu too ever honoured the goddesses therein, and likewise Brahmā also worshipped them with deep feeling.

162c–63 When my gaze fell into the best limb of Brahmā filled with the blood of Viṣṇu, therein arose the Rays (*raśmayaḥ*) [of *śakti*].[215] This is why they effect proximity through the skull, O fair woman.[216]

164 Worshipping the skull, one worships the goddesses. Filling the skull, he satiates the Rays. Bearing the skull, one holds the animate and inanimate creation.[217]

165–66 When [the skull is] praised, one praises the entire [world]. Violated, one violates the world. That sinner who violates or criticizes the skull violates the initiatory pledges (*samaya*) and criticizes the gurus.[218] A wise man should therefore not violate the skull, which is venerated by the gods.

167 The four Vedas are visible in the skull,[219] along with the Gāyatrī, Oṃkāra, Sāvatrī, and all scriptures,[220] O goddess praised by heroes.

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sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 14.17, the blood of Viṣṇu filled the skull after a thousand divine years, upon which Rudra churned the blood with his finger and his gaze for another thousand (*divyavarṣasahasraṃ sā samuvāha hare bhujāt* ||17|| … *paśyato 'tha harer īśaḥ svāṅgulyā rudhiraṃ tadā* ||22|| *divyavarṣasahasraṃ ca dṛṣṭipātair mamaṃtha saḥ* |).

[214] The bulk of S_1's variants in this section are synonyms difficult to evaluate vis-à-vis A's readings. In 161b, however, the oblique pronoun *me* (for the instrumental) could be original, given that A's *mayā* improves the syntax.

[215] *raśmayaḥ* (163b) is a generic manner of referring to the multitude of *śaktis*; cf. *gabhastayaḥ* in 164d below, or for instance in 59.19cd.

[216] Cf. 144cd, with which the narrative began. As in 144c, *sānaidhyaṃ* occurs for classical Sanskrit *sāṃnidhyaṃ*. S_1's *gabhastayaḥ* in 63d reads somewhat better than the vocative *varānane*, but might be a secondary revision.

[217] In 164a, 164c, and 164e, I have followed S_1 in emending to *kapālaṃ* rather than reading *kapāla* in compound. This certainly improves the syntax; cf. *khaṭvāṅgaṃ* in a similar passage in 135c and 136a. The phrase *tṛptās tasya gabhastayaḥ* (164d) suggests a double meaning: the Rays are both satiated (*tṛptāḥ*) by drink, and satisfied with he who offers it (*tṛptāḥ tasya*).

[218] If correct, the nominative *pāpātmā* in 165d apparently occurs metri causa for the instrumental, *pāpātmanā*, a usage not observed by Edgerton. One might consider reading *pāpātmenātha* rather than *pāpātmā vātha*. S_1 lacks this text altogether.

[219] In 167c, A's *caturo varṇṇā* ("the four classes") is manifestly less plausible than *caturo vedā* ("the four Vedas"), S_1's reading, which has been adopted. Here the accusative plural *caturo* occurs for the nominative *catvāraḥ*; cf. Edgerton §19.15.

[220] The case endings in 167ab are doubtful; in 167a A reads °*sāvittriṃ*, and S_1, *sāvitryā*, while

168 That is why anything that falls into that very [skull] by way of alms-food is both pure and purifying,[221] even if it would be reviled food.[222]

169 Offered even by someone of sinful conduct, whether a woman or man,[223] meat and liquor instantly become pure, without a doubt.[224]

170 (¿) [One is purified] even by eating [from a skull] alms given by a single person (*ekānna*) (?), devoid of hesitation in acceptance—all the more so if he would eat to his satisfaction, especially while resorting to mantra.[225]

171 The skull has Brahmā as its presiding deity,[226] O fair woman. It contains all deities, for it contains all the ontic principles (*tattva*).

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in 167d **A** transmits °*samanvitā*, and $\mathbf{S}_1$ diverges altogether. The nominative plural *samanvitāḥ* seemed intended, in agreement with *vedā[ḥ]*, and I have emended accordingly. The garbled form *sāvittriṃ* could result from confusion of *-rī* with *-ṝ* in the course of transmission. I have tentatively corrected to *-rī* and construed this in compound. Alternatively, $\mathbf{S}_1$'s *sāvitryā* could be understood as an extended *-yā* stem in compound, or as an irregular nominative plural (i.e. *sāvitryāḥ*).

[221] *bhikṣabhājane* ("into the alms-vessel"), as reads **A** in 168b, is plausible, with metrical shortening of the long *ā* of *bhikṣā* (cf. EDGERTON §9.6–7). However, in light of $\mathbf{S}_1$'s *bhakṣabhojane*, I am more inclined to the emendation *bhikṣabhojane* ("by way of alms-food"), since the expression *bhikṣābhojana* is comparatively common. In this case *kapāle* (167c) is understood as the locus of *patitam*.

In 168c, **A**'s *yavitrañ* must be corrupt for *pavitrañ*, as read **B** and $\mathbf{S}_1$; *ya* and *pa* are similar in **A**.

[222] **A**'s reading in 168d, *kutsitānnam api bhavet*, has a metrical fault, the sixth syllable being short instead of long. I have conjectured that a metrical visarga was dropped (i.e. *apir bhavet*); cf. 177a below. $\mathbf{S}_1$ seems to have avoided the problem through revision; it transmits *kupsitāṃna tu yad bhavet* (corrupt for *kutsitānnaṃ tu yad bhavet*).

[223] $\mathbf{S}_1$'s irregular instrumental, *striyāyā* (formed on the stem *striyā*) could be original in 178b; **A** reads the more correct *striyā vā*.

[224] In 169c, $\mathbf{S}_1$'s reading, *madyamānsamadhuṃ dattvā*, is plausible; however, I suspect this has arisen through misreading *sadyo* as *madyo*.

[225] The predicate of 170ab is unstated, and the causal link between 169cd and 170 unclear; *ekānnam* (170a) may pick up *tat* (169d), but the subject shifts to the individual accepting alms. The expression *ekānna* means "food given by a single person," defined as such and proscribed in *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 2.188ab. See the discussion of KISS (2015) ad *BraYā* 45.482, which also proscribes *ekānna* alms. In 170b, $\mathbf{S}_1$'s reading, *pratigraha*° ("acceptance"), seems somewhat preferable to **A**'s *parigraha*°, though the latter can have the same sense. In 170c, *tuṣṭa* has been emended to the nominative *tuṣṭo*, following $\mathbf{S}_1$, though it could be original (a stem form, or non-standard elision of visarga).

[226] It is possible that $\mathbf{S}_1$'s *jñeyaṃ* in 171b is original; **A** here has a vocative verse-filler (*devi*), despite there being another in the next pāda.

172 The crowning jewel [made] out of skull which is placed on the crest:[227] Īśvara should be known as the presiding deity there, O beautiful woman.

173 *Jñānaśakti* and the [*śakti*] called *kriyā* are proclaimed as the two [bone] earrings. [Of] the insignia placed at the throat, there I am the presiding deity.

174 (¿) Rudra, together with groups of Mother-goddesses, should be known [on the garland of skulls], O beautiful woman (?).[228] [The divine serpent] Ananta is on the sacred thread;[229] the supreme Śakti (¿) is located above all else (?).[230]

175 Viṣṇu should be understood as presiding deity for the [ornaments] on the hands, arms, and waist.[231] (¿) The pure, fully liberated, [supreme] Śiva

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[227] The topic now shifts from the skull to what are commonly known as the Five Insignia (*pañcamudrāḥ*), additional accoutrements of the *mahāvrata* made from human remains. For a discussion of these, see Törzsök's article on *pañcamudrāḥ* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. Here the insignia are listed as follows: a skull crest jewel (*cūḍāmaṇi*; cf. that of the Shahdol Bhairava, this book's frontispiece), [bone] earrings (*karṇikā*), a [bone] necklace (often called *kaṇṭhikā*), a sacred thread (*upavīta*) of human hair, and apparently bangles, armlets, and a girdle (175ab). Also mentioned are matted locks (*jaṭā*, 175ef), while a line in S_1 missing from **A** adds ashes to the list (175cd). Cf. *BraYā* 21.103–107, which describe the accoutrements of the practitioner of the *mahāvrata* or *bhairavavrata*. Notably, the expression *pañcamudrāḥ* does not occur in *BraYā* 83, and the insignia do not necessarily number five; also, the Five Insignia are delineated differently in *BraYā* 12.93–95, where they include the *kapāla* and *khaṭvāṅga*.

[228] No location is specified for Rudra and the *mātṛ*s in 174cd, which is hence suspect. Since a group of deities is involved and since the sequence is, more or less, from the upper body to the lower, one might posit a necklace of skull pieces (*kapālamālā*) as locus. Some text may be lost or out of sequence in 174–75.

[229] *anantā*, as **A** reads in 174c, must be corrupt for *ananto*, the divine serpent at the base of the cosmos (cf. v. 103 above). The identification of Ananta with the sacred thread seems fitting, for deities are often represented with a serpentine sacred thread (*vyālayajñopavīta*); the Hundred Rudras are to be visualized thus, for instance, according to 32.157d.

[230] What **A** reads as *sarvvārddhagā* in 174d could be corrected to *sarvvorddhagā* (i.e. *sarvordhvagā*), though precisely what this adjective refers to is unclear. The highest point is presumably the jewel (*cūḍāmaṇi*) on the crest (*śikhā*) mentioned earlier. The expression *sarvādhvagā* might also be considered; perhaps, "the supreme Śakti is present in the entire cosmos (*adhvan*)" and therefore presides over all of the paraphernalia? Other possibilites include *sarvāṅgagā*, "located on the whole body." Raising further doubt is the fact that S_1 differs entirely in this pāda, reading the unintelligible *nā⟨śanā⟩jādhidevatāṃ*.

[231] **A**'s °*kaṭitthaiś* or °*kaṭinthaiś* is probably corrupt for °*kaṭisthaiś*, reflecting scribal confusion between *ntha* or *ttha* and *stha*. I have understood this compound as referring to ornaments—bracelets, armlets, and a girdle of bone, perhaps bound by human hair. Instrumental in form,

should be known as the presiding deity of the ashes [smeared on the body] (?).[232] *Śakti*s of manifold forms are the presiding deities of the matted locks.

176 This [knowledge] bestows the ultimate aim (*mahārtha*) [of liberation].[233] One who understands this truly should be considered just like Śiva, even if perverse in conduct.

177 Even if he, abiding in sinful acts, does something exceedingly violent,[234] he nonetheless becomes a king of ghosts [after death], immersed in contemplation of Śiva (*śivabhāvita*).[235]

178 By Śiva's will he remains in that [condition] until his karma wears out. Afterwards, he reaches the highest station, the state which is free of affliction.[236]

179 O Mahādevī, of old the gods carried out this Great Vow (*mahāvrata*). Afterwards, they became free of death and old age,[237] and attained the uttmost mastery of mantras.

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it is presumably locative or genitive in sense (cf. *upavīte* above and *jaṭānāṃ* below). S_1, on the other hand, reads the nominative singular °*kaṭiś caiva* (perhaps in error for the genitive, *kaṭeś caiva*?). On the idea that these ornaments derive from the bones of Viṣṇu, cf. 91 above, and *Devīpurāṇa* 119.67.

[232]Not present in **A** or other MSS. of the *BraYā*, pādas 175cd are transmitted by S_1 alone. This is the only such discrepancy, and the missing text (*BraYāSāra* 68.146ab) has every possibility of being original. In 175f, I have emended to the plural °*devatāḥ*, where **A** reads °*devatam* and S_1 °*devatā*. Concerning *śakti*s and matted locks, cf. 114c–15.

[233]In place of **A**'s *mahārthadan* in 176a, S_1 reads *mahāvratan*, which could well be correct; the syntax would certainly be smoother. However, *mahārthadan* is the less obvious reading and has been provisionally retained.

[234]As transmitted by **A**, the meter is faulty in 177a: syllables two and three are both short. S_1 confirms the cause for this: a metrical visarga had been dropped from *apiḥ* (cf. 168d above, and EDGERTON §2.93). Moreover, S_1 also transmits a semantically important variant: *sa vikarmmasthaḥ* ("[even if] he, abiding in bad acts") is eminently more appropriate to the context than **A**'s *sucikarmasthaḥ*, i.e. *śucikarmasthaḥ* ("abiding in pure ritual").

I have understood *atīvasāhasaṃ* in 177b in the sense of *atisāhasaṃ* ("exceedingly rash/egregious act"). Cf. *atīvavallabha* in 143d above, and see the note thereon.

[235]In 177c, °*rājāno* is nominative singular in sense, formed on the extended stem *rājāna*; cf. EDGERTON §17.37–38.

[236]In 178, **A** may improve upon (and hence be secondary to) the text transmitted by S_1, especially in 178b: where **A** reads *tatkarmasaṃkṣayaḥ*, S_1 transmits *karmmasya saṃkṣayaḥ*, with an irregular genitive. S_1's reading in 178d also seems comparatively rustic.

[237]In 179c, °*jarān* is probably original, feminine accusative singular in form though dual in sense, written with the homorganic nasal. S_1 writes °*jarā*. For a similar expression, cf. *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 61.49cd: *janmamṛtyujarāṃ tīrtvā sa viṣṇoḥ padam āpnuyāt* ||.

180 Of old, the Great Vow was carried out by Śakra too, the great Indra. Afterwards, [he] crushed the army of the [*asura*] offspring of Diti.[238]

181 Of old, Viṣṇu too carried out the Great Vow for the sake of [his] discus. After he obtained it, he became invincible in the world, vanquisher of the gods' enemies.

182 When the Vedas were lost, Brahmā too carried out the Great Vow and propitiated me, formerly,[239] O you revered by the foremost gods. Being pleased, I immediately revealed the Vedas to him again.

183 Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*), *yoginī*s, seizers (*graha*), zombies (*vetāla*), and *rākṣasas*—after understanding my form,[240] [all of them] carried out this Great Vow.

184 If a possessor of mantras observes [the *mahāvrata*] for a month,[241] a fortnight, a half-year (*ayana*), or a year, the excellent *sādhaka* becomes accepted by all *yoginī*s.[242]

185 Therefore one desiring *siddhi* of higher or lesser qualities should resort to the *Bhairavatantra* and perform the Great Vow.[243]

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[238] The context, and absence of *ca* or *tathā* in 180ab, suggest that *śukreṇāpi* (180a) is corrupt for *śakreṇāpi*, i.e. Śakra/Indra rather than Śukra, preceptor of *asura*s. (Cf. *Ratnamālāvadāna* 2.193a: *tataḥ śakro mahendro 'sau*). This reading is confirmed by $\mathbf{S}_1$.

[239] *brahmaṇena* is an instrumental formed on the irregular stem *brahmaṇa*; see EDGERTON §17.29. This verse was not interpretable without the evidence of $\mathbf{S}_1$, which in 182a reads *vedeṣu*—an obvious improvement upon **A**'s *deveṣu*, which is readily explicable as a corruption—and in 182c reads *caritvārādhitaḥ*, where **A** reads *caritvā dhāritaḥ*. In the case of *deveṣu*, I had not suspected corruption, while in the case of 182cd, I could not arrive at the solution—though this seems obvious enough in hindsight.

[240] I.e. Bhairava's form as the primordial mortuary ascetic, *mahāvratin*.

[241] °*yuktañ* (184b) is surely to be corrected to the nominative °*yuktaś*, *ñc/śc* confusion being common.

[242] In 184c, °*yogīnāṃ* has been understood as a feminine genitive plural formed on the irregular stem *yogī* or *yogi* for *yoginī* (cf. *BraYā* 40.1d, which compounds the stem *yogi* in this sense). $\mathbf{S}_1$'s reading *sanmataḥ* (i.e. *saṃmataḥ*, "accepted [by the *yoginī*s]") in 184d is altogether more convincing than **A**'s *samantaḥ*, and has been adopted. Cf. 59.7 (quoted as testimonia) and 47.4cd: *yogeśīsammatātmā vai sakhāyaiḥ* [em.; *sakhāyeḥ* **A**] *śobhanair vṛtaḥ* ("truly accepted by the *yoginī*s, [and] surrounded by pleasing assistants").

[243] In 185b, the neuter present participle *anvicchat* may be corrupt for the masculine *anvicchan*, the writing of which is extremely similar in **A**. However, the final *-t* might instead suggest corruption from *anvicchet*, as reads $\mathbf{S}_1$. The syntax is also somewhat smoother with the optative, which I have adopted. In 185b, I have restored an anusvāra to the compound °*ātmikā*,

186 The sacrificer dwelling at home (*gṛhamedhin*) attains *siddhi* by recourse to the 'observance at intervals' (*velāvrata*).[244] As he is not detached from mortal enjoyments, he does not fly off into the firmament. (¿) [However,] he is not deprived of an encounter (*melaka*) [with the goddesses] due to the absence of a sacrificial victim (*paśu*), O goddess (?).[245]

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which modifies *siddhim.*

In 185c, it seems preferable to follow **S**₁ in reading *tantraṃ*. **A** is ambiguous, reading either *tattra* or *tantra*; *nt* and *tt* are not usually distinguished in its orthography. One could also interpret *tatra* in the sense of "in that case," as I had done initially.

[244] The ostensibly plural noun *°medhinaḥ* is picked up by the singular adjective *°viraktātmā* and verb *utpatati* in 186ab. This suggests that *°medhinaḥ* is in fact singular, formed on the extended stem *medhina* (cf. Edgerton §10.3). This is confirmed by **S**₁, which transmits the singular verb *sidhyate* in 186b rather than *sidhyante* (**A**).

This confusing verse seems misplaced, or to be a later addition. It appears to concern the initiated householder who does not take up the full ascetic discipline of the *mahāvrata*. The term *velāvrata* occurs, without being explicitly defined, in the *Bhairavamaṅgalā* (2.96), *Jayadrathayāmala* (I, 23.43 and 45.85), and *Pārameśvarīmata* 3. It seems to refer to a program of worship utilizing *kāpālika* accoutrements at fixed intervals, rather than continuous observance of the ascetic *mahāvrata*. The Krama *Pārameśvarīmata* refers to one engaged in the *velāvrata* as wearing the Five Insignia and performing *japa* and *homa* (*velāvratena saṃyuktaḥ paṃcamudrādharaḥ śuci | aṣṭottarasahasran tu japtvā homaṃ samarpayet* ||). The *Bhairavamaṅgalā* also refers to one performing the *velāvrata* while wearing the Insignia (*mudrālaṃkṛtadehastha*). In *Narmamālā* 3.15c–16a, Kṣemendra farcically describes a naked Śaiva officiant as both *mahāvratin* and *velāvratin*. Provisionally, I understand *velāvrata* as referring to the householder initiate's domestic worship utilizing the skull, skull-staff, and *kāpālika* insignia; this makes sense in light of the reference above (129c–130b) to the miniature, secret *khaṭvāṅga* of householders.

[245] The intended meaning of 186c–f is uncertain. On its own, 186cd seems coherent: a householder *sādhaka* is not free from attachment (*aviraktātmā*) to mortal pleasures (*martyabhoga*), and therefore does not reach the lofty goal of flying off into the firmament as a second Bhairava. As transmitted, 186ef is difficult to connect with this: "he is not deprived of an encounter [with the deities] (*melaka*)" is a clear enough statement, but *melaka* typically culminates in ascending into the skies with the goddesses. It seems that there may be one negation too many present; perhaps *na* should be emended to *sa* in 186f: he *is* deprived of *melaka*. However, **S**₁ supports reading *na*. 186e introduces a new idea of unclear import: *paśor abhāvato* ("due to absence of a sacrificial victim"). Perhaps, "[but] he is not [entirely] deprived of *melaka* [merely] on account of the absence of [sacrifice of a] *paśu*?" This interpretation has been adopted. One might instead conjecture *paśoḥ prabhāvataḥ*: "[but] by the power of [sacrifice of] a victim, he is not deprived of *melaka*." Perhaps the contrast being drawn is that an ascetic votary of the *mahāvrata* does not engage in sacrifice, while the *gṛhamedhin* does, this compensating somewhat for his worldly attachments.

Thus ends the Origins of the Skull and Skull-staff,
chapter eighty-three of the *Picumata*,[246]
the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand Verses*.

[246]While the colophon labels the chapter as paṭala eighty (*aśītimaḥ*), it is eighty-third in actual sequence. The colophon of the chapter labelled eighty-three (actually eighty-six) spells this number as *trayośītimaḥ* rather than the standard *tryaśītimaḥ*, and this is perhaps possible (analogous to *trayonavatiḥ*, etc., but with irregular sandhi). Note also the irregular form *trayāśītikaṃ* ("eighty-third") in 17.217d.

Appendix A

Chapter Titles and Colophons of the *Brahmayāmala* in its Old Nepalese Manuscript (NAK 3-370)

What follows is a diplomatic transcription of the chapter and final colophons of the old Nepalese codex, NAK 3-370 (NGMPP A42/6). Chapter numbers, folio ranges, and titles have also been supplied. Titles marked with asterisks do no occur in the colophons, and have been conjectured based on chapter content. Discrepancies between the colophonal numbering of chapters and their actual sequence in the manuscript have been noted. On this issue, see also the useful charts of Kiss (2015: 70–72).

1. Sambandha. *ff.* 1*v*–4*v*. *iti mahābhairave tantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne sambandhapaṭalaḥ prathamaḥ.*

2. Mantroddhāra. *ff.* 4*v*–5*r*. *iti mahābhairave mūlatantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ dvitīyaḥ.*

3. Mahāyāga. *ff.* 5*r*–11*v*. *iti mahābhairave dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne mahāyāgapaṭalaḥ.*

4. Pratimālakṣaṇa (I). *ff.* 11*v*–38*v*. *iti mahābhairave picumate dvādaśasāhasrake pratimālakṣaṇa caturthapaṭalaḥ.*

5. Yantrakarma. *ff.* 38*v*–42*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake yantrakarma pañcamapaṭalaḥ.*

6. Pratimālakṣaṇa (II). *ff.* 42*v*–43*r*. *iti picumate pratimālakṣaṇo nāma ṣaṣṭhapaṭalaḥ.*

7 (labelled 9). *Devatādhyāna. *ff.* 43*r*–43*v*. *iti picumate navamapaṭalaḥ.*

8. Samādhiyojana. *ff.* 43*v*–44*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake samādhiyojana aṣṭamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

9. Lakṣabheda. *ff.* 44*v*–45*r*. *iti picumate lakṣabheda navamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

10. Devīnāṃ Mantroddhāra. *ff.* 45*r*–50*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake devīnāṃ mantroddhāra daśamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

11. Mantroddhāra. *ff.* 50*v*–57*r*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasre mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ ekādaśamaṃ.*

12. Tritattvayāga. *ff.* 57*r*–63*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake tṛtatvayāga dvādaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

13. Navayāga. *ff.* 63*v*–64*v*. *picumate navayāgapaṭalaḥ trayodaśamaḥ.*

14. Khecarīcakra. *ff.* 64*v*–72*r*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake khecarīcakrapaṭalaḥ caturdaśaḥ.*

15. Vetālasādhana. *ff.* 72*r*–73*v*. *iti picumate vetālasādhanapaṭalaḥ pañcadaśamaḥ.*

16. Puṣpādhikāra. *ff.* 73*v*–75*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake puṣpādhikārapaṭalaḥ ṣoḍaśamaḥ.*

17. Vidyācakra. *ff.* 75*v*–92*r*. *iti mahābhairave picumate dvādaśasāhasrake vidyācakra saptadaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

18. Japavidhāna. *ff.* 92*r*–94*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake japavidhānapaṭalo [']ṣṭādaśamaḥ.*

19. Bhautikacakra. *ff.* 94b–97*r*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake bhautikacakrapaṭalaḥ ekūnavinsatimaḥ.*

20. Agnikāryavidhi. *ff.* 97*r*–98*r*. *iti picumate agnikāryavidhipaṭalaḥ vinsatimaḥ.*

21. Vrata. *ff.* 98*r*–102*v*. *iti picumate vratapaṭalaikaviṃśatimaḥ.*

22. Guhyāmṛta (I). *ff.* 102*v*–07*r*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake guhyāmṛtapaṭalaḥ dvāvinsatimaḥ.*

23. Mṛtyuñjayavidhi. *ff.* 107*r*–12*r*. *iti picumate mṛtyuñjayavidhiḥ mantrodhārapaṭalaḥ trayovinsatimaḥ.*

24. Guhyāmṛta (II). *ff.* 112*r*–17*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake guhyāmṛtapaṭala caturvvinsatimaḥ.*

25. Yāganirṇaya. *ff.* 117*v*–27*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake yāganirṇṇayaḥ paṭalaḥ pañcavinsatimaḥ.*

26. Mudrāmantroddhāra. *ff.* 127*v*–29*r*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake mudrāmantroddhāraḥ paṭalaḥ ṣaḍviṃsatimaḥ.*

27. Śaktitritayayāga. *ff.* 129*r*–30*v*. *iti mahābhairave brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake*
śaktitritayayāgapaṭalaḥ saptāvinsatimaḥ.

28. Vijayabhairava. *ff.* 130*v*–32*v*. *iti brahmayāmale vijayaḥ bhairavapaṭalaḥ aṣṭāvinsatimaḥ.*

29. Bhīmādyācatuṣka. *ff.* 132*v*–134*r*. *iti brahmayāmale bhīmādyācatuṣkapaṭalaḥ ekūnaviṃsatimaḥ*

30. Mūlayāgavidhi. *ff.* 134*r*–39*v*. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake mūlayāgavidhiḥ trinsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

31. Śivarudrabheda. *ff.* 139*v*–41*v*. *iti mahābhairave mūlatantre dvādaśasāhasrake śivarudrabhedapaṭala ekatrinsatimaḥ.*

32. Prakriyā. *ff.* 141*v*–46*r*. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake prakriyāpaṭalaḥ dvātrinsatimaḥ.*

33. Dīkṣā. *ff.* 146*r*–56*r*. *iti brahmayāmale dīkṣāpaṭalas trayatrinsatimaḥ.*

34. Abhiṣeka. *ff.* 156*r*–67*r*. *iti brahmayāmale abhiṣekapaṭala catutrinsatimaḥ.*

35. Aśeṣayāgaśṛṃkhalana. *ff.* 167*r*–84*v*. *iti mahābhairave mūlatantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate aśeṣayāgaśṛṃkhalanapaṭalaḥ pañcatṛnsatimaḥ.*

36. Nāḍīsañcāra. *ff.* 184*v*–85*r*. *ity ucchuṣmatantre picumate nāḍīsañcārapaṭalaḥ ṣaṭtṛṃsatimaḥ.*

37. Tattvadīkṣā (I). *ff.* 185*r*–87*r*. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake tatvadīkṣāpaṭalaḥ saptatriṃśatimaḥ.*

38. Tattvadīkṣā (II). *ff.* 187*r*–88*r*. *iti mahābhairave brahmayāmale tatvadīkṣāpaṭalaḥ aṣṭatṛṃśatimaḥ.*

39. Srotranirṇaya. *ff.* 188*r*–90*v*. *iti brahmayāmale srotranirṇṇayapaṭalaḥ ekūnacatvāriṃśatimaḥ.*

40. Asidhāravrata. *ff.* 190*v*–91*v*. *iti brahmayāmale aśidhāravratapaṭalas catvāriṃśatimaḥ.*

41. Bindu. *ff.* 191*v*–92*r*. *iti brahmayāmale bindupaṭalaḥ ekacatvārimśatimaḥ.*

42 (labelled 40). Nyāsa. *ff.* 192*r*–93*r*. *iti brahmayāmale nyāsapaṭalaḥ catvārinsatimaḥ.*

43. Mudrā. *ff.* 193*r*–94*r*. *iti brahmayāmale mudrāpaṭalaḥs tricatvāriṃśatimaḥ.*

44. Krīḍākarma. *ff.* 194*r*–95*v*. *iti picumate krīḍākarmapaṭalaś catuścatvāriṃsatimaḥ.*

45. Sādhakādhikāra. *ff.* 195*v*–212*r*. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake sādhakādhikārapaṭalaḥ pañcacatvāriṃśatimaḥ.*

46. Mahāmanthāna. *ff.* 212*r*–15*v*. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake mahāmanthāna ṣaṭcatvārinsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

47. *Siddhamaṇḍapikā. *ff.* 215*v*–217*r*. *iti picumate saptacatvārinsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

48. Garttāyāga (I). *ff.* 217*r*–17*v*. *garttāyāge aṣṭacatvārinsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

49. Yantrārṇava. *ff.* 217*v*–18*v*. *iti picumate yantrārṇṇavo nāmaḥ ekūnapañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

50. Kroṣṭhukalpa. *ff.* 218*v*–19*r*. *iti picumate kroṣṭhukalpaṃ pañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptam iti.*

51 (labelled 48). Yantrādhikāra. *ff.* 219*r*–20*v*. *iti picumate yantrādhikāra aṣṭacatvāriṃsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

52 (labelled 49). *Homa. *ff.* 220*v*–21*r*. *iti brahmayāmale vidyāpīṭhe ekūnapañcāsamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

53 (labelled 50). *ff.* 221*r*–25*v*. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake pañcāṣatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

54 (labelled 51). Yoginībhedayāga. *ff.* 225*v*–26*v*. *iti brahmayāmale yoginībhedayāgapaṭalaḥ ekapañcāsatimaḥ.*

55 (labelled 52). Mudrāpīṭhādhikāra. *ff.* 226*v*–231*v*. *iti brahmayāmale mudrāpīṭhādhikāro nāma dvāpañcāṣamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

56 (labelled 53). Chommādhikāra. *ff.* 231*v*–235*v*. *cchommādhikāras tṛpañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

57 (labelled 54). *Caturviṃśayoginīyāga. *ff.* 235*v*–38*v*. *iti picumate catuḥpañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

58 (labelled 55). *Aghoreśvarīkalpa. *ff.* 238*v*–40*r*. *iti picumate +pañca+pañcāsatima paṭalaḥ.*

59 (labelled 56). Kulacaryāvibhāgapaṭala. *ff.* 240*r*–43*r*. *iti picumate kulacaryāvibhāgapaṭalaḥ ṣatpañcāsatimaḥ.*

60 (labelled 57). *ff.* 243*r*–45*v*. *iti picumate saptapañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

61 (labelled 58). Ṛtukālanirṇaya. *ff.* 245*v*–46*r*. *iti bhairavasrotasi picumate ṛtukālanirṇṇaya aṣṭapañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

62 (labelled 59). Sūtrādhikārapaṭala. *ff.* 246*r*–53*r*. *iti sūtrādhikārapaṭalaḥ ekūnaṣaṣṭhitamaḥ.*

63 (labelled 60). Kaṅkālabhairavādhikāra. *ff.* 253*r*–55*r*. *iti kaṅkālabhairavādhikāro nāma ṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

64 (labelled 61). Sakhāmitrakiṅkarādhikāra. *ff.* 255*r*–59*v*. *iti sakhāmitrakiṅkarādhikāro nāmaḥ ekaṣaṣṭhimah paṭalaḥ.*

65 (labelled 60). Yakṣiṇīsādhana. *ff.* 259*v*–61*r*. *iti mahābhairave yakṣiṇīsādhanapaṭala ṣaṣṭhimaḥ.*

66 (labelled 63). Guḍikāsādhanādhikāra. *ff.* 261*r*–62*r*. *iti mahābhairavasrotsi vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale guḍikāsādhanādhikāra triṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

67 (labelled 64). *Picutantranirṇaya. *ff.* 262*r*–63*v*. *iti picumate catuḥṣaṣṭimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

68 (labelled 65). *Phetkārabhairava. *ff.* 263*v*–66*r*. *iti picumate pañcaṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

69 (labelled 66). Añjanayoga. *ff.* 266*r*–67*v*. *iti picumate añjanayoga ṣaṭṣaṣṭimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

70 (labelled 67). Garttāyāga (II). *ff.* 267*v*–70*v*. *iti picumate garttāyāga saptaṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

71 (labelled 68). Oṣadhiparyāya. *ff.* 270*v*–74*r*. *iti picumate oṣadhiparyāye aṣṭaṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

72 (labelled 69). Picubheda. *ff.* 274*r*–277*v*. *iti picumate picubheda ekūnasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

73 (labelled 70). Śaktiyāgakalpa. *ff.* 277*v*–78*r*. *iti brahmayāmale śaktiyāgakalpasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

74 (labelled 71). Chommādhikāra. *ff.* 278*r*–280*r*. *iti picumate cchomādhikāro nāma ekasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

75 (labelled 72). *Kūṭabhedalakṣaṇa. *ff.* 280*r*–86*r*. *iti picumate dvāsaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

76 (labelled 73). *Kalākalana. *ff.* 286–87*r*. *iti brahmayāmale tṛsaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

77 (labelled 74). Hairambhabhairava. *ff.* 287*r*–90*v*. *iti picumate hairambhabhairavo nāma catussaptimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

78 (labelled 75). Mahāmardakabhairava. *ff.* 290*v*–92*r*. *iti picumate mahāmarddakabhairavo nāma pañcasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

79 (labelled 76). Yoginīpṛthakyāgavidhi. *ff.* 292*r*–93*r*. *iti brahmayāmale yoginīpṛthakyāgavidhi ṣaṭsaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

80 (labelled 77). *Devatāpṛthakkalpasādhana. *ff.* 293*r*–94*r*. *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātaṃntre saptasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

81. *Udakumbhādidevatā. *ff.* 294*r*–? (*end of chapter missing*).

82. *This chapter is missing.*

83 (labelled 80). Kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpatti. *ff.* 298– or 299 (both missing)–305*r*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpatti aśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

84 (labelled 81). Kañcukīsādhana. *ff.* 305*r*–6*v*. *iti picumate kañcukīsādhana ekāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

85 (labelled 82). Utphullakādhikāra. *ff.* 307*r*–11*r*. *iti picumate utphullakādhikāro nāma dvāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

86 (labelled 83). Śaktitrayavidhāna. *ff.* 311*r*–12*v*. *iti brahmayāmale śaktitrayavidhānā nāmaḥ trayośītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

87 (labelled 84). Uttarādhikāra. *ff.* 312*v*–19*r*. *uttarādhikāro nāmaḥ caturāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

88 (labelled 85). Samayādhikāra. *ff.* 319*r*–21*v*. *samayādhikāro nāmaṅ cāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

89 (labelled 86). Liṅgalakṣaṇādhikāra. *ff.* 321*v*–25*v*. *liṅgalakṣaṇādhikāro nāma ṣaḍāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

90 (labelled 87). Jñānamuṣṭi/Uttaratantrādhikāra. *ff.* 325*v*–33*r*. *picumate jñānamuṣṭi uttaratantrādhikāra saptāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

91 (labelled 88). Kūrmaprastāra. *ff.* 333*r*–39*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake uttarottare kūrmaprastāra aṣṭāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

92 (labelled 89). *Vyomapañcaka. *ff.* 339*v*–41*r*. *iti picumate mahātantre ekūnanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

93 (labelled 90). *Jhaṅkārabhairava. *ff.* 341*r*–42*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake navatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

94 (labelled 91). *Ārādhakavṛtti. *ff.* 342*v*–44*v*. *iti picumate ekāvatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

95 (labelled 92). *Carvāhārasādhakavṛtti. *ff.* 344*v*–46*r*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake dvānavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

96 (labelled 93). *Tālakavṛtti. *ff.* 346*r*–48*r*. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake trinavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ*

97 (labelled 94). *Sarvātmakavṛtti. *ff.* 348*r*–48*v*. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake caturnnavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

98 (labelled 95). *ff.* 348*v*–49*v*. *iti vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale pañcanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

99 (labelled 96). *Vijñānapañcaka. *ff.* 349*v*–51*v*. *iti brahmayāmale ṣaṇṇavatiḥ paṭalaḥ.*

100 (labelled 97). *Kulayoga. *ff.* 351–52*r*. *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre brahmayāmale saptanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

101 (labelled 98). *Kulabheda. *ff.* 352*r*–53*v*. *iti brahmayāmale aṣṭānavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

102 (labelled 99). *Yoginīmelāpa. *ff.* 353*v*–54*r*. *iti bhairavasrotasi brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake navanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

103 (labelled 100). *Kṣurikaprayoga. *ff.* 354*r*–57*r*. *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale navākṣaravidhāne picumate dvādaśasāhasrake śatasaṅkhyātmakaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

104 (labelled 101). *Kālavañcana. *ff.* 357*r*–58*r*. *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale navākṣaravidhāne picumate dvādaśasāhasrake ekottaraśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ.*

Final colophon (*f.* 358*r*): *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale navākṣaravidhāne picumate dvādaśasāhasrake ekottaraśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ* ||❀|| *samvat a cū 2 māghaśuklāṣṭamyāṃ ādityadine rājādhirājaparameśvaraśrībaladevarājye* | *śrīpaśupativāstavya* | *śrījayākarajīvena brahmayāmalaṃ nāma śāstraṃ likhitaṃ* ||⊙||.

Appendix B

Citations of the *Brahmayāmala* in the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta

Abhinavagupta (*fl.* 975–1025) refers to or cites the *BraYā* fifteen times in nine chapters of the *Tantrāloka*: 4.54b, 4.60b, 5.97c, 13.145ab, 15.44c, 18.9a, 23.43d, 27.21d, 27.24b, 27.29a, 28.383a, 28.409c, 28.419b, 28.423b, and 29.11a. For an account of the titles he uses in each instance, see chapter 2, notes 1–2. What follows identifies and discusses most of the passages Abhinavagupta refers to, which span chapters 4, 11, 21, 45, 56, 87, and 90 of the *BraYā*. Less certain are possible references to *BraYā* 6, 24, and 99. Drawn from all sections of the text, these citations suggest that Abhinavagupta knew the *BraYā* reasonably well and in a form close to that preserved by MS. A (dated 1052 C.E.).

Tantrāloka 4

Tantrāloka 4.55c–65 makes reference to both *BraYā* 21 and 56, closely paraphrasing passages from both. The relevant passage from *BraYā* 21 concerns the observance (*vrata*) connected with the goddess Raktā, i.e. the *raktāvrata*. Abhinavagupta draws on this in advancing the idea of "self-consecration" (*ātmābhiṣeka*), closely paraphrasing *BraYā* 21.70–71b. The text of *Tantrāloka* 4.63c–65 reads as follows:

> *tatraiva ca punaḥ śrīmadraktārādhanakarmaṇi* ||63||
> *vidhiṃ proktaṃ sadā kurvan māsenācārya ucyate* |
> *pakṣeṇa sādhako 'rdhārdhāt putrakaḥ samayī tathā* ||64||

dīkṣayej japayogena raktā devī kramād yataḥ |
guror alābhe proktasya vidhim etaṃ samācaret ||65||

"And furthermore, by constantly practicing the procedure taught in that very text, [the *BraYā*,] with respect to ritual worship of Śrī Raktā, after a month one is called *'ācārya,'* through a fortnight, *'sādhaka'*, after a quarter [month], *'putraka'*, and likewise [in half that time] *'samayin'*. Since the goddess Raktā would bestow initiation, in due course, owing to [one's practice of] mantra-incantation and yoga, this is the procedure one should follow in the absence of the aforementioned guru."

This cites *BraYā* 21.70–71b:

dvibhiḥ karmasamarthas tu māsenācārya ucyate ||69||
pakṣeṇa sādhako hy eṣa bhūtale mantravigrahaḥ |
prathaman tu vrataṃ hy etad raktāyāḥ parikīrtitam ||70||

"By two [months of following the observance], he is capable of [any] ritual act. By one month, he is called *'ācārya'*. By a fortnight, the *sādhaka* comes to possess a body of mantra [while living] on this [very] earth. This is known as the first observance, of Raktā."

Notably, Abhinavagupta reads into this passage the normative fourfold typology of Śaiva initiates, while in fact the category of *putraka* is altogether absent from the *BraYā*.

Earlier in the same chapter, Abhinavagupta quotes *BraYā* 56.26, which reads as follows:

evamādi-r-anekaiś[1] *ca prakārais tu maheśvaraḥ* |
kurute[2] *'nugrahaṃ*[3] *punsāṃ yasmāsau*[4] *sarvatomukhaḥ* ||

"And in these and many other ways, Maheśvara bestows grace upon souls, since he is all-seeing."

Abhinavagupta rewrites this as *Tantrāloka* 4.56c–57b, correcting the irregularities:

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[1] 26a *anekaiś*] **B**; *aṇekaiś* **AD**

[2] 26c *kurute*] **AD**; *kuṃrute* **B**

[3] 56c *'nugrahaṃ*] em.; *nugrahāṃ* **ABD**

[4] 26d *yasmāsau*] **A**; *yasyā* **B**; *yasmā⟨ṃ⟩ sau* **D**

> *evamādyair anekaiś ca prakāraiḥ parameśvaraḥ* ||
> *saṃsāriṇo 'nugṛhṇāti viśvasya jagataḥ patiḥ* |

Notable are the rewriting of 26a to avoid internal-hiatus breaking *-r-*, removal of the meaningless *tu* in 26b, and the total avoidance of 26d, with its non-standard *yasmā* for *yasmāt*.

Tantrāloka 5

Citing the *Brahmayāmala*,[5] *Tantrāloka* 5.97c–98 expresses the idea that the Lord manifests internally as a tenfold resonance (*rāvo daśātmakaḥ*) on the gross, subtle, and ultimate levels (*sthūla, sūkṣma, para*) in the heart, throat, and palate, transcended by the all-pervasive one.[6] The immediate source for this appears to be *BraYā* 90.3ff, which describes the supreme syllable (*bīja*) as resonance (*nāda*) present in all creatures in gross, subtle, and ultimate forms. The passage of *BraYā* 90 begins thus:

> *nādākhyaṃ yat paraṃ*[7] *bījaṃ sarvabhūteṣv avasthitam* |
> *sthūlaṃ sūkṣmaṃ paraṃ devi jñātvā siddhiḥ pravarttate* ||3||
> *śabdamāttraṃ smṛtaṃ sūkṣaṃ sthūla[m] cittāvinirmitam* |
> *paraṃ yac cittayā hīnaṃ niṣkalam parameśvaram* ||4||

It is difficult to reconcile this passage with Abhinavagupta's notion of a tenfold resonance located in three bodily places. He perhaps considered the threefold resonance to be tenfold on account of the eight divisions of the "subtle" (*sūkṣma*) level.[8] However, *BraYā* 90 does not attribute the three or ten levels to positions in the body. I suspect that Abhinavagupta seeks to link this teaching with what is elsewhere in the *BraYā* called *rāvamārga*, a sonic sequence associated with piercing the ascending series of ten knots (*granthi*s) of the yogic

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[5] This discussion of *Tantrāloka* 5 is based on my entry on *daśarāva* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III, somewhat expanded and corrected.

[6] *Tantrāloka* 5.97c–98: *śrībrahmayāmale coktaṃ śrīmān rāvo daśātmakaḥ* ||97|| *sthūlaḥ sūkṣmaḥ paro hṛdyaḥ kaṇṭhyas tālavya eva ca* | *sarvataś ca vibhur yo 'sau vibhutvapadadāyakaḥ* ||97||. Concerning this passage, see Vasudeva (2004: 273–275).

[7] *yat paraṃ*] conj.; *y – – raṃ* **A** (tops and edge damaged).

[8] The meaning of *BraYā* 90.8, which refers to "eightfold sound" (*śabdāṣṭaka*), is unclear to me: *śabdāṣṭakasusantyāgā viyogāt tatvasaṃghate* | *guṇād guṇāntare viddhi sūkṣatvam parameṣṭhinaḥ* ||.

body.[9]

Evidently the commentator Jayaratha did not have the *BraYā* at his disposal, for the passage he quotes ad *Tantrāloka* 5.98, delineating ten resonances,[10] is not to be found in the *BraYā*, but corresponds instead to *Kubjikāmāta* 11.22–26b. This corroborates SANDERSON's (2007c: 98–99) conclusions concerning the inaccessibility of the *BraYā* to Jayaratha. For further observations on this passage of the *Tantrāloka* and its commentary, see VASUDEVA (2004: 273–75).

Tantrāloka 13

In *Tantrāloka* 13, Abhinavagupta cites the *Vājasaneya*[11] and mentions the "*Sarvavīra, Brahmayāmala*, etc.," as sources providing scriptural support for the practice of self-consecration, appropriate for would-be *ācārya*s possessed of the highest intuitive wisdom (*prātibhajñāna*). *Tantrāloka* 13.144c–46b:

> *abhiṣikto bhaved evaṃ na bāhyakalaśāmbubhiḥ* ||144||
> *śrīsarvavīraśrībrahmayāmalādau ca tat tathā* |
> *nirūpitaṃ maheśena kiyad vā likhyatām idam* ||145||
> *itthaṃ prātibhavijñānaṃ kiṃ kiṃ kasya na sādhayet* |

In this matter, Abhinavagupta may allude to the same *BraYā* passage cited in *Tantrāloka* 4 (*BraYā* 21.70–71), discussed above. However, *BraYā* 34 also makes passing reference to consecration performed "for oneself" (*svayaṃ*).[12] *BraYā* 4, moreover, has a detailed description of self-consecration (*ātmābhiṣeka*), though this seems to be an ancillary ritual sequence within the rite of establishment for religious icons (*pratiṣṭhā*).[13] Abhinavagupta may have taken such provisions out of context in support of his views, reading into the text his gnostic paradigm as well.

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[9]See especially *BraYā* 99, which teaches a system of yoga linking a series of syllables to ten bodily *granthis* (vv. 26–27). Also relevant is the series of eight resonances correlated to *granthis* in *BraYā* 92.39c–42b.

[10]See s.v. *ciñcinī* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. II.

[11]ISAACSON (personal communication) notes that the title *Vājasineya*, as printed in the KSTS edition, should be emended to *Vājasaneya*.

[12]*BraYā* 34.393: *sādhakas tu yadā kuryād abhiṣekaṃ svayan tadā* [em. ISAACSON; *tathā* A] | *svayāgenaiva karttavyaṃ sarvvaṃ vai devi nānyathā* ||.

[13]*BraYā* 4.697–706.

Tantrāloka 15

In chapter 15 of the *Tantrāloka*,[14] Abhinavagupta invokes the authority of the *BraYā* concerning the inseparability of "external" (*bāhya*) and "inner" or "internal" (*adhyātma*) worship. The passage (15.43c–44) reads as follows in the printed (KSTS) edition:

> *nādhyātmena vinā bāhyaṃ nādhyātmaṃ bāhyavarjitam* ||43||
> *siddhyej jñānakriyābhyāṃ tad dvitīyaṃ samprakāśate* |
> *śrībrahmayāmale deva iti tena nyarūpayat* ||44||

The fourth verse-quarter (44b) is problematic; following the commentator Jayaratha,[15] the passage might be interpreted as meaning,

> "'Not without the inner (*adhyātma*) would the outer succeed, nor the inner devoid of the outer. The second [i.e. the inner] manifests through both gnosis and ritual action'—the Lord has explained accordingly in the revered *Brahmayāmala*."

Both the sense and syntax appear doubtful, however. On the grounds of coherence, it seems significantly better in 44b to read *tad dvitayaṃ* ("that pair [of inner and outer]") for *tad dvitīyaṃ* ("the second one"), an emendation suggested by ISAACSON.[16] In this case the passage might be interpreted as follows:

> "'Not without the inner (*adhyātma*) would the outer succeed, nor the inner devoid of the outer. That pair [of inner and outer] manifests through gnosis and ritual action, [respectively]'—the Lord has explained accordingly in the revered *Brahmayāmala*."

Thus it seems that Abhinavagupta places the dichotomy of outer (*bāhya*) and inner (*adhyātma*) worship in correlation with that of *kriyā* and *jñāna*: ritual action and gnosis, respectively. This accords with his remarks prefacing citation of the *BraYā*, which clarify that the performative acts of ritual are valuable only

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[14] This discussion of *Tantrāloka* 15 is taken more or less verbatim from HATLEY (*forthcoming* b).

[15] *Tantrālokaviveka* ad 15.43c–44: *tad dvitīyam iti adhyātmalakṣaṇam*, "'the second one' means 'characterized by being *adhyātma*'."

[16] Personal communication, 2003.

as ancillaries to *śivābhimānatā*, conviction of one's identity with Śiva. This inner conviction alone, a form of knowledge, is the real means of liberation.[17]

One need not follow Abhinavagupta entirely in reading the *BraYā*'s dichotomy between 'inner' and 'outer' processes in terms of gnosis and ritual: his source scripture draws no such distinction overtly. Nonetheless, Abhinavagupta's selection of the *Brahmayāmala* is by no means contrived, for in invoking the text thus he highlights a premise central to its systems of practice: the integration of internal and external ritual processes, which mirror each other closely.

Although a number of Abhinavagupta's citations of the *BraYā* may be indentified precisely, in this case the passage he had in mind remains uncertain. *BraYā* 87.140 is perhaps the strongest candidate:

> *ādhyātmañ cintayed bāhyaṃ bāhyam adhyātmikāṃ tathā* |
> *cakre samānabhāvena tato vinyāsam ārabhet* ||140||
>
> "One should meditate upon the internal [wheel/*cakra*] as external, and the external likewise as internal. Considering [these] to be identical, one should then commence installation [of the mantra-deities] on the *cakra*."

The degree of correspondence is merely suggestive, and Abhinavagupta might have had in mind other *BraYā* passages. His language is actually somewhat closer to a verse from the *Tantrasadbhāva*, however, which is highly likely to postdate the *BraYā* and to reflect a degree of historical development vis-à-vis the latter. *Tantrasadbhāva* 6.218 may read as follows:

> *adhyātmaṃ*[18] *bāhyato dṛṣṭvā bāhyam adhyātmasaṃsthitam*[19] |
> *yo jānāti sa siddhyeta tadbhāvabhāvabhāvitaḥ*[20] ||218||

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[17] *Tantrāloka* 15.42–43b: *śivābhimānitopāyo bāhyo hetur na mokṣadaḥ* | *śivo 'yaṃ śiva evāsmīty evam ācāryaśiṣyayoḥ* || *hetutadvattayā dārḍhyābhimāno mocako hy aṇoḥ* | ("Conviction of one's identity with Śiva is the means; no external cause bestows liberation. 'He is Śiva, and I am nothing but Śiva': [in the rite of initiation,] this firm conviction of the guru and disciple is indeed what liberates a soul, by way of [the guru's conviction] being the cause and [the disciple's] the effect (? *hetutadvattayā*)").

[18] *adhyātmaṃ*] em.; *adhyātma* MSS. k, kh, g (as reported in the e-text of Marc Dyczkowski)

[19] °*saṃsthitam*] k, kh; *saṃsthitā* g

[20] *tadbhāva*°] k; *tadbhava*° kh, g

> "After viewing the inner (*adhyātma*) externally, one who [also] knows the outer to be located internally will attain success, (¿) purified by contemplation of their identity (?)."[21]

It is conceivable that Abhinavagupta has conflated these two sources, though he may instead have had in mind a verse of the *Brahmayāmala* not preserved in its oldest manuscript. I suspect that he simply paraphrases his source with unusual freedom.

Tantrāloka 18

Abhinavagupta invokes the authority of the *BraYā* in justifying the abbreviated form of initiation (*saṃkṣiptadīkṣā*) described in *Tantrāloka* 18. He attributes to the *BraYā* the view that even in the abbreviated rite, one must effect purification of the entire hierarchy of *tattvas*, though pantheon worship (*yāga*) is brief.[22] The *BraYā* does sometimes mention options for abbreviating rituals,[23] yet I have not identified what exactly Abhinavagupta had in mind in this case.

Tantrāloka 23

In chapter 23, Abhinavagupta cites the *BraYā* along with the *Ūrmiśāsana* on the subject of selecting candidates for initiation. He writes (23.42c–44b),

> *kṛtavidyāvrataḥ paścād dīkṣāvyākhyādi sarvataḥ* ||41||
> *kuryād yogyeṣu śiṣyeṣu nāyogyeṣu kadācana* |
> *rahasye yojayed vipraṃ parīkṣya viparītataḥ* ||42||
> *ācārāc chaktim apy eva nānyathety ūrmiśāsane* |
> *nityādyalpālpakaṃ kuryād yad uktaṃ brahmayāmale* ||43||
> *cīrṇavidyāvrataḥ sarvaṃ manasā vā smaret priye* |

Of this, 44ab is a direct quotation of *BraYā* 87.78cd, with two variants. In MS. **A**, *BraYā* 87.77c–78 reads,

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[21] *Tantrasadbhāva* 6.218d—*tadbhāvabhāvabhāvitaḥ* (or *tadbhava°*)—is unmetrical and problematic; I have understood *tad* as *tayoḥ*, referring to the pair of *adhyātma* and *bāhya* (inner and outer).

[22] *Tantrāloka* 18.9: *śrībrahmayāmale coktaṃ saṃkṣipte 'pi hi bhāvayet | vyāptiṃ sarvādhvasāmānyāṃ kiṃtu yāge na vistaraḥ* ||.

[23] Note for instance the abbreviated form of daily worship (*nityakarman*) of the *vidyācakra* taught in 17.580c–87b.

śmaśānaṃ bāhyataḥ kṛtvā aṣṭadhā ghorasādhane ||77||
gṛhayāgena karttavyan tattra veśma samāharet |
cīrṇṇavidyāvrato mantrī manasā vā smaret sadā ||78||

I find 78ab difficult to interpret, as well as to relate to the context of Abhinavagupa's citation. Moreover, variants found in a parallel passage of the *BraYāSāra* raise significant doubt about the text.[24]

Tantrāloka 27

In *Tantrāloka* 27.21–23b, Abhinavagupta paraphrases *BraYā* 4.308–15; *Tantrāloka* 27.22ab is in fact a direct quotation of *BraYā* 4.308ab. In the KSTS edition, *Tantrāloka* 27.22ab reads, *tūre yogaḥ sadā śastaḥ siddhido doṣavarjite*.[25] Here *yogaḥ* is certainly a corruption of *yāgaḥ*. Manuscript **A** of the *BraYā* reads *tūre yāgaṃ sadā sastaṃ siddhidāṃ doṣavarjitaḥ*. The original text was perhaps *tūre yāgaṃ sadā śastaṃ siddhidam doṣavarjite*, and Abhinavagupta thus appears to have corrected the gender of *yāga* from neuter to masculine.

In addition, Abhinavagupta refers in 27.29 to a typology of ritual skull vessels, citing the *BraYā*:

śrībrahmayāmale 'py uktaṃ pātraṃ gomukham uttamam |
gajakūrmatalaṃ kumbhavṛttaśaktikajākṛti ||

The source for this is *BraYā* 4.747–55, a tract on the subject of "the characteristics of skulls" (*kapālalakṣaṇa*). Compare especially with *BraYā* 4.747c–49b:

mahāpātrasya vai devi lakṣaṇaṃ śṛṇu sāmpratam ||747||
gomukhaṃ gajapṛṣṭam vā gajakumbhas tathaiva ca |
kūrmapṛṣṭākṛtiś caiva śaktipātraṃ tathaiva ca ||748||
ṣaṣṭhaṃ[26] *padmaṃ samākhyātaṃ kapālaṃ varavarṇṇini*[27] |

Abhinavagupta makes unmistakable use of technical terms from the *BraYā*'s typology of skull-types—*gomukha* ("cow's head"), etc.

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[24] *BraYāSāra* 72 (MS. S_1, *f.* 90*v*): *śmaśānabāhyataḥ kṛtvā aṣṭadhā ghorasādhana* || *gṛhayāge tu karttavyā tad dravyaiś ca samāharet* | *cīrṇṇavidyāvrato nityaṃ manasā vā smare sadā* ||.

[25] The text of *Tantrāloka* 27.20c–23b is as follows: *athavā lakṣaṇopetamūrdhatatkarparāśritam* ||20|| *paṅkticakrakaśūlābjavidhinā tūram āśrayet* | *tallakṣaṇaṃ bruve śrīmatpicuśāstre nirūpitam* ||21|| *tūre yogaḥ sadā śastaḥ siddhido doṣavarjite* | *jālakair jarjarai randhrair dantair ūnādhikai rujā* ||22|| *yukte ca tūre hāniḥ syāt taddhīne yāga uttamaḥ* |.

[26] *ṣaṣṭhaṃ*] em.; *ṣaṣṭha* **A**

[27] °*varṇṇini*] em.; °*varṇṇiniḥ* **A**

Tantrāloka 28

A number of references to the *BraYā* appear in a forty-odd verse section of the *Tantrāloka*'s twenty-eighth chapter (28.383–23). These begin with a passage from *BraYā* 45, which *Tantrāloka* 28.383c–84b paraphrases thus:

> *śrīmatpicumate coktam ādau yatnena rakṣayet* ||
> *praveśam sampraviṣṭasya na vicāraṃ tu kārayet* |
>
> "And it is said in the revered *Picumata* that at first, one must guard entry [to the ritual assembly] carefully. However, one should not cause deliberation over one who has been admitted."

The passage in question may be identified as *BraYā* 45.228c–29b:

> *ādāv eva na vai dadyāt praveśaṃ kasya cit priye* ||
> *praviṣṭena sahaikatvaṃ bhakṣitavyan na saṃśayaḥ* |
>
> "At the very first, one should not admit just anyone, my dear. [But] with someone who has been admitted, one should feast together as one, without a doubt."

Several references later in *Tantrāloka* 28 concern expiation rites (*prāyaścitta*). Abhinavagupta cites the *BraYā* in support of his position that a gnostic, his mind free of dualist conceptual thought, has no real need of expiation, but should nonetheless perform this for the sake of the unenlightened. *Tantrāloka* 28.408c–10b:

> *avikalpamater na syuḥ prāyaścittāni yady api* ||408||
> *tathāpy atattvavidvargānugrahāya tathā caret* |
> *śrīpicau ca smṛter eva pāpaghnatve kathaṃ vibho* ||409||
> *prāyaścittavidhiḥ prokta iti devyā pracodite* |

This evidently paraphrases *BraYā* 11.59, a question posed by the Goddess:

> *devy uvāca* ||
> *yady evaṃ kathitan deva smaraṇaṃ sarvvapāpahā* |
> *etena dehasaṃsthena jñānena ca maheśvara*[28] |
> *kasmāt pāpaiḥ kṛtai mantrī prāyaścittaṃ samācaret* ||

[28] *maheśvara*] corr.; *maheśvaraṃ* **A**

> "The Goddess spoke: 'O Deva, if it is, thus, that the *smaraṇa* [हूं] destroys all sin [committed] by this physical body and the mind (*jñānena*), then, O Maheśvara, why must the mantrin perform expiation on account of sins [he has] committed?'"

BraYā 11.60ff. goes on to explain that grievous sins are ordinarily overcome only through extreme rites of expiation. A *sādhaka* may, however, after attaining purity through initiation, regular ritual practice, and ascetic observances, be freed of sin by a single incantation of the *smaraṇa*.[29] Though invoking the *BraYā*, Abhinavagupta's premises differ profoundly. As he explains (*Tantrāloka* 28.410c–11), expiation is not necessarily, but is still done to keep up appearances—"for the sake of preserving the established [socio-religious] order" (*sthitirakṣārtham*).[30]

Further on in his discussion of expiation, Abhinavagupta cites the *BraYā* for idea that one is to perform expiation if a ritually empowered skull-vessel is seen by someone uninitiated.[31] This may refer to *BraYā* 4.798–800b, which stipulates ten-thousand recitations of the mantra if the uninitiated touch or see a *sādhaka*'s empowered objects (skull-staff, bell, drum, etc.). One must perform half this number if initiates see his cult objects. The text does not specifically mention the skull-vessel (*tūra*), which raises some doubt about whether Abhinavagupta had this particular passage in mind.[32]

Just afterwards, in *Tantrāloka* 28.422–23, Abhinavagupta attributes to the *BraYā* the view that one who, while observing an ascetic vow, consorts with a woman other than his own consort, must incant the mantra 100,000 times as expiation. *Tantrāloka* 28.422–23b:

> *vratena kena cid yukto mitabhug brahmacaryavān* |
> *dūtīparigrahe 'nyatra gataś cet kāmamohitaḥ* ||
> *lakṣajāpaṃ tataḥ kuryād ity uktaṃ brahmayāmale* |

This echoes several pasages of the *BraYā*, the closest of which are *BraYā* 24.74 and 24.98cd:

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[29] *BraYā* 11.68c–70b: *japamantreṇa pāpiṣṭho svalpena ca na saṃśayaḥ* ||68|| *dīkṣāyā japahomaiś ca kalpoktaiś ca yathoditaiḥ* | *vratai śuddho yadā mantrī sakṛd uccārite tataḥ* ||69|| *dvijaghnādīni* [em.; °*ghnodīni* **A**] *pāpāṇi sadya eva vyapohati* |.

[30] *Tantrāloka* 28.410c–11: *satyaṃ smaraṇam eveha sakṛjjaptaṃ vimocayet* ||410|| *sarvasmāt karmaṇo jālāt smṛtitattvakalāvidaḥ* | *tathāpi sthitirakṣārthaṃ kartavyaś codito vidhiḥ* ||411||.

[31] *Tantrāloka* 28.418c–19b: *pratiṣṭhitasya tūrāder darśane 'nadhikāriṇā* || *prāyaścittaṃ prakartavyam iti śrībrahmayāmale* |.

[32] The full passage is quoted in chapter 6 (note 7).

anādhikāriṇī[ṃ] vāpi bhajate kāmamohitaḥ[33] |
prāyaścittaṃ bhavet tasya coditaṃ śaktikāraṇe ||74||
...
dūtī[ṃ] muktvā na cānyatra gacchet kāmavimohitaḥ[34] ||98||

What raises some doubt is that 24.27cd does not stipulate 100,000 incantations (*lakṣajāpa*), as does *Tantrāloka* 28.423a; rather, "his expiation would be as taught [earlier] in [the context of] taking a consort (*coditaṃ śaktikāraṇe*)." It is unclear what passage the latter intimates, though *lakṣajāpa* is a typical expiation in the *BraYā*.[35] One other passage, *BraYā* 88.31, also bears some resemblance *Tantrāloka* 28.422c–23b.[36]

Tantrāloka 29

In a passing reference to the *BraYā*, *Tantrāloka* 29.11 attributes to it the idea that "alcohol is the taste of Śiva in the external world; without this, there is no occult power or liberation. It is [made] of flower, honey, or molasses."[37] This passage cannot be traced in the extant *BraYā*, except for the threefold classification of alcoholic drinks in 24.131ab (*surāpi -s- trividhā proktā gauḍī paiṣṭī ca mādhavī*). Abhinavagupta, however, adds a fourth, higher variety, identified with Bhairava himself: that made of grapes (*drākṣa*). In commenting on this passage, Jayaratha adduces a number of verses from an unnamed and untraceable scriptural source (or sources) which seem genuinely close to the ideas

[33] °*mohitaḥ*] em.; °*mohitāḥ* **A**

[34] *gacchet kāmavimohitaḥ*] em. (= 88.31b); *na gacchet kāmamohitaḥ* **A**

[35] E.g. *BraYā* 98.20b, *lakṣajāpād viśudhyati* ("after 100,000 incantations, he is purified"); cf. 56.124c, *lakṣajāpād vimucyeta.*

[36] *BraYā* 88.31: *dūtīn tyaktvā na cānyatra gacchet kāmavimohitaḥ* || *tapas saṃkṣīyate tasya janmahīnair adhasthitaiḥ* ||.

[37] The attribution of ideas to the *BraYā* might continue through verse 13; the full passage (*Tantrāloka* 28.10–13) is as follows:

atra yāge ca yaddravyaṃ niṣiddhaṃ śāstrasantatau |
tad eva yojayed dhīmān vāmāmṛtapariplutam ||10||
śrībrahmayāmale 'py uktaṃ surā śivaraso bahiḥ |
tāṃ vinā bhuktimuktī no piṣṭakṣaudraguḍais tu sā ||11||
strīnapuṃsakapuṃrūpā tu pūrvāparabhogadā |
drākṣotthaṃ tu paraṃ tejo bhairavaṃ kalpanojjhitam ||12||
etat svayaṃ rasaḥ śuddhaḥ prakāśānandacinmayaḥ |
devatānāṃ priyaṃ nityaṃ tasmād etat pivet sadā ||13||

expressed by Abhinavagupta.[38] We might speculate that Abhinavagupta has misattributed ideas to the *BraYā* from a source also available to Jayaratha, who seems not to have had the old *BraYā* at his disposal. Conceivably, Abhinavagupta's version of the *BraYā* possessed some material absent from manuscript **A**, but Jayaratha's apparent knowledge of this material speaks against the possibility.

Later in the chapter, one verse of *Tantrāloka* 29 is remarkably close to and may be calqued upon *BraYā* 6.21c–22b, though Abhinavagupta does not name a source. *Tantrāloka* 29.65 reads,

> *na tithir na ca nakṣatraṃ nopavāso vidhīyate* |
> *grāmyadharmarataḥ siddhyet sarvadā smaraṇena hi* ||

Compare with *BraYā* 6.21c–22b:

> *na tithiṃ na ca nakṣatraṃ nopavāso vidhīyate* ||
> *grāmadharmapravṛttasya siddhir bhavati śāśvatī*[39] |

The text of 21cd is something of a stock phrase, for the two pādas occur in *Guhyasūtra* 14.101ab, *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 252c–53b, and *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 21.10ab, among other sources. However, the verse as a whole closely resembles and is likely echoed in *Tantrāloka* 29.65.

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[38] See *Tantrālokaviveka* ad *Tantrāloka* 29.10 and 29.13.

[39] *śāśvatī*] corr.; *sāsvatī* **A**

Appendix C

Chapter Four of the *Dīkṣottaraprakaraṇa* of the *Niśvāsakārikā*: A Provisional Edition

The following represents something between a manuscript collation and edition of chapter four of the *Dīkṣottara* section of the *Niśvāsakārikā*, a poorly transmitted supplement to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. This is entitled *Tantrāvatārapaṭala*, "Chapter of the Descent of Revelation." As discussed in §1.9.1, this chapter of the *Dīkṣottara* has a close relationship to chapter 39 of the *BraYā*, on the subject of the streams of revelation. The edition is based upon electronic texts of manuscript transcript numbers 17, 127, and 150 of the French Institute of Pondicherry, reported as T_{17}, T_{127}, and T_{150}, respectively. These e-texts were input by R. Sathyanarayanan, S. A. S. Sarma, and Nibedita Rout, with contributions by Dominic Goodall and Nirajan Kafle. They were not necessarily proofread, and I have only corrected a few obvious typos (silently). Emendations and conjectures attributed to Goodall in the apparatus are from Goodall (1996: 405–08).

Outline of the *Tantrāvatārapaṭala*

vv. 1–5: The Devī's questions concerning who was initiated by whom into which *tantra*, and the divisions of the *tantras*.

vv. 6–17: The scriptural wisdom (*jñāna*) is transmitted by Śiva to Īśvara, who teaches the Devī; transmitted by her, it reaches the world (*bhuvarloka*) via a series of deities, beginning with Brahmā (ten in all).

vv. 18–23b: The tenfold *tantra*s are enumerated and correlated to their ten speakers (*praṇetṛ*).

vv. 23c–36: The eighteenfold *tantra*s are enumerated (vv. 23c–29b), the eighteen speakers of the *tantra*s are enumerated (29c–32b), and these speakers and *tantra*s are correlated (32c–36).

vv. 37–77: Other gods and sages are involved in the transmission of the Śivajñāna and its further elaboration (36–41); the mantras, maṇḍalas, and divisions (*bheda*) located in each of the eighteen *tantra*s are delineated, as are the divine beings and sages initiated into them (42–77).

vv. 78–84: Conclusion.

निश्वासकारिकायां दीक्षोत्तरे तन्त्रावतारश्चतुर्थः पटलः

देव्युवाच ॥
सृष्टिसंहारभेदेन देवदेव त्वया पुरा ।
कथितं तन्त्रसद्भावं तन्मया विदितं प्रभो ॥१॥
पुनश्च श्रोतुमिच्छामि भगवन्वक्तुमर्हसि ।

Codices: T_{17} T_{127} T_{150}

1c तन्त्र°] *em.*; तत्र $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$

के च कस्मिन्महादेव दीक्षिता देवदानवाः ॥२॥
ऋषिविद्याधराः सिद्धा गन्धर्वाप्सरसः प्रभो ।
यक्षराक्षसभूताश्च पिशाचोरगकिन्नराः ॥३॥
गुह्यकाश्च महादेव क्रूराश्चैव विनायकाः ।
कस्मिन्ते दीक्षिता देव यस्य सिद्धिर्ध्रुवं भवेत् ।
तदहं श्रोतुमिच्छामि भगवन्कथयस्व मे ॥४॥
कोटिभेदाः समाख्याताः शाखाभेदाश्च शंकर ।
शिवभेदश्च देवेश सर्वमेतद्ब्रवीहि मे ॥५॥
ईश्वर उवाच ॥
शृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि तन्त्रभेदमनुत्तमम् ।
मन्त्रमण्डलसंख्याश्च शास्त्राणाश्चैव संग्रहम् ॥६॥
दीक्षिता ये मया यस्मिन्तत्संज्ञाश्च यथा पुरा ।
सर्वेषामेव मन्त्राणां शैवानां मन्त्रमूर्तिना ॥७॥
प्रकाशितं पुरा देवि ममेदं परमेष्ठिना ।
सर्वस्य जगतश्चेह स्रष्टा च परमेश्वरः ॥८॥
संहर्ता च न सन्देहो मन्त्रमूर्तिः परः शिवः ।
अवतारमहं वक्ष्ये नामसंग्रहनिर्णयम् ॥९॥

2c के च कस्मिन्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; केन कस्मिन् T_{127} ◆ महादेव] $T_{127}T_{150}$; गृहादेव T_{17} **3a** °धराः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °धरास् T_{17} ◆ सिद्धा] T_{17}; मिद्धाः $T_{127}T_{150}$ **3d** किन्नराः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; किन्नरा T_{17} **4b** क्रूराश्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; क्रूताश् T_{17} **4c** कस्मिन्ते] *conj.*; स्वान्तेन $T_{127}T_{150}$; स्वन्तेन T_{17} **4d** मिद्धिर्] T_{127}; सिद्धि T_{17}; सिद्धिः T_{150} ◆ ध्रुवं] $T_{17}T_{150}$; धृतं T_{127} **5c** च] T_{17}; तु $T_{127}T_{150}$ **6a** ईश्वर उवाच] T_{150}; ईश्वरः $T_{17}T_{127}$ **6a** शृणु] $T_{17}T_{150}$; श्रुनु T_{127} **7a** दीक्षिता ये] *conj.*; दीक्षितानि $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ मया] T_{17}; यमा $T_{127}T_{150}$ **7b** तत्संज्ञाश्च] *conj.*; नशंकाश्च $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **7d** शैवानां मन्त्रमूर्तिना] T_{17}; – – –शैवमूर्तिना $T_{127}T_{150}$ **8a** प्रकाशितं] T_{17}; प्रकाशित्वं $T_{127}T_{150}$ **8c** सर्वस्य] *conj.*; सर्व° (*unmet.*) $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **8d** स्रष्टा] $T_{127}T_{150}$; सृष्टा T_{17} **9a** च न] *em.*; न च $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ सन्देहो] $T_{127}T_{150}$; सन्देहः T_{17} **9b** °मूर्तिः] T_{17}; °मूर्ति $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ परः शिवः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; पराश्शिवः T_{17} **9d** °निर्णयम्] T_{17}; °निर्णयः $T_{127}T_{150}$

दीक्षाविधिनियोगश्च कृतं पूर्वं यथाश्रुतम् ।
मन्त्रयोगप्रभेदश्च प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ॥१०॥
तस्यादिर्भगवान्देवः शिवो वै मन्त्रमूर्तिमान् ।
मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रणेता च मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाशकः ॥११॥
तेन प्रकाशितं पूर्वं शिवेनानन्तमूर्तिना ।
तदेव वचनं ज्ञातं मम वक्त्रे निवेशितम् ॥१२॥
मयापि तव देवेशि त्वया दत्तं पितामहे ।
ब्रह्मणापि सुराध्यक्षे विष्णवे प्रतिपादितम् ॥१३॥
विष्णुनापि हुताशाय तेन दत्तं तु वायवे ।
वायुनापि पुरा दत्तं सूर्याय च न संशयः ॥१४॥
सूर्येण चापि सोमाय कथितं पुनरेव तु ।
सोमेनैव तु देवेशि धर्माय प्रतिपादितम् ॥१५॥
एवं तद्दशधा ज्ञानं शिवोक्तं तन्त्रसंग्रहे ।
ख्यापितं तत्त्वमीशेन मन्त्रमूर्तिनिवेशितः ॥१६॥
स एव जगतश्चास्य मन्त्रमूर्तिर्महेश्वरः ।
तत्प्रसादादिदं सर्वं ज्ञानविज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।
प्राप्यते देवदेवेशि मोक्षश्च भुवि दुर्लभम् ॥१७॥
सार्वकामिकमित्येव प्रोवाच भगवान्शिवः ।

10a °विधिनियोगश्च] $T_{17}T_{150}$; °वि--योगं च T_{127} **10c** °प्रभेदश्च] T_{17}; °प्रभेदश्च $T_{127}T_{150}$ **11a** °आदिर्] $T_{17}T_{127}$; °आदिः T_{150} • देवः] T_{127}; देवश् T_{17}; -- T_{150} **12b** °आनन्त°] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °आनन्द°] T_{17} • °मूर्तिना] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °मूर्तिमान् T_{17} **12c** वचनं] T_{17}; च न हि T_{127}; चानभि° T_{150} • ज्ञातं] *conj.*; ज्ञानं $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **12d** निवेशितम्] T_{17}; निवेशितः $T_{127}T_{150}$ **13a** तव] $T_{127}T_{150}$; तत्त्व° T_{17} **13b** पितामहे] $T_{127}T_{150}$; पितामहेम् T_{17} **13c** °ध्यक्षे] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °ध्यक्ष्ये T_{17} **15a** चापि] T_{17}; वापि $T_{127}T_{150}$ **16b** तन्त्र°] T_{150}; तत्र T_{17}; मन्त्र° T_{127} **16c** ख्यापितं] T_{17}; व्यापितं T_{127}; सव्यापितं (*unmet.*) T_{150} **16d** °निवेशितः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °निवेशितम् T_{17} **17f** च] T_{17}; तु $T_{127}T_{150}$ **18a** एव] $T_{127}T_{150}$; एवं T_{17} **18b** शिवः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; चिवः T_{17}

योगोद्भवेति रुद्रेण पुनरेव प्रकीर्तितम् ॥१८॥
†देव्यायणं यदा† ज्ञानमचिन्त्येति प्रकीर्तितम् ।
कारणं भगवान्ब्रह्मा अजितेति जनार्दनः ॥१९॥
दीप्ताभेति तथाग्निश्च वायुः सूक्ष्मेति वै पुनः ।
सहस्रांशेति धर्माय अंशुमानिति भास्करः ॥२०॥
सुप्रभश्चन्द्रमाः प्रोक्तो दशतन्त्रप्रकाशकः ।
शिवशक्तिमधिष्ठाय विभिन्नं वै पुनः स्थितः ॥२१॥
दशधा नामभेदेन लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।
एवमेव सुराः सर्वे शिवज्ञानस्य पारगाः ॥२२॥
अवतारं पुनश्चैव बहुधा परिकीर्तितम् ।
अस्यैव ज्ञानमुख्यस्य शिवज्ञानस्य सांप्रतम् ॥२३॥
†भेदमष्टतरं† प्रोक्तं तथाष्टादशधा पुनः ।
अष्टादशविधैर्भेदैः तत्र भेदैः पुनः स्थितः ॥२४॥
आजगाम सुवर्लोकं भुवर्लोकं क्रमागतः ।
तस्य भेदा भवन्त्येते संज्ञा च परिकीर्त्यते ॥२५॥

18c योगो°] *conj.* (GOODALL); लोको° $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **19b** अचिन्त्येति] *conj.* (GOODALL); अजितेति $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **20a** तथा°] *em.* (GOODALL); यथा° $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **20b** वायुः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; वायुस् T_{127} **20c** सहस्रा°] $T_{17}T_{127}$; संहस्रा° T_{150} **21a** सुप्रभश्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; सुव्रताः T_{17} **21d** पुनः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; पुना T_{17} **22c** एव] T_{150}; इति (*unmet.*) T_{17}; एति T_{127} ◆ सुराः] *corr.*; सुरास् $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ सर्वे] $T_{127}T_{150}$; सर्वै T_{17} **22d** पारगाः] $T_{17}T_{127}$; परगाः (*unmet.*) T_{150} **23a** अवतारं] T_{17}; अवतारः $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ पुनश्] T_{17}; पुरश् $T_{127}T_{150}$ **23b** °कीर्तितम्] T_{17}; °कीर्तनम् $T_{127}T_{150}$ **23c** °मुख्यस्य] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °मुखम्य (*unmet.*) T_{17} **23d** मांप्रतम्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; सांपृतम् T_{17} **24a** अष्टतरं] $T_{17}T_{127}$; अष्टोत्तरं T_{150} **24b** तथाष्टादश°] T_{17}; अथाष्टदश° T_{127}; मयाष्टदश° T_{150} **24c** अष्टादश°] $T_{127}T_{150}$; अष्टदश° (*unmet.*) T_{17} **24d** तत्र भेदैः] T_{17}; -- $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ पुनः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; पुना T_{17} **25a** सुवर्लोकं] T_{17}; सुवर्लोक° (GOODALL); भुवर्लोकं $T_{127}T_{150}$ **25b** °लोकं] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °लोक° T_{17} ◆ क्रमागतः] T_{17}; ममासतः $T_{127}T_{150}$ **25d** संज्ञा] $T_{17}T_{127}$; सज्ञा T_{150} ◆ परि°] $T_{17}T_{127}$; °प्ररि° T_{150}

ऋषिभिस्तन्त्रकल्पज्ञैः विदितं तन्त्रमुत्तमम् ।
विजयं प्रथमं तेषां निश्वासं तदनन्तरम् ॥२६॥
स्वायंभुवमतश्चैव वातुलं तदनन्तरम् ।
वीरभद्रमिति ख्यातं रौरवं माकुटं तथा ॥२७॥
विमलं चन्द्रभासश्च ज्ञानश्च मुखबिम्बकम् ।
प्रोद्गीतं ललितश्चैव सिद्धिं सन्तानमेव च ॥२८॥
शर्वोद्गीतश्च विज्ञेयं किरणं पारमेश्वरम् ।
ईश्वरः प्रथमः प्रोक्तो देवी च तदनन्तरम् ॥२९॥
ब्रह्मा च षण्मुखश्चैव वीरभद्रस्तथैव च ।
नन्दीश्वरो महाकाल उशनाश्चन्द्रमास्तथा ॥३०॥
बृहस्पतिः समाख्यातो दधीची कच एव च ।
ललिता चैव चण्डश्च शातपर्णी तथैव च ॥३१॥
सनत्कुमारो विष्णुश्च परमेश्वर एव च ।
विजयं ईश्वरज्ञानं देव्या निश्वाससंहिता ॥३२॥
ब्रह्मा स्वायंभुवश्चैव कुमारो ज्ञेय वातुले ।

26a ऋषिभिस्] $T_{17}T_{127}$; ऋषिभिः T_{150} **26a** तन्त्र°] *em.*; तत्र $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **26b** तन्त्रम्] T_{150}; तत्रम् $T_{17}T_{127}$ **26c** विजयं] T_{17}; विजय T_{127}; विजयः T_{150} **26d** निश्वासं तद्°] T_{17}; अनिश्वासाद् T_{127}; निश्वासात्तद्° T_{150} **27d** माकुटं] T_{17}; मकुटं $T_{127}T_{150}$ **28a** विमलं] T_{17}; विसरं $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ °भासश्च] *em.* (Goodall); °भागं च $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **28b** ज्ञानश्च मुखबिम्बकम्] *conj.* (Goodall); ज्ञानश्च मुखवालकम् T_{17}; मुखं वातुलकं-- T_{127}; मुखं वातुलं तथा T_{150} **28d** सिद्धिं] *em.*; सिद्धि° T_{17}; सिद्धं $T_{127}T_{150}$ **29a** शर्वो°] T_{17}; सर्वो° $T_{127}T_{150}$ **29c** प्रोक्तो] $T_{17}T_{127}$; प्रोक्तः T_{150} **29d** देवी] $T_{17}T_{127}$; देती T_{150} **30d** उशनाश्] *conj.* (Goodall); ईशानं $T_{17}T_{150}$; ईशानश् T_{127} **31b** दधीची कच एव च] *conj.*; दधीचिः कच †वासवः† *conj.* (Goodall); देवीवीकाच वासवः $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **31d** शातपर्णी] *em.*; शान्तपाणिस् *em.* (Goodall); शान्तपाणी T_{17}; शान्तपर्णी $T_{127}T_{150}$ **32b** पर°] *em.*; पार° $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ °मेश्वर] T_{150}; °मेश्वरम् $T_{17}T_{127}$ **32d** °संहिता] *em.* (Goodall); °संहिताम्] T_{17}; °संज्ञिताम् T_{127}; °संहितम् T_{150} **33a** ब्रह्मा] $T_{17}T_{127}$; ब्रह्म T_{150} ◆ °भुवञ्] *em.* (Goodall); °भुवश् $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$

वीरेण वीरभद्रं तु नन्दी रौरवमेव च ॥३३॥
मकुटेति महाकालो विमलश्चोशनास्तथा ।
चन्द्रमाश्चन्द्रभासश्च ज्ञानश्चाङ्गिरसस्तथा ॥३४॥
दधीची मुखबिम्बं तु प्रोद्गीतं कचमेव तु ।
ललितं ललिता देवि चण्डः सिद्धिं तथैव च ॥३५॥
सन्तानं शातपर्णी स्यात् शर्वोद्गीतश्च विष्णुना ।
किरणं ब्रह्मणा चैव परमेशे पारेमेश्वरम् ॥३६॥
एते तन्त्रप्रणेतारः शिवज्ञानस्य पारगाः ।
ते चाप्यन्ये महाभागाः कुमाराद्याः शचीपतिः ॥३७॥
मन्त्रसिद्धास्तथा चान्ये ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः ।
मन्त्रभेदप्रणेतारो मन्त्रकल्पकरास्तथा ॥३८॥
एभिरेव शिवज्ञानं स्थापितं वसुधातले ।
नामभेदप्रसंख्यातमाराध्य पारमेश्वरम् ॥३९॥
मातृकल्पे तथाख्यातं भूतकल्पे तथैव च ।

33c वीरभद्रं] *em.*; वीरभद्रम् $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ 34a °कालो] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °कालं T_{17} 34b विमलश्चोशनाम्तथा] *conj.*; विसन्नरमुशनसा (*unmet.*) T_{17}; विशन्नरमुशन्नसा $T_{127}T_{150}$ 34c चन्द्रमाश्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; चन्द्रा T_{127} ◆ °भासश्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °भासञ् T_{17} 34d ज्ञानञ्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; ज्ञाञ् T_{17} ◆ चाङ्गिरसस्] T_{150}; चाङ्गिरसं T_{17}; चांशिरसं T_{127} 35a दधीची] $T_{17}T_{150}$; दधी T_{127} ◆ °बिम्बं] *em.* (Goodall); °भिन्नन् T_{17}; °भिन्नस् $T_{127}T_{150}$ 35b कचम्] *em.*; कवचम् $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$; कच्च *conj.* (Goodall) 35c देवि] $T_{17}T_{127}$; देवी T_{150} 35d चण्डः सिद्धिं] *conj.*; चण्डः सिद्धं *conj.* (Goodall) दण्डहस्तं $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ 36a शातपर्णी] *em.*; नाशपाणिः T_{17}; नासिपाणि T_{127}; नाशिवाणि T_{150} 36b शर्वो°] $T_{17}T_{127}$; सर्वो° T_{150} 36b च] T_{17}; तु $T_{127}T_{150}$ 36d परमेशे] T_{17}; मुमे T_{127}; मुमेद्वे T_{150}; परमेशः *conj.* (Goodall) ◆ पारमेश्वरम्] T_{150}; परामेश्वरम् T_{17}; पारमेश्वरः T_{150} 37a तन्त्रप्रणेतारः] *conj.*; तन्त्राः पूर्वं (*unmet.*) T_{17}; तन्त्रवराः पूर्वं $T_{127}T_{150}$ 37d कुमाराद्याः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; क्रमाशाद्याश् T_{17} ◆ शची°] $T_{17}T_{127}$; शचि° T_{150} 38d °करास्] $T_{17}T_{127}$; °कारस् (*unmet.*) T_{150} 39d आराध्य] T_{17}; आराध्यं $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ °मेश्वरम्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; °मेश्वरः T_{127} 40a मातृ°] $T_{127}T_{150}$; मन्त्र° T_{17} ◆ °ख्यातं] T_{17}; °ख्यात $T_{127}T_{150}$

गणगुह्यकभेदैश्च रुद्रभेदैश्च संज्ञितम् ॥४०॥
तस्य भेदाः स्मृताः पूर्वं दशधा परिकीर्तिताः ।
पुनश्चैव समाख्याता ह्यष्टादशविधास्तथा ॥४१॥
विजयं भगवान् रुद्रः प्रोवाच ब्रह्मणे पुरा ।
तस्मिन्मन्त्रा समाख्याता श्रूयतां वरवर्णिनि ॥४२॥
अष्टौ मन्त्रसहस्राणि तथा पञ्चशतानि च ।
एकपञ्चाशकश्चैव तथा वै सप्तसप्ततिः ॥४३॥
देवैर्ज्ञातमिदं देवि किञ्चित्तस्मादिहागतम् ।
विजये तु समाख्यातं यस्मिन्ब्रह्मा तु दीक्षितः ॥४४॥
त्रीणि मन्त्रसहस्राणि नियुतं त्रीणि चापरे ।
अष्टौ चैव तु लक्षाणि दशभिर्मण्डलैः स्थितम् ॥४५॥
निश्वासे तु समाख्यातं नन्दीशो यत्र दीक्षितः ।
शुक्रः कुवेरो वरुणो यमश्चैवाश्विनावपि ॥४६॥
गणाश्चैव महाभागा रुद्राश्चैव तु दीक्षिताः ।
निश्वासे तु परे तन्त्रे कथितं तव शोभने ॥४७॥
सहस्रमेकं विज्ञेयं †नियता षष्टिसङ्ग्रहम्† ।

45–46ab are absent from $T_{127}T_{150}$

40c °भेदैश्] T_{17}; °देवैश् $T_{127}T_{150}$ **40d** संज्ञितम्] $T_{17}T_{127}$; सज्ञितं T_{150} **41a** स्मृताः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; स्मृता T_{127} **41c** पुनश्] T_{17}; विनश् T_{127}; विना T_{150} **41d** ह्यष्टा°] T_{150}; नष्टा° $T_{17}T_{127}$ ◆ °विधास्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; °विधस् T_{127} **42a** विजयं] T_{150}; विजये $T_{17}T_{127}$ ◆ रुद्रः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; रूद्रः T_{17} **42c** मन्त्राः समाख्याताः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; मन्त्रा समाख्याता T_{127} **42d** °वर्णिनि] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °वर्णिनी T_{17} **43a** अष्टौ] T_{17}; –ष्ट° T_{127}; अष्ट° T_{150} **43a** सहस्राणि] T_{17}; सहस्राणां $T_{127}T_{150}$ **43c** °पञ्चाशकञ्] T_{150}; °पञ्चाशतञ् T_{17}; °पञ्चाशकश् T_{127} **43d** °सप्ततिः] T_{17}; °सप्तमी $T_{127}T_{150}$ **44d** यस्मिन्] *em.*; तस्मिन् $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **45d** मण्डलैः] *corr.*; मण्डलै T_{17} **46d** चैवाश्विनावपि] T_{127}; चैवाखिनावपि T_{17}; चैव वाश्विनावापि (*unmet.*) T_{150} **47c** निश्वासे तु परे] T_{17}; निश्व–––रे T_{127}; निश्वासे ति परे T_{150} **48b** नियता] $T_{17}T_{127}$; नियताः T_{150} ◆ षष्टि°] $T_{17}T_{127}$; षष्ठि° T_{150}

शतमेकं तथा चान्यं मन्त्राणां परिसंख्यया ॥४८॥
एकादशविधैर्भेदैः तथा सप्तविधैः पुनः ।
सप्तविद्याधरं तन्त्रं तथा स्वायम्भुवेति च ॥४९॥
नामद्वयं समाख्यातं दक्षाद्या यत्र दीक्षिताः ।
प्रजानां पतयश्चैव तथा ब्रह्मसुताश्च ये ॥५०॥
दीक्षिताश्च नियुक्ताश्च असुराश्चैव सन्ततम् ।
यक्षराक्षसगन्धर्वाः पिशाचोरगकिन्नराः ॥५१॥
गरुडाद्या द्विजाश्चैव ये च लोकेषु संस्थिताः ।
सहस्रमेकं मन्त्राणां त्रिंशद्भिर्मण्डलैः स्थितम् ॥५२॥
पञ्चधा भेदभिन्नं तु आग्नेयं यत्र दीक्षिताः ।
मातरो या ग्रहाश्चैव ये च विघ्नादयो गणाः ॥५३॥
आग्नेयमिति तन्त्रे ऽस्मिन् तेजःसद्भावसम्भवम् ।
एकादशसहस्राणि कोटित्रीणि च संग्रहे ॥५४॥
मण्डलानां शतञ्चैव अष्टधा वरुणे स्थितम् ।
अष्टादशविधैर्भेदैः लोके मन्त्रगणान्बहून् ॥५५॥
बहुधा परिसंख्यातं पञ्चगर्भपुरःसरम् ।

48c तथा चान्यं] T_{17}; त--- T_{127}; तथा चान्य° T_{150} **48d** मन्त्राणां] $T_{17}T_{150}$; --णां T_{127} **49c** °धरं तन्त्रं] $T_{17}T_{127}$; °धरस्तत्र T_{150} **51b** असुराश्चैव सन्ततम्] T_{17}; सुराश्चैव समन्ततः $T_{127}T_{150}$ **51c** °राक्षस°] $T_{17}T_{127}$; °राक्षास° T_{150} ◆ °गन्धर्वाः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; °भेताल° T_{127} **52a** °आद्या] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °आद्यो T_{17} **52b** ये च] T_{17}; येषु $T_{127}T_{150}$ **52c** मन्त्राणां] $T_{17}T_{150}$; म-- T_{127} **52d** त्रिंशद्भिर्] T_{17}; --भिर् T_{127}; बहुभिर् T_{150} **53b** आग्नेयं] *em.*; आग्नेयो $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ दीक्षिताः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; दीक्षिता T_{127} **53c** मातरो या ग्रहाश्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; गातरोधेगृहाश् T_{17} **53d** विघ्नादयो] $T_{17}T_{150}$; विघादयो (*unmet.*) T_{127} **54a** आग्नेयम्] $T_{17}T_{127}$; आग्नेय्यम् T_{150} **54b** तेजःसद्भावसम्भवम्] *conj.*; तेजस्संभवसेभवम् T_{17}; तेजसद्भवसंभवम् T_{127}; तेजःसद्भावरोभम् (*unmet.*) T_{150} ◆ **55ab** चैव अष्टधा°] T_{17}; चैवाष्टधा° (*unmet.*) $T_{127}T_{150}$ **55b** वरुणे] *conj.*; वरणे $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **55c** अष्टादशविधैर्] T_{150}; अष्टदशविधैर् T_{17}; ------ T_{127} **56b** °पुरः°] T_{150}; °पुरस्° $T_{17}T_{150}$

विसर्पितश्च संबोधैः कूटमुद्भूतकारणैः ॥५६॥
अतिशयान्वितैश्चैव गोप्यगुहकसंभवैः ।
अत्र ते ऋषयः सिद्धा वालखिल्यास्तपोधनाः ॥५७॥
अयने दक्षिणे देवा ये च वै उत्तरे स्थिताः ।
अनेन चैव सिद्धान्ते देवा वै मानवादयः ॥५८॥
तत्साध्यं तन्त्रमेतत्तु वीरभद्रेति संज्ञितम् ।
कोटिरेकं सहस्रञ्च मन्त्रमण्डलविंशकम् ॥५९॥
द्विविधं नामसंज्ञाभिः रौरवेति च विश्रुतम् ।
पञ्च मन्त्रशता ज्ञेयाश्चतुर्मूर्तिव्यवस्थिताः ॥६०॥
मकुटेति समाख्यातो निधनक्षेत्रवादिभिः ।
बिलान्तर्गतकल्पैश्च ऋषिभिः सेव्यते सदा ॥६१॥
शतमेकं तु विज्ञेयं भिन्नाश्चापि तथाविधाः ।
मण्डलाष्टकसंयुक्तं विमलं नाम नामतः ॥६२॥
दशमन्त्रसहस्राणि दशभिर्मण्डलैर्युतम् ।

56c विसर्पितश्च] $T_{17}T_{150}$; विसार्पि-- T_{127} ◆ संबोधैः] T_{17}; --धैः $T_{127}T_{150}$ **56d** कूटम्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; --म् T_{127} ◆ उद्भूत°] T_{17}; अद्बोध° $T_{127}T_{150}$ **57a** °आन्वितैश्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °आन्वितश् T_{17} **57c** ऋषयः] $T_{127}T_{150}$; ऋषयांस् T_{17} ◆ सिद्धा] $T_{127}T_{150}$; सिद्धाः T_{17} **57d** वालखिल्यास्] *em.*; बलखिल्यास् T_{17}; वालकिल्यास् $T_{127}T_{150}$ **58b** उत्तरे] T_{17}; दक्षि- T_{127}; दक्षिणे T_{150} **58c** चैव] $T_{17}T_{150}$; चैवा T_{127} **59a** साध्यं] $T_{127}T_{150}$; साध्यस् T_{17} ◆ तन्त्रम्] $T_{17}T_{127}$; तत्रम् T_{150} **59b** वीरभद्रेति] T_{150}; वीरभद्रे ऽत्र T_{17}; नि---- T_{127} ◆ संज्ञितम्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; --- T_{127} **59c** कोटिर्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; -टिर् T_{127} **59d** °विंशकम्] T_{17}; °विंशति T_{127}; °विंशतिः T_{150} **60a** नाम°] $T_{17}T_{150}$; ज्ञान° T_{127} ◆ संज्ञाभिः] $T_{17}T_{127}$; सज्ञाभिः T_{150} **60c** °मन्त्रशता] T_{17}; °मन्त्र-- T_{127}; °मन्त्राशता T_{150} ◆ ज्ञेयाश्] *corr.*; ज्ञेयाः T_{17}; -- T_{127}; चैव T_{150} **60d** चतुर्मूर्ति°] T_{17}; -तुमूर्तिर् T_{127}; चतुर्मूर्तिर् T_{150} **61b** निधन°] T_{17}; निधाने $T_{127}T_{150}$ **61c** बिलान्तर्गतकल्पैश्च] *conj.*; °नलान्तर्मतकल्पैश्च $T_{127}T_{150}$; नलान्तर्मातृकल्पैश्च T_{17}; तदन्तर्मन्त्रकल्पाश्च *conj.* **62b** भिन्नाश्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; भिन्नश् T_{17} **62c** °आष्टकसंयुक्तं] $T_{17}T_{150}$; अ----क्तं T_{127} **62d** विमलं] *conj.*; विसरं $T_{17}T_{150}$; विस्तरं T_{127} **63b** युतम्] T_{150}; युतः $T_{17}T_{127}$

दशभेदाः समाख्याताः चन्द्रभासमिति स्मृतम् ॥६३॥
शतार्धमेकं मन्त्राणां एकवीरप्रतिष्ठितम् ।
एकमण्डलगूढं तु नारसिह्मेति विश्रुतम् ॥६४॥
यत्रेते दीक्षिता दैत्या नलिनो देवकण्टकाः ।
मयाद्या नलिनश्चैव नलिनाद्याश्च यत्र वै ॥६५॥
†रसक्षेत्राक्रियापादा† विज्ञेया बहुभेदतः ।
मन्त्रैर्द्वादशभिर्युक्तं मण्डलद्वयसंयुतम् ॥६६॥
द्विधावस्थेन देवेशि मुखबिम्बमिति स्मृतम् ।
द्विसहस्रे शते द्वे च मण्डलाश्च त्रिसप्ततिः ॥६७॥
सप्तशाखाप्रभेदश्च प्रोद्गीतं नाम नामतः ।
योगीनां परमो यत्र मन्त्रभेदः प्रवर्तते ॥६८॥
एकविद्याधरैर्मन्त्रैर्जपकर्मादिसिद्धये ।
त्रयस्त्रिंशत्समायुक्तं विद्याशक्तिविचेष्टितम् ॥६९॥
महामहादिप्रमुखैः विद्याभिश्च सुसंस्कृतैः ।

63c °भेदाः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; °भेदास् T_{127} ◆ समाख्याताश्]लेम् T_{150}; समाख्याताः T_{17}; ---- T_{127} **63d** °भासम्] T_{17}; -- T_{127}; °मासम् T_{150} ◆ स्मृतम्] T_{17}; -तः T_{127}; स्मृतः T_{150} **64a** एकं] $T_{127}T_{150}$; एक° T_{17} **64c** °गूढं] T_{17}; °गूढस् $T_{127}T_{150}$ **64d** °सिंहेति] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °सिह्मेति T_{17} **65a** यत्रेते] T_{17}; यत्र ते $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ दीक्षिता] T_{17}; --- T_{127}; दितिजा T_{150} ◆ दैत्या] T_{150}; दैत्याः T_{17}; -त्या T_{127} **65b** नलिनो] $T_{17}T_{127}$; नलिना T_{150} ◆ °कण्टकाः] $T_{17}T_{127}$; °कन्दकाः T_{150} **65d** नलिनाद्याश्] T_{17}; नलिमाद्यांश् T_{127}; नलिमाद्याश् T_{150} **66a** रसक्षेत्रा] T_{17}; रसक्षेत्र° T_{127}; रसक्षेत्रे T_{150} **66b** विज्ञेया] $T_{17}T_{127}$; विज्ञेयं T_{150} **66c** मन्त्रैर्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; मन्त्रेर् T_{127} ◆ द्वादश°] $T_{17}T_{127}$; वा दश° T_{150} **67a** द्विधा] $T_{17}T_{150}$; -- T_{127} ◆ °वस्थेन] T_{17}; -स्थान T_{127}; व-स्थानं T_{150} **67b** °बिम्बम्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °विंबम् T_{17} **67c** द्वि°] T_{17}; ये $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ द्वे च] T_{17}; चैव $T_{127}T_{150}$ **67d** च त्रि°] T_{17}; चाति $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ °सप्ततिः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; °सप्तभिः T_{127} **68a** सप्तशाखा°] $T_{17}T_{150}$; स--- T_{127} ◆ °प्रभेदञ्] *em.*; °प्रभेदश् $T_{17}T_{150}$; -- T_{127} **68b** प्रोद्गीतं] $T_{17}T_{150}$; -द्गीतं T_{127} **68c** यत्र] T_{17}; यन्त्रं T_{127}; यन्तं T_{150} **69a** °विद्या°] *conj.*; °वीर° $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **69a** मन्त्रैर्] *em.*; मन्त्रैः $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **69b** °आदिसिद्धये] $T_{17}T_{150}$; °आ--द्धये T_{127} **70a** °मुखैः] $T_{17}T_{127}$; °मुख्यैः (*unmet.*)T_{150}

महाव्रतविधानञ्च दीक्षाविधिसमुद्भवम् ॥७०॥
कपालोत्तरकल्पैश्च सिद्धिकल्पैश्च योजितम् ।
नाडीसञ्चारसंयुक्तं ललितं पञ्चमण्डलम् ॥७१॥
आज्ञासिद्धिस्तु विज्ञेया मन्त्राणां शतयोजितम् ।
दशधा मण्डलाख्यातं सिद्धिमित्येव संज्ञितम् ॥७२॥
त्रीणि मन्त्रसहस्राणि विंशतिश्चैव मण्डलाः ।
कोटिद्वयं तु मन्त्राणां शतानां परिकीर्तितम् ॥७३॥
मन्त्रपञ्चसमायुक्तमेकमण्डलपूजितम् ।
त्रिमण्डलमथाग्नेयं गूढं देवैस्तु कीर्तितम् ॥७४॥
मन्त्राणान्तु सहस्रे द्वे शताः पञ्चशतानि च ।
मण्डलानां शतञ्चैव शर्वोद्गीतमिति स्मृतम् ॥७५॥
शृणु मन्त्रसहस्राणि मण्डलाश्चापि विंशतिः ।
किरणे हि समाख्यातमादित्यो यत्र दीक्षितः ॥७६॥
कोटिसप्तसमाख्यातं मन्त्राणां नियुतं तथा ।
मण्डलानां सहस्रं तु संग्रहः परिकीर्तितः ॥७७॥
संख्याता मन्त्रभेदाश्च शाखाभेदाश्च तत्त्वतः ।
मण्डलाश्चापि मन्त्राणां सर्वतन्त्रोत्तराणि च ।

76d–77a are repeated in T_{127}, and likewise T_{150}, but with lacuna (आदि––––––– । –––सप्तसमाख्यातमादित्यो यत्र दीक्षितः)

70d °समुद्भवम्] *em.*; °समुद्भवः $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **71b** °कल्पैश्च] $T_{17}T_{150}$; ––– T_{127} ◆ योजितम्] $T_{127}T_{150}$; योजितः T_{17} **72a** आज्ञा] $T_{17}T_{127}$; अज्ञ T_{150} **72b** शतयोजितम्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; ––––– T_{127} **72d** सिद्धिम्] T_{127}; सिद्धम् $T_{17}T_{150}$ **73a** त्रीणि] *em.*; त्रिणि $T_{17}T_{127}T_{150}$ **73b** मण्डलाः] $T_{17}T_{127}$; मण्डलम् T_{150} **74c** °मण्डलमथाग्नेयं] *conj.*; °मण्डलमथाज्ञेयं T_{17}; °मण्डलमयाज्ञेयं $T_{127}T_{150}$ **74d** गूढं] $T_{127}T_{150}$; गूढ° T_{17} ◆ तु] $T_{17}T_{127}$; च T_{150} **75b** शताः] $T_{17}T_{127}$; शता T_{150} **75d** शर्वो°] T_{17}; सर्वो° $T_{127}T_{150}$ **76a** शृणु] $T_{17}T_{150}$; श्रुणु T_{127} **76b** मण्डलाश्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; मण्डलांश् T_{127} ◆ विंशतिः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; विंशति T_{127} **76d** आदित्यो] T_{17}; आदि– T_{127}; आसित्यो T_{150} **76d** यत्र दीक्षितः] $T_{17}T_{150}$; ––––– T_{127} **78a** संख्याता] $T_{17}T_{150}$; सख्यात T_{127}

शिवप्रोक्ताः स्मृता ह्येते मन्त्रकल्पा बहु स्मृताः ॥७८॥
अनित्यानां च भूतानां दृष्ट्वा लोकानिमान्पुरा ।
†–तत्त्वं याति संज्ञाश्च† विद्यातत्त्वं शिवात्मकम् ॥७९॥
देवासुरमनुष्याश्च मन्त्रसिद्धाश्च ये स्मृताः ।
गन्धर्वयक्षरक्षाश्च पिशाचा ऋषयस्तथा ॥८०॥
सर्वे ते मन्त्रसिद्धास्तु तेषामायुस्तु मन्त्रजा ।
मन्त्रजापेन सिद्धास्तु सर्वे ते साधकाः स्मृताः ॥८१॥
तत्त्वं विज्ञाय मुक्तिस्तु सत्यमेतन्महेश्वरि ।
इदं सारमिदं सारं यस्सर्वं ज्ञातुमिच्छति ।
विज्ञायाक्षरतन्मात्रं गुरुमाराध्य यत्नतः ॥८२॥
प्रार्थयेत महादेवि गुरुं तत्त्वविशारदम् ।
तत्प्रसादाद्भवेन्मुक्तिः संसारभवबन्धनात् ॥८३॥
इति निश्वासकारिकायां दीक्षोत्तरे तन्त्रावतारश्चतुर्थः पटलः ॥❀॥

83d T_{150} contains 2 additional pādas afterwards: आपिवर्षसहस्रान्ते शास्त्रान्तं नाधिगच्छति ।

78e °प्रोक्ताः] *corr.*; प्रोक्ताः $T_{17}T_{150}$; °प्रोता T_{127} **78f** मन्त्र°] $T_{127}T_{150}$; तन्त्र° T_{17}; तत्र *conj.* **78f** °कल्पा] $T_{127}T_{150}$; °कल्प° T_{17} **79a** अनित्यानां] $T_{127}T_{150}$; अनित्या T_{17} ◆ भूतानां] T_{17}; लोकानां $T_{127}T_{150}$ **79c** –तत्त्वं] T_{17}; तत्त्वं $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ याति] T_{17}; यात $T_{127}T_{150}$ ◆ संज्ञाश्च] $T_{17}T_{127}$; सज्ञाश्च T_{150} **80b** °सिद्धाश्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; –– T_{127} ◆ च ये स्मृताः] T_{17}; –––– T_{127}; च स्मृताः (*unmet.*) T_{150} **81b** तु मन्त्रजा] *em.*; तु मन्त्राणाः (*unmet.*) T_{17}; तु मन्त्रजाः T_{127}; ममन्त्रजम् T_{150} **82b** महेश्वरि] $T_{17}T_{127}$; महेश्वरी T_{150} **83a** महादेवि] $T_{127}T_{150}$; महादेव T_{17} **83b** गुरुं तत्त्व°] T_{17}; गुरुतत्त्व° $T_{127}T_{150}$ **83c** °प्रसादाद्भवेन्] T_{127}; °प्रमाद्भेदा T_{17}; °प्रसादात् भवेन् T_{150} **83d** °भव°] T_{150}; °भब° T_{17}; –– T_{127} ◆ °बन्धनात्] $T_{17}T_{150}$; ––नात् T_{127} Colophon (absent from T_{127}): °कारिकायां] T_{150}; °कटिकायां T_{17} ◆ °वतारश्] *em.*; °वतारः T_{17}; °वतार T_{150}

Appendix D

**Brahmayāmalasāra*, Chapter 68 (*kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpattiḥ*): A Diplomatic Edition

[*f.*79*r*1] अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि कपालिभैरवं परं ।
येन सिध्यन्ति का[2]मानि साधके नित्यजापिनः ॥१॥
भक्ष्यभोज्यान्नपानानां फलानि विविधानि च ।
दिव्यसिद्धि प्रवर्त्तन्ते अणिमादिगुणाष्टकं ॥२॥
अधमध्योर्त्तमै पात्रैस्सिद्धिस्तु तृविधा भवेत्[3] ।
दिव्यभौमान्तरिक्षश्च साधकस्य भवन्ति वै ॥३॥

CODICES: NGMPP reel no. E1527/6 (S_1), *ff.* 79*r*–84*v* (microfilm exposures 141 lower–147 upper); NGMPP reel no. A165/16 (S_2) is not available for this chapter. The transcription is semi-diplomatic: while otherwise faithfully reproducing the manuscript, it introduces verse numbers and spaces between words, disambiguates some conjunct consonants (e.g. *ddha/dva*), undoes the conflation of *v* and *b*, and does not record some non-syllabic markings (e.g. gap-fillers at the end of lines). The scribe uniformly writes double-daṇḍas after even verse-quarters.

1–3 These verses appear to summarize *BraYā* 83.1–29, which is lacunose.

2c °प्रवर्त्तन्ते] S_1^{pc}(*marginal corr.*); °प्रवर्न्नन्ते S_1^{ac} **3a** °मध्योर्त्तमै] S_1^{pc}(*marginal corr.*); °मध्योन्नमै S_1^{ac}

देव्युवाच ॥
कस्मिं कपालमुत्पन्नं खट्वाङ्गञ्च महेश्वरः ।
येन धारयसे नित्यं गणमातृरभि⟨ष्ण⟩तं ॥४॥
प्रमानं चैव मु[4]द्राणां कस्यैव च कथं विधिः ।
अधिदेवफलं चैव येन विन्दन्ति साधकाः ॥५॥
भैरव उवाच ॥
शृणु देवि परं गुह्यं सर्व्वसिद्धिप्रवर्त्तकं ।
संभवं तु कपालस्य[5] खट्वाङ्गस्य तथैव च ॥६॥
यथानादि परो देवो तथाहं वरलोचने ।
संसारो पि तदावस्थः परमार्थेन चोदितः ॥७॥
तस्य देवातिदेवस्य कारणस्यामितद्युत⟨ः⟩ ।
[6]इच्छासिद्धिकरश्चाहं इच्छा त्वत्तस्य भाविनि ॥८॥
माया च जतगस्यास्य त्वश्च सृष्टि वरानने ।
क्रियाख्या पठ्यसे तेन येन सृजसि वाङ्मयम् ॥९॥
मूलप्रकृतिरूपेण त्वं सृष्टिः पद्म[7]जन्मयः ।
सो पि शतांशभागस्तु निमेषस्य मम प्रिये ॥१०॥
स्थित्वा विनाशमायन्ति पुनस्तत्रैव लीयति ।
कपालं तस्य चादाय क्रीडामि विपुले ध्वनिः ॥११॥
एवं कपालकोटीभि[8]र्येय साला विभाति मे ।
तस्य गात्रैरसंख्येयैर्धृता तु वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥१२॥
यदा मायोदरं सर्व्वं कालेन प्रलयङ्गतः ।
तदाहं ईश्वरे तत्वे भवानि रमितमुखी ॥१३॥

6b °वर्त्तकं] S_1^{pc}(*marginal corr.*); °वन्नकं S_1^{ac} **9d** वाङ्मयम्] S_1^{pc}(*marginal corr.*); वाद्मयम् S_1^{ac} **13b** कालेन] S_1^{pc}; काले – S_1^{ac}

ब्रह्मणो ⟨ण्ड/शु⟩कपा[→*f.79v*]लेस्तु धृता मालास्तु भैरवं ।
अनन्तं भैरवं रूपं कालं द्वादशलोचनं ॥१४॥
अतिघो+रं+ समाशृत्य वियत्यस्मि रमाम्यहं ।
एकाकी मातृभिर्युक्तः स्ववीर्यबलशालिभिः ॥१५॥
प[2]रार्द्धद्वयकालान्ते व्यतिक्रान्ते महेश्वरि ।
क्रीडयित्वा समन्ताभिः शक्तिभिर्घोररूपिभिः ॥१६॥
भावभूतमयं विश्वं रंशतत्वगहनात्मकः ।
कृत्वोदर+ग+तं सर्व्वं अनुग्राममनन्तकं[3] ॥१७॥
विनियम्य नमालिङ्ग्यः योगनिद्रागत+ः+ सुखी ।
शयामि शक्तिपर्य्यङ्के वीरमाते ततो ह्यहं ॥१८॥
पुनर्न्नेत्रोदयदिने विनष्टतमसंचयं ।
स्वशक्तिसंप्रबुद्धश्च कृतिश्चित्रा प्रजा[4]यते ॥१९॥
भावैस्तत्वैस्तथा भूतैः मालेय भुवनात्मिका ।
मायाद्यवनिपर्य्यन्तं युगपद्योगजां महत् ॥२०॥
यं यत्र विलयं याति मच्छरीरे कलेश्वरि ।
तस्य तस्य तु तत्रैव सम्भ[5]वः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥२१॥
स्वकायात्स्वेदमुत्पाद्य कृत्वा तु करमध्यतः ।
सुशुद्धश्चामृतमयः शीतलोम्भः सुतेजसः ॥२२॥
मयाङ्गुष्ठेन मथितो यावदत्युष्णताङ्गतः ।
बुद्बुदाक+ा+[6]रसदृशं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरं ॥२३॥
उत्पन्नस्तु ततस्तस्तु मम तस्मिन्महात्मने ।
तेजेन कटिनीभूतं हैमम्भानुशतप्रभं ॥२४॥
ब्रह्माण्डमितिविख्यातं ब्रह्माद्यै⟨हृणु⟩भिश्चितं ।

24c कटिनी] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); कदिरी S_1^{ac}

परेच्छा क्षो[7]भ्य चाव्यक्तंः कृतिहेतुकृतन्मया ॥२५॥
तत्रान्ते सप्त लोकानि पातालनरकानि च ।
कालानलावधिर्यानि अनेकाकालरक्षणं ॥२६॥
चित्स्वरूपाम्यहं कृत्वा तत्रैवान्तरधी[8]यतां ।
ममेच्छया विसृष्टंस्सं ब्रह्मामरगुरुर्म्महत् ॥२७॥
सत्वस्थस्तिष्टते स्वस्थो न परं किःश्चिद्विन्दति ।
यच्छेषाम्भं करस्थं मे रजासालिङ्गितन्तु तत् ॥२८॥
विष्णुसत्रापि सु[→f.80r]व्यक्तं अतिवीर्यो रजात्मकः ।
रजसा तुदयामासस्तत्तत्वं ब्रह्मजं प्रिये ॥२९॥
विक्षुर्द्धस्तु ततो ब्रह्मा ज्वलित स्वेततेजसा ।
मया संचिन्त्य तमसा रजोविद्धस्त्वरं भृशः ॥३०॥
[2]सो पि स्ववीर्यमुत्कृष्टस्तीव्रा ज्वालां मुमोचति ।
सहस्रबाहुवदनो सहस्रचरणः शिरः ॥३१॥
सर्व्वायुधधरा द्वे तु मर्षमाणैः परस्परं ।
तौ दृष्ट्वा भयसंत्रस्ता पुराणपु[3]रुषोत्तमौ ॥३२॥
क्षयाम्बुदा समारब्धार्व्वर्द्धितु गगनाङ्गने ।
घोरस्वरा करालानि रुरोदन्ति दिशो दिशः ॥३३॥
क्षयार्च्चिवर्च्चिसा दीप्ताश्चकोरन्ति तडिल्लताः ।
प्रचण्डमारुत[4]हता धारयेतितुमुद्यतः ॥३४॥
भ्रमद्धरित्रीन्सकलां ददर्शति महातलं ।
विस्तारितजलोद्वेलां यान्ति सप्तार्ण्णवा भृशं ॥३५॥
धूमार्च्चिसंकुलाश्चोचै स्वरैःन्नंद+तु+मुद्यता ।
स्व[5]मर्यादा विनिमुक्ता दिक्मातङ्गः प्रकल्पिताः ॥३६॥

28d °लिङ्गितन्] S_1^{pc}; °लिङ्गितः S_1^{ac}

कण्ठारावं विमुञ्चन्ति अतिघोरम्मदंच्युताः ।
गर्ज्जते च नभस्तीव्रं न च पतितुमिच्छति ॥३७॥
दुर्ल्लक्षं भ्रमते वीर चक्र[6]वद्दण्डचोतितम् ।
पतन्त्यभ्रकपालानि दर्प्पणाभाति कोटिशः ॥३८॥
प्रदीप्ताङ्गारवृष्टिस्तु संजातातीवभासुराः ।
स्थूलधारा विमुञ्चन्ति घनाग्निकणजानि तु ॥३९॥
सिं[8]हाकारा विलुम्पन्ति वह्निज्वाला सुदारुणाः ।
लेलिहाणा भ्रमन्त्यम्प्य व्यालरुपार्चिशो घना ॥४०॥
क्षये चाग्निमुखै घोरैः शिवाग्निर्व्विप्लुताञ्जगत् ।
कल्पान्तगृध्रनिचितं[→*f*.80*v*] दिवि भुविदिगाननं ॥४१॥
विलुप्यमानं सकलं भवानिर्भयविद्रुत ।
ब्रह्मास्त्रोघाकुलं सर्व्वं वायव्यैः पार्थिवश्चितं ॥४२॥
वारुणै प्लाव्यमानं हि कलोलतडित्रासितं ।
[2]सर्व्वमेतन्महादेवि विपरीतं स्थितं जगत् ॥४३॥
सदेवगणगान्धर्व्व सकिन्नरमहोरगां ।
यक्षरक्षपिशाचाद्या स्थावराद्यं च यावति ॥४४॥
ब्रह्मणो ण्डान्तगं चैव यच्चन्यं स्थान[3]मुत्तमाम् ।
विनाशमुपगच्छन्तं दृष्ट्वा ह्येत चराचरं ॥४५॥
ततस्त्वेकार्ण्णवे घोरे हन्यमानो जलो ग्निभिः ।
विस्फुर्जमानौ त॰ल॰लौ तर्ज्जयन्तौ परस्परं ॥४६॥
अहंकारवसा[4]लि॰द्धौ॰ तमसातीवभूरिणा ।
इति तौ नष्टसंज्ञो च वीहतौ वतेक्षणैः ॥४७॥
क्षयास्त्राणि समुद्यम्य कोपान्संरक्तलोचनौ ।

44d यावति] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); यवति S_1^{ac}

विवादं प्रास्थितौ द्वौ तु महायुद्धश्च पार्व्वति ॥४८॥
म[5]त्स्वरुपमजानन्तौ मम मायाविमोहितौ ।
कृतिकारणकार्यस्त्वमुत्पत्तिनिधनं ‹मुहुः› ॥४९॥
कतृत्वकारणार्थी च प्रा‹ह्वा›र्थी च कृतैस्तथा ।
तयौ कार्यमिदं ज्ञात्वा व्र[6]जेशानं महात्मने ॥५०॥
दर्पोपशमनोपायस्त्वरं संचिन्तितो मया ।
ततो विबोधर्हेत्वर्थं लिङ्गरूपातितेजसाः ॥५१॥
लेलिहानोर्च्चिसंघेन अभिभूयान्तसंस्थितं ।
वि[7]द्रुता मम तेजेन भीताश्च वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥५२॥
मा‹ग्रं›त्यधोर्द्धरूपमे न च पश्यन्ति मोहिताः ।
तत स्तुवन्ति मां भीताः शक्तिमास्थाय निश्चिताः ॥५३॥
दिव्यम्वर्षसहस्रन्तु[8] ऋक्सामययुषै स्तवैः ।
ततस्तुष्टस्तु वीरेशि स्वरूपंन्दर्शितम्मया ॥५४॥
कपालमालिनं भीमं खट्वाङ्गकरभासुरं ।
सर्प्पैर्ल्ललन्तलम्बन्तैः कोटिवक्त्रं करालि[→*f*.81*r*]नं ॥५५॥
पश्यन्ति त्रस्तमनसौ दं‹ष्ट्रां›शुच्छुरितमुखं ।
मा भीष्टेवं मया चोक्तं पृच्छन्ति व्रतमुत्तमं ॥५६॥
किमेतान्यद्भुतरूपं किमेतद्भूषणं विभोः ।
किमेतद्भ्राजते व्योम्नि तृशिखं शू[2]लमुज्वलं ॥५७॥
उत्तमांगं शुभङ्कस्य यत्ते करतले स्थितं ।
ततो हं प्रत्युवाचेदं तयोर्द्दर्प्पहरम्वचः ॥५८॥
अनेकमुण्डकोटीभिर्येयं माला विभाति मे ।
त्वदीयैस्तनुभि ब्ब्रह्म विन[3]ष्टस्य पुनः पुनः ॥५९॥

54b ऋक्सामययुषै] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); कन्सामयज्ञषै S_1^{ac} 58b यत्ते] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); यन्ने S_1^{ac}

यानि नारान्यनेकानि ग्रीवाहस्तकटिस्थितां ।
नारायणस्तनुस्तानि विनष्टस्य पुनः पुनः ॥६०॥
यदेतद्दक्षिणे हस्ते खट्वाङ्गं नाम विश्रुतं ।
तस्योत्प[4]≀त्ति≀र्विधास्यामि शृणुष्वेकमनावुभौ ॥६१॥
अतीते योगकोट्यन्ते अहं योगमुपागतः ।
चिन्तयामि शिवन्देवं यन्नत्परमकारणं ॥६२॥
यावन्नस्मिन्समुत्पन्नो योगविघ्नो ≀ति≀दारु[5]णः ।
ततो मया सुरुष्टेन हूंकारेण नियामितः ॥६३॥
खट्वा नाम महावीर्यो असुरो देवकण्ठकः ।
ततो मया सुरुष्टेन क्रोधाविष्टेन चेतसा ॥६४॥
निहतन्तु मया तस्य विध्वंस्य बलद[6]र्प्पितः ।
तस्याङ्गं शीघ्रमादाय दिव्यवज्रमयम्महत् ॥६५॥
धृतम्महायुधं यस्मात्खट्वाङ्गन्तु ततस्त्विदं ।
एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु तौ देवौ प्रणिपत्य पुनः पुनः ॥६६॥
जन्ममृत्युभयत्रस्तौ वरैश्चा[7]श्वासितौ मया ।
दत्वा वरसहस्राणि बुद्धिकामानुसारतः ॥६७॥
सृष्टिं कुरुष्वे हे ब्रह्म त्वं पालय जनार्द्दनः ।
अजितस्त्रिषु लोकेषु अजितश्च भविष्यसि ॥६८॥
मम तुल्यबलो वत्स[8] मच्छरीरे वसिष्यसि ।
एवमुक्त्वा पुनश्चाहमन्तर्द्धानमुपस्थितं ॥६९॥
कपालस्य समुत्पत्ति खट्वाङ्गस्य च भैरवि ।
कथिता तु समासेन अधिदेवामत शृणु ॥७०॥
खट्वास्याङ्गं गृही[→*f.*81*v*]त्वा तु सर्व्वदेवमयं कृतं ।

60a नारान्य°] S_1^{pc}; नाराय S_1^{ac} 64a खट्वा] S_1^{pc}; खष्टा S_1^{ac} 69c उक्त्वा] S_1^{pc}(*marginal corr.*); उक्ष्वा S_1^{ac}

तस्य केशां समादाय निबद्धानि शुभानि तु ॥७१॥
तस्य वस्त्राणि रक्तेन चर्च्चयित्वा शुभेक्षणे ।
लम्बितानि विचित्राणि देवागानि ध्वजानि तु ॥७२॥
मयु[2]रहंसपक्षाणि विनिबद्धाणि तत्व तु ।
तृगुणेनैव सूत्रेण मायातन्तुमयेन तु ॥७३॥
ततः खट्वाङ्गमूले तु अनन्तन्तु निवेशितं ।
शूलरूपस्तु बोद्धव्यः कालाग्नि कंचिदेश[3]तः ॥७४॥
तस्योपरिष्टान्नरका अङ्गुलान्तरितास्त्रयः ।
पातालांश्चैव लोकांश्च उपर्यपरि संस्थिताः ॥७५॥
सूत्रग्रन्थेरध˹स्त्ना˺ तु ब्रह्माण्डमुत्र कल्पितः ।
तस्योपरि स्थितो वि[4]ष्णु मूर्ध्निश्चाहं वरानने ॥७६॥
सितसूत्रे स्थितः स˹त्वो˺ ब्रह्मस्तत्राधिदैवतः ।
रक्तसूत्रे रजश्चैव विष्णुस्तत्राधिदैवतः ॥७७॥
नम कृष्णे विजानीयादहन्तत्राधिदैवत ।
मिश्रे[5] च व्यक्तमित्युक्तं रजःसत्वतमोमयं ॥७८॥
एवं पुन्नियतिः कालो माया च वरवर्ण्णिनि ।
पिच्छानामुपरिष्टा तु संस्थितानि यथा˹क्र˺मं ॥७९॥
उपरिष्टा तु या कश्चि ग्रन्थिस्तत्र प्र[6]तिष्ठिताः ।
यस्त्रिशूलोपरिस्तस्य तत्र शक्तित्रयम्विदुः ॥८०॥
वामा ˹ज्ये˺ष्ठा च रौद्री च वामादक्षिणमध्यगा ।
उपरिष्टाच्छिवं शान्तं स्थितं सर्व्वस्य मूर्द्धनि ॥८१॥
कला विद्या च राग[7]श्च पादके तु व्यवस्थिताः ।

75c पातालांश्] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); पा–आलांश् S_1^{ac} **76a** अधस्त्ना] S_1^{pc}; अधस्ता S_1^{ac}
81a ज्येष्ठा] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); ज्येष्ठ्य S_1^{ac}

वायूं ध्वजे स्थितो देवि ज्ञातव्यं साधकेन तु ॥८२॥
कैशैर्न्नागकुलान्यष्टौ ज्ञातव्यानि विपश्चितैः ।
भूता प्रेता पिशाचास्तु यक्षगान्धर्व्वकिन्नराः ॥८३॥
[8]राक्षसा विघ्नवेताला पिंच्छकेषु प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
घण्ठिकाया स्थिता रुद्रा गणाश्च वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥८४॥
शब्दे सरस्वती देवी स्फोट बिन्दुर्ध्वनिर्ध्वनौ ।
भगिन्यो मातरो लामा योगि[→*f.82r*]न्यो पूतनादयः ॥८५॥
स्कन्दाद्याश्च ग्रहाश्चैव तथा सेहारिकादयः ।
पिंच्छके संस्थिता ह्येतो अस्त्राणि विविधानि च ॥८६॥
वेदाङ्गानि तथा विद्यास्थान्येव चतुर्द्दशः ।
ग्रह[2]ने संस्थिता वेदा गायत्री मोक्षणे विदुः ॥८७॥
उद्धृते तु स्थितोङ्कार स्थापिते सावित्रि संस्थिताः ।
सर्व्वदेवमयं ह्येवं खट्वाङ्ग वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥८८॥
मया कृतन्तु तत्काले पवित्रं परम[3]म्महत् ।
ततः खट्वासुरः शान्तं परं प्राप्तो वरानने ॥८९॥
एष खट्वाङ्गमुत्पन्ति यो विजानाति तत्वतः ।
स याति ब्रह्मलोकन्तु भिन्ने देहे न संशयः ॥९०॥
यो पुर्न दीक्षितान्मा[4]नो धारयेद्युक्तचेतसः ।
स वीरेषपदे लीनो नावर्त्ततिरधोमुखः ॥९१॥
षड्मासं चा॰ब्द॰मात्रम्वा मन्त्रयुक्तस्तु यो नरः ।
खट्वाङ्ग धारयेद्देवि दिव्यसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥९२॥
प्र[5]माणं संप्रवक्ष्यामि शृणुष्वेकमना सनी ।
स्वशरी+र+प्रमाणेन कर्त्तव्यमधिकं पि वा ॥९३॥

89a कृतन्] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); कृतस् S_1^{ac}

चतुर्हस्तोर्द्धतो देवि न मर्त्येषु सुखावहं ।
तृहस्तं तु +शु+भं विद्धि मन्त्रसिद्धिकरं स्मृतं ॥९४॥
[6]अङ्गुष्ठपर्व्वमानेन कुर्यात्पश्चादशाङ्गुलं ।
चतुरंङ्गुलमानेन परिणाहं वरानने ॥९५॥
तृहस्त पञ्चपर्व्वाणि परिणाहे प्रकीर्त्तितं ।
अष्टाङ्गुलप्रमाणं तु चतुर्हस्तं॥स्य॥ की[7]र्त्तितम् ॥९६॥
चतुरङ्गुलाद्धूवेत्काञ्ची कीलको द्वादशाङ्गुलः ।
चतुरङ्गुलप्रवेशश्च अधस्ताष्टाङ्गुलं भवेत् ॥९७॥
एतत्प्रमाण शूलस्य न्युनं तन्तु न कारयेत् ।
पादकस्त्वत्प्रमान[8]श्च प्रकुर्याच्छास्त्रवित्तमः ॥९८॥
द्वादशाङ्गुलमानञ्च तृशूलं तस्य चोपरि ।
नवाङ्गुल त्रिहस्ते तु इतरेषु षडङ्गुलं ॥९९॥
पाद तद्वत्प्रकर्त्तव्यं ध्वजं कुर्या यथेप्सितं ।
द्वादशाङ्गुल[→*f.*82*v*]मारभ्य चतुर्व्विङशङ्गुलैर्न्नरैः ॥१००॥
गृहस्थैः ॥सं–॥प्रकर्त्तव्यं अप्रकाश्य यथा भवेत् ।
लक्षतो न विहीनन्तु यदा कुर्या तु मन्त्रवित् ॥१०१॥
विभ्रमोद्वेगसंतापसिद्धिहानिस्तदा भवेत् ।
[2]न्यग्रोधपादये रिक्षे अथ वंशमयं शुभं ॥१०२॥
सरलं देवदारुञ्च करवीरार्क्कज+न्त+था ।
सुवाशोकखदिरो बिल्वपिप्पले शिंशपा ॥१०३॥
सप्तच्छदमयं वाथ श्रीखण्डारक्त[3]चन्दने ।
कार्यं श्मशानकाष्टे वा तारकाजनजो थ वा ॥१०४॥
ताम्रजं वा महेशानि पुष्पलोहमये थ वा ।

95b पञ्चा°] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); पश्चा° S_1^{ac} 104a सप्त°] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); सम्व° S_1^{ac}

यथालाभेन कर्त्तव्यं साधकेन महात्मना ॥१०५॥
तमाराध्य प्रयत्ने[4]न यथा युक्तेन रेतसा ।
खट्वाङ्गं पूजितं येन त्रैलोक्यं तेन पूजितं ॥१०६॥
खट्वाङ्गं धारितं येन त्रैलोक्यं तेन अर्च्चितं ।
खट्वाङ्गपूजिते नित्यं नासौ लिप्यति पातकैः ॥१०७॥
ब्रह्मादिदेवत[5]न्देवि कपालं परिकीर्त्तितं ।
पवित्रं परमन्दिव्यमाग्नेयं ब्रह्मसम्भवं ॥१०८॥
यस्तं धारयते नित्यं मत्परो नियतव्रतः ।
पापहा सर्व्वमर्त्यानान्दर्शनांदेव पार्व्वति ॥१०९॥
भ्रातृह+ा+[6] पितृहन्तारो मातृहा ब्रह्मघातकः ।
द्वादशाब्दानि भिक्षाशी कपालव्रतमाचरेत् ॥११०॥
मन्त्रदीक्षाविहीनो पि शुध्यते नात्र संशयः ।
दीक्षितो यस्तु मन्त्रज्ञः शिवभक्तिस[7]मन्वितः ॥१११॥
ब्रह्महत्यासहस्रापि सप्ताहाद्विमलो भवेत् ।
अपापी मन्त्रयुक्तस्तु षड्मासान्सिद्धिभाग्भवेत् ॥११२॥
यक्षरक्षपिशाचानां भूतव्यतालगुह्यकाम् ।
अप्रधृष्य प्रजाये[8]न षण्मासा⟨द्र/ङ्ग⟩द्र्यतु⟨द्र/ङ्ग⟩रः ॥११३॥
जायते च महेशानि म⟨ ⟩त्पु⟨ ⟩त्रो तीववल्लभः ।
मातृणां गुह्यकानां योगिनीनां प्रियो भवेत् ॥११४॥
किंतु ता तन्त्रसानैध्या मया पूर्व्वम्प्रकल्पितं ।
ब्रह्मण[→*f.83r*]स्योत्तमाङ्गन्तु अतीवात्युन्वनं पुरा ॥११५॥
पञ्चमन्तु समुद्भूतं तेन संच्छादितं जगत् ।

106a आराध्य] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); आरा⟨ ⟩प्य⟨ ⟩ S_1^{ac} **115c** °ओत्तमा°] S_1^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); °ओन्नमा° S_1^{ac} **115d** °आत्युन्वनं] A^{pc} (*marginal corr.*); °अत्युत्वनं A^{ac}

आदित्या च ग्रहा चैव नक्षत्राग्निश्च चन्द्रमाः ॥११६॥
तेजसा न स्वयं भांति तारा सूर्यो[2]दये यथा।
ततो हं संस्तुतं तैस्तु देवैः सरिषिपुङ्गवैः ॥११७॥
मया योग न विज्ञाय कार्येमतद्दिवौकसां ।
गन्धवत्यातटे रम्ये स्वतेज दर्शितम्मया ॥११८॥
महाकालं महाघोरं[3] ज्वलन्त स्वमरीचिभिः ।
च्छादितः स मया तूर्ण्ण स्वप्रभादीपितं महत् ॥११९॥
नखरान्सव्यहस्तेन च्छिन्नमत्युद्भूतांननं ।
तङ्गृह्य नृत्यमानो हं गतो यन्त्रर्ज्जनार्द्दनः ॥१२०॥
तिष्ठ[4]ते योगमासीनो पुराणपुरुषोत्तमः ।
ज्वलन्तं स्वेतवीर्येन सुरासुरनमस्कृतं ॥१२१॥
प्रार्थित स मया देवि भिक्षां देहि महातपः ।
कपालमालिनं दृष्ट्वा ज्ञात्वा च पुरु[5]षोत्तमः ॥१२२॥
स्वभुजं दर्शया+मा+स महावीर्यो पराजितः ।
ततो मया तृशूलेन हतस्तु शुभलोचने ॥१२३॥
शोणितस्यातिवेगेन ततो धारा प्रवर्त्तिता ।
महाघोषेण पति+ता+ क[6]पाले तीवभासुरे ॥१२४॥
तस्य शब्देन महाता कम्पिता च वसुन्धरा ।
वामहस्तेन तत्पात्रं मया संपुटितं पुनः ॥१२५॥
अहन्यहनि विक्षोभ्य नारायणि नमाम्यहं ।
स्वच्छाया[7]त्तत्र पश्यामि अतितेजेन चोल्बना ॥१२६॥
विचित्रा तत्र मे सृष्टि व्यक्तातीवभयंकरः ।
वामहस्त प्रपश्यामि भगिन्यो दूतिसंयुता ॥१२७॥

127b °आतीव°] A^{pc}; °आतिव° A^{ac}

विद्येश्वरी महाचण्डो रौद्री चैव क[8]पालिनी ।
गुह्यकं चेश्वरन्देवि तत्र पश्यामि भैरवं ॥१२८॥
षड्योगिन्यः प्रपश्यामि मातरो भीमविक्रमाः ।
असंख्यात+ा+ महादेवि तत्रोत्पद्यत्ति सुव्रते ॥१२९॥
किङ्कर्यः किङ्कराश्चैव[→*f.*83*v*] द्वादशादित्यवर्च्चसाः ।
मन्थानभैरवस्तेन गीतः स परमः शिवः ॥१३०॥
दिव्यनाब्दसहस्रेण तन्पूर्ण्णं तत्र भैरवि ।
देव्यस्तत्र समुद्भूता शोणितासवलोलुपा ॥१३१॥
कपाले संस्थि[2]ता देव्यः दृष्ट्वा मे संप्रपूजिताः ।
विष्णुनापि च तत्रस्था देव्यः संपूजिता शुभाः ॥१३२॥
एवं च ब्रह्मणेनापि भाव्यमाशृत्य पूजिता ।
ब्रह्मणस्य कपालेन विष्णुरक्तस्य पूरिते ॥१३३॥
[3]मम दृष्टिनिपातेन उत्थिता तत्र रश्मयः ।
कपाले तेन सानैध्यं कल्पयन्ति गभस्तयः ॥१३४॥
कपालं पूजितं येन तेन देव्यः प्रपूजिताः ।
कपालं पूरितं येन तस्य तृप्ता[4] मरीचयः ॥१३५॥
कपालमुद्धृतं येन धृतन्तेन चराचरं ।
निन्दिते निन्दितं येन लघितं नापि लंघितं ॥१३६॥
तस्मान्न लंघयेन्प्राज्ञः कपाल तृदशार्च्चितं ।
गायत्र्याङ्कारसा[5]वित्र्या षडङ्गेन समन्वितं ॥१३७॥
कपाले चतुरो वेदा द्रष्टव्या वीरवन्दिते ।
तेन तत्रैव यत्किंचित्पतितं भक्षभोजने ॥१३८॥
पावनन्तत्पवित्रं तु कुप्सितांन तु यद्भवेत् ।

134c सानैध्यं] S_1^{pc} *(marginal corr.)*; सानैव्यं S_1^{ac}

पापा[6]चाररतेनापि स्त्रियाया पुरुषेण वा ॥१३९॥
मद्यमान्समधुन्द⟨त्वा⟩ तत्पवित्रं न संशयः ।
एकान्तमपि भुञ्ज+ा+नो प्रतिग्रहभयो⟨ज्झि⟩तं ॥१४०॥
किं पुनर्भैक्षसंतुष्टो विशेषान्मंत्रमा[7]शृतः ।
ब्रह्मादिदेवतं ज्ञेयं कपाल वरवर्ण्णिनि ॥१४१॥
सर्व्वदेवमयश्चैव सर्व्वतीर्थमयं हितं ।
चूडामणि कपालेन शिखा य विनिवेशितः ॥१४२॥
ईश्वर तत्र विज्ञेयामधिदेवं व[8]रानने ।
ज्ञानशक्ति क्रियाख्या च कर्ण्णिकोपरि कीर्त्तिते ॥१४३॥
कण्ठस्थितान्तु मुद्रायान्तत्राहमधिदेवतां ।
रुद्रमातृगणैश्चैव ज्ञातव्यो गणसंस्तुते ॥१४४॥
अनन्ताद्योपवीते तु ना[→*f*.84*r*]⟨शना⟩जाधिदेवतां ।
हस्तबाहुकटिश्चैव विष्णु ज्ञेयाधिदैवतं ॥१४५॥
शिव शुद्धः स निर्व्वाण ज्ञेयो भस्माधिदैवतं ।
शक्तयो विविधाकारा जटानामधिदेवता ॥१४६॥
एतन्महाव्र[2]तन्देवि यो विजानाति तत्वतः ।
शिववत्स तु बोधव्यो विरुद्धाचरणे पि यः ॥१४७॥
यद्यपिः स विकर्म्मस्थः कुरुते तीवसाहसं ।
तथापि प्रेतराजानो भवते तीवभावित[3]ः ॥१४८॥
स्थित्वा शिवेच्छाया तत्र यावत्कर्म्मस्य संक्षयः ।
याति चैव ⟨प⟩रं स्थानं यत्र देवो महेश्वरः ॥१४९॥
एतन्पुरा महादेवि देवैश्चीर्ण्णम्महाव्रतं ।
ततो मृत्युजरा त्यक्त्वा[4] मन्त्रसिद्धपराङ्गताः ॥१५०॥
शक्रेणापि पुरा चीर्ण्णम्महेन्द्रे तु महाव्रतं ।

ततो दित्यारपत्यानां मर्द्दिता तु वरूथिनी ॥१५१॥
विष्णुनापि पुरा चीर्ण्णं चक्रस्यार्थे महा[5]व्रतं ।
तमावाप्य जितो लोके यातो देवारिशूदनः ॥१५२॥
ब्रह्मणेनापि वेदेषु प्रनष्टेषु महाव्रतं ।
चरित्वाराधितो पूर्व्वमहं सुरवरार्च्चितः ॥१५३॥
मया तुष्टेन तस्य+ा+[6]शुः पुनर्व्वेदाः प्रकाशिताः ।
मातृयोगिभगिन्यैश्च ग्रहा वेतालराक्षसा ॥१५४॥
मम रूप विदित्वा तु चीर्ण्णमेतन्महाव्रतं ।
पक्षं मासरितुश्चाब्दम्मन्त्रयुक्ताश्च[7]रेद्यदि ॥१५५॥
जायते सर्व्वयोगीनां सन्मतं सा+ध+केश्वरः ।
तस्माद्यन्सिद्धिमन्विच्छेत्परापरगुणात्मकीं ॥१५६॥
तन्त्रं भैरवमा≀शृ≀त्य तेन कार्य महाव्रतं ।
≀वेलो≀व्रतं समाशृ[8]त्य सिध्यते गृहमेधिनः ॥१५७॥
मर्त्यभोगाविरक्तात्मा न चोत्पतनि खेतले ।
पशोरभावतो देवि न मेलकविवर्ज्जितः ॥१५८॥

इति महाभैरवे विद्यापीठे ब्रह्म[→*f.*84*v*]यामले नवाक्षरविधाने खट्वा-कपालोत्पत्ति अष्टषष्टिमः पटलः ॥

Appendix E

A Provisional Edition of *Devīpurāṇa*, Chapter 119

देवीपुराणे एकोनविंशत्यधिकशतमो ऽध्यायः

इन्द्र उवाच ॥
महादेवेन भो ब्रह्मन्महाबलपराक्रमम् ।
हत्वा खट्वासुरेन्द्रं तं खट्वाङ्गं धारितन्तु किम् ॥१॥

SIGLA: **B_{ed}**: reading adopted in the edition of Panchanan TARKARATNA (1895/96); **B_{ms}**: variant readings recorded in the latter (which are never attributed to specific manuscripts); **B_1**: British Library MS. 380 (Bangla script), *ff.* 282*v*–287*v*; **D_{ed}**: reading adopted in the edition of P. K. SHARMA (1976); **D_{ka}**, **D_{ga}**, and **D_{kha}**: readings of manuscripts Ka, Ga, and Kha as reported in the latter; **N_1**: NAK 1–885 (NGMPP B208/4; Newari script), *ff.* 211*r*–214*r*; **N_2**: Kaiser Library acc. no. 331 (NGMPP C88/4; Devanāgarī and Newari scripts), *ff.* 149*r*–151*v*; **S_1**: *BraYāSāra*, NGMPP reel no. E1527/6 (its readings, for which see appendix D, are reported in the main apparatus for *Devīpurāṇa* 119.13c–70, which is almost entirely parallel to *BraYāSāra* 68.6c–63).

1b °क्रमम्] $N_1N_2B_1$; °क्रमः $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ **1c** हत्वा] $D_{ed}N_1N_2B_1$; हतः B_{ed} • खट्वा°] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1$; षट्वा° N_2 • °एन्द्रं] $B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; °एन्द्रम् B_{ed} • तं] B_1; तु $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$ **1d** °आङ्गं धारितन्तु किं] B_1; °आङ्गचरितन्तु किं] B_{ed}; °आंगं चरितन्तु किं D_{ed}; °आङ्गवारितुं किं N_1N_2 (*unmet.*)

1d धारितं तु किं] consider also धारितं कथम्.

ब्रह्मोवाच ॥

ततो ब्रह्मादयो जित्वा दनुनाथेन वासव ।
कैलाशं पर्वतेन्द्रं तु गतो देवाय शूलिने ॥२॥
योद्धुं सर्वबलोपेतस्तथा रुद्रेण मन्युना ।
आदाय तरसा शूलं क्रीडमानेन घातितः ॥३॥
विगतासुस्तथा कृत्वा महापशुसमुद्भवम् ।
धारितं वामसंस्थं तु खट्वाङ्गं देवपूजितम् ॥४॥
कपालं याम्यहस्तेन कपालाः शिरसा तथा ।
चन्द्रार्धं जाह्नवीमालां महाभूषणपन्नगः ॥५॥
हारादि कटिसूत्रश्च उपवीतं महोरगम् ।
अनन्तवासुकीतक्षसर्वनागविभूषितम् ॥६॥
कृत्वा रूपं महाघोरं देवदेवनमस्कृतम् ।

2a ब्रह्मादयो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; विष्णुरादित्या B_1 (*unmet.*); विष्णवादयो $D_{ga}N_1N_2$ **2b** दनु° $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1^{pc}$; दत्त° N_1^{ac}; दनुत्त° N_2 **2c** कैलाशं पर्वतेन्द्रं] $D_{ed}N_1N_2$; कैलासपर्व्वतेन्द्रस् B_{ed}; केलासं पर्व्वतेन्द्रन् B_1 **3a** योद्धुं] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}$; योहं N_1N_2 ◆ °ओपेतस्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °ओपेतं $B_1N_1N_2$ **3b** रुद्रेण] $D_{ed}N_1N_2$; रुद्रेन B_{ed}; कोद्रेण B_1 **3c** आदाय तरसा] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; आदय तरसो B_1 **4a** विगतासुस्तथा] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; विगत⟨युः/युं⟩ तथा B_1 (*unmet.*); विगतस्वंता तथा N_1^{ac} (*unmet.*); विगतशुं तथा N_1^{pc} (*unmet.*); विगतास्वं तथा N_2 **4b** महापशुसमुद्भवम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; महप⟨सु⟩समूद्भवं B_1 (*unmet.*) **4c** धारितं] B_1; धावितं $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; धारितुं N_1N_2 ◆ वाम°] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}$; धार° N_1N_2 **5a** याम्य°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1^{pc}N_2$; या⟨त्य⟩° B_1; या– N_1^{ac} **5b** कपालाः शिरसा] *corr.*; कमाला शिरसा B_{ed}; कपाला शिरसा B_1D_{ed}; कमालां शिरसा N_1N_2 **5c** °मालां] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1$; °मलां N_2 (*unmet.*) **5d** °भूषणपन्नगः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; भूषणपन्नगां B_1 **6a** °सूत्रश्च] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; °सूत्रन्तु B_1 **6c** अनन्तवासुकी°] N_1N_2; अनन्तं वासुकिं $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; अनन्तवासुकि° B_1 (*unmet.*) ◆ °तक्ष] ° N_1N_2; तक्षं B_{ed}; तक्षक B_1 (*unmet.*); तक्षां D_{ed} **6d** °नागविभूषितम्] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_2$; °नामविभूषणं N_1N_2 **7b** देवदेव°] B_1; देवदेवं $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$

4a विगतासुस्तथा] consider also विगतायुस्तथा. **6d** सर्वनागविभूषितम्] consider also महानागविभूषितम्, or understand this to mean *sarvamahānāgavibhūṣitam*—Ananta, Vāsukin, and Takṣaka being three of the eight 'great serpents' (*mahānāga*) or 'clan serpents' (*kulanāga*).

भैरवं सर्वपापानां शमनं शत्रुनाशनम् ॥७॥
ततो ब्रह्मादयो वत्स भीता मोहवशं गताः ।
पृच्छन्ति को भवाञ्चात्र क्रीडते भूतले शुभम्॥८॥
न विद्यते परं किञ्चित्समयाद्देवसत्तम ।
ततो विहस्य देवेशः शिरस्ते ब्रह्म यत्पुरा ॥९॥
कृन्तितं नखकोट्या तु नारायणतनूरुहैः ।
माला नरशिरा चेयं धारयामि तवोद्भवा ॥१०॥
नृपवाहन उवाच ॥

7c °पापानां] $D_{ga}N_{1}N_{2}$; °देवानां $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °पापानं B_{1} **7d** शमनं शत्रुनाशनम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; …नं B_{1} (*eyeskip*); शमनं शत्रुमर्द्दनं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **8a** ततो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}$; तथ B_{1}; तत्रो N_{2} **8b** भीता] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; भीत° B_{1} ◆ गताः] $B_{ed}B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; गता D_{ed} **8c** पृच्छन्ति] $B_{ed}B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; पृच्छति D_{ed} ◆ भवाञ्] *corr.*; भवान् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; भवाश् B_{1}; भवांश् N_{1}; भवश् N_{2} **9a** न विद्यते परं] *conj.*; न विद्यते अपरं D_{ed} (*unmet.*); न विद्यो अपरं B_{ed}; न विघ्नमपरम् B_{ms}; न वि‹द्य› अपरं B_{1}; न विद्य अपरं $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ किंचित्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; किञ्चिद् B_{1} **9b** समयाद्] *conj.*; समयो $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; ममयो $N_{1}N_{2}$; °आवयोर् B_{1} ◆ देवसत्तम] *conj.*; देवमुत्तमम् $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; ⟨द्दे/द्धे⟩वसुत्तमं B_{1} **9c** देवेशः] $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; देवेशं $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ **9d** शिरस्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$; शरस् $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ ब्रह्म] $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; ब्रह्मा $B_{ed}D_{ed}$(*unmet.*) **10a** कृन्तितं नखकोट्या तु] *conj.*; कृन्तितं मृतकोटिन्तु B_{ed}; कृन्तितं ‹अ›गकोटिन्तु B_{1}; क्षात्तं युगकोटिं तु D_{ed}(*unmet.*); वृन्तितं मृतकोटिन्तु D_{kha}; क्रान्ततन्नगकोटिं तु $N_{1}N_{2}$ **10b** °तनूरुहैः] $B_{ed}N_{1}$; °तनुरुहेः B_{1} (*unmet.*); °तनुरुहैः D_{ed} (*unmet.*); °तमुरुहैः N_{2} (*unmet.*) **10c** माला नरशिरा चेयं] *em.*; माला नरशिरा धेयं B_{ed}; मा‹र्णा› नरशिरा चेयं B_{1}; मालानां शिरसा चैवं B_{ms}; माल्य नरशिरा धेयं D_{ed}; मालांनश‹रा›शनां चे+–+ N_{1} (*unmet.*); मालांन्शवाशनां चमा N_{2}(*unmet.*) **10d** धारयामि तवोद्भवा] N_{2}; धारयामि भवोद्भवौ B_{ed}; धारयामि तवोद्भवं B_{1}; तव शीर्षसमुद्भवम् B_{ms}; धारयामि भवोद्भव D_{ed}; धारयामि भवोद्भवं N_{1} **11a** नृप°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; नर° $B_{1}N_{2}$; न+र+° N_{1}

9ab this corrupt line should probably to be cruxed. The speculative conjecture न विद्यते परं किंचित्समयाद्देवसत्तम may be understood to mean, "O best of gods, there is nothing greater than [this] vow (*samaya*) [of yours]." I have also considered conjectures involving, for instance, न विद्म अपरं किञ्चित्, in 9a, and व्रतम् उत्तमम् in 9b. **10a** कृन्तितं] irregular past participle of √कृन्त्; नखकोट्या ("[cut off] by the point of my nail") is a diagnostic conjecture. **10c** नरशिरा चेयं] consider also नरशिरैर्येयं or नरशिरां येयं (understanding °शिरां as genitive plural).

कस्मिन्काले व्रतं देवो धृतवान् भैरवं महत् ।
कथं विष्णुशिरोमाला कपालं विधृतं कथम् ।
एतदिच्छामि विज्ञातुं तत्त्वतः कथ्यताम्विभो ॥११॥
अगस्त्य उवाच ॥
सर्वदेवेश्वरो देवो ब्रह्माविष्णुतनूरुहैः ।
यथा क्रीडयते वत्स तथा ते कथयाम्यहम् ॥१२॥
व्रतोत्तमं महापुण्यं यन्न ज्ञातं सुरैरपि ।
सम्भवन्तु कपालस्य खट्वाङ्गस्य च सुव्रत ॥१३॥
ईश्वर उवाच ॥
यथानादिः परो देवस्तथाहं वरवर्णिनि ।

13c–70 ≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.6c–63 (see appendix D); significant variants from the *BraYāSāra* are reported in the apparatus below with the siglum S_1

11a कस्मिन्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; यस्मिन B_1 **11b** धृतवान्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; धृतवान B_1 ◆ महत्] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1$; महात् N_2 **11c** विष्णुशिरोमाला] $B_{ms}D_{ed}$; विष्णुशिवं माला B_{ed}; ब्रह्माशिरोमाला B_1; विष्णुशिरैर्मालां N_1*pc*; विष्णुशिवैर्मालां N_1N_2 **11d** कपालं] $B_{ed}B_1N_1N_2$; कपाल D_{ed} **11d** कथं] $B_1N_1N_2$; प्रभोः D_{ed}; प्रभो B_{ed} **11f** कथ्यताम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; कथ्यता B_1 **12a** °देवेश्वरो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; °दैवेश्वरो B_1 **12b** °तनूरुहैः] $B_{ed}N_1$; °तनुरुहैः $B_1D_{ed}N_2$ (*unmet.*) **12c** यथा क्रीडयते] $D_{ga}N_1N_2$; यथावत्क्रियते $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; यथा श क्रीडते B_1 **13a** व्रतोत्तमं] $B_1N_1N_2$; व्रत्तोत्तमं D_{ed}; वार्त्तोत्तमं B_{ed} ◆ °पुण्यं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; °पुन्यं B_1 **13b** यन्न] $B_{ed}B_1N_1N_2$; यत्र D_{ed} **13c** सम्भवन्] $D_{ed}N_1S_1$; सम्भवस् B_{ed}; श?म्भु?वन् B_1 **13d** खट्वाङ्गस्य] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1$*pc*; खट्वाङ्ग N_1*ac*; खट्वागस्य N_2 ◆ च सुव्रत $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1$*pc*; च ध सुव्रत N_1*ac* (*unmet.*); वसुव्रतः N_2; तथैव च S_1 **14a** ईश्वर उवाच] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1$; ईश्वर +उ+वाच B_1; *not present in* S_1 **14a** °आदिः] N_1N_2; °आदि] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_1$; °पूर्व्वं B_1 ◆ परो] $B_1D_{ed}S_1$; वरो B_{ed} ◆ देवस्] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}$; देवः N_1; देवत्स N_2; देवो S_1 **14b** तथाहं वरवर्णिनि] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1S_1$; तथा ⟨ते कथाम्यहं⟩*err.* व्रतोत्तमं महापुण्यं यन्न ज्ञारवर्णिनिं N_2

12c यथा क्रीडयते] understand as non-causative in sense; both यथावत्क्रियते ($B_{ed}D_{ed}$, corrupt for यथावत्क्रीडते) and यथा श क्रीडते (B_1; *śa* = *sa*) may be attempts at correction.

संहारे ऽपि तदावस्थः परमात्मेन चोदितम् ॥१४॥
तस्य देवातिदेवस्य कारणस्यामितद्युतेः ।
इच्छाधिकारणश्चाहं इच्छा त्वं तस्य भाविनि ॥१५॥
माया ते जगतः स्रष्टा त्वं च सृष्टिर्वरानने ।
क्रियाख्या पठ्यसे तेन येन सृजसि वाङ्मयम् ॥१६॥
मूलप्रकृतिरूपेण सृष्टिस्त्वं पद्मजन्मनः ।
सो ऽपि शतांशभागन्तु निमेषस्य मम प्रिये ॥१७॥
स्थित्वा विनाशमायाति पुनस्तत्रैव लीयते ।
कपालं तस्य चादाय क्रीडामि विपुले ऽध्वनि ॥१८॥

14c संहारे ऽपि] *conj.*; संसारो ऽपि $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$ ◆ तदावस्थः] S_{1}; तदुरस्थः B_{ed} (*unmet.*); तदार⟨म्भ⟩ B_{1}; तदवस्थः $D_{ed}N_{1}$ (*unmet.*); तदेवस्थः N_{2} **14d** परमात्मेन चोदितम्] D_{ga}; परमार्थेन वेदितुम् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; परमार्थिन चोदितं B_{1}; परमात्मनं चोदितं N_{1}(*unmet.*); परमात्मनचोदितं N_{2}; परमार्थेन चोदितः S_{1} **15b** °द्युतेः] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; °द्युत⟨ः⟩ S_{1} **15c** इच्छाधिकारणश्] *em.*; इच्छाधिकारणज् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; इच्छारिकारणश् B_{1}; इच्छाविकारिणश् $N_{1}N_{2}$; इच्छासिद्धिकरश् S_{1} **15d** इच्छा त्वं तस्य] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; इच्छाहं तस्य N_{1}^{pc}; इच्छातृ तस्य N_{1}^{ac}; इच्छा तस्य ⟨हानि⟩$^{err.}$ ◆ भाविनि] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; भाविनी $B_{1}N_{2}$ **16a** माया ते जगतः स्रष्टा] *conj.*; मया च जगतः स्रष्टा B_{ed}; मयते जगतस्तस्य B_{1}; माया च जगतः स्रष्टा D_{ed} (D_{ka}?); मया च जगतस्रष्टा D_{kha}; [मया च?] जगतस्यान्य D_{ga}; मया च जगतश्चाम्य N_{1}^{pc}; मया च जगतस्याम्य N_{1}^{ac}; मया वज्रगतश्चास्य N_{2}; माया च जतगस्यास्य S_{1} **16b** सृष्टिर्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; मृष्टि N_{2} **16c** क्रियाख्या] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; क्रियाख्य $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ पठ्यसे] *em.*; पठ्यते $B_{ed}S_{1}$; पठ्यतेसे B_{1}; पच्यते D_{ed}; ये–: स N_{1}; ––: स N_{2} ◆ तेन] $B_{1}N_{1}S_{1}N_{2}$; येन $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ **16d** येन] $S_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; तेन $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; जेन B_{1} ◆ वाङ्मयम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; वान्मयं B_{1} **17b** मृष्टिस्त्वं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; त्वं सृष्टिः N_{1}; त्वं सृष्टि N_{2} **17c** °शतांशभागन्तु] *em.*; ; °शतांशभागेन $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; सतांसभाग⟨र्ण्ण/र्न्तु⟩ B_{1}; शताशभागं तु $N_{1}N_{2}$; °शतांशभागम्तु S_{1} **17d** निमेषस्य] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; निमेसस्य B_{1} **18a** आयाति] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; आयन्ति S_{1} **18b** लीयते] $B_{ed}B_{1}$; गीयते D_{ed}; नीयते $D_{ga}N_{1}N_{2}$; लीयति S_{1} **18c** कपालं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; कपालम् B_{1} **18d** क्रीडामि] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; क्रियाभिर् N_{1}; क्रियाभि N_{2} ◆ विपुले] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; विपुल° N_{2}

16a माया ते जगतः स्रष्टा] consider also मया च जगतः सृष्टस्, understanding *jagataḥ* as nominative (on the stem *jagata*); or perhaps माया च जतगस्यास्य (S_{1}) or माया त्वं जगतश्चास्य ("For this world, you are his Māyā").

एवं कपालकोटीभिर्माला येयं विभाति मे ।
तस्य गात्रैरसंख्येयैर्धृता तु वरवर्णिनि ॥१९॥
यदा मायोदरं सर्वं कालेन प्रलयं गतम् ।
तदाहमीश्वरे तत्त्वे भवामि रमितः सुखी ॥२०॥
ब्रह्मणो ऽण्डकपालैस्तु धृत्वा मालां सुभैरवाम् ।
अनन्तं भैरवं रूपं कालं द्वादशलोचनम् ॥२१॥
अतिघोरं समाश्रित्य वियत्यस्मिन्रमाम्यहम् ।
एकाकी मातृभिर्युक्तः स्ववीर्यबलशालिभिः ॥२२॥
परार्धद्वयकालान्ते व्यतिक्रान्ते महेश्वरि ।
क्रीडयित्वा समन्ताभिः शक्तिभिर्घोररूपिभिः ॥२३॥

19a एवं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}^{pc}S_{1}$; एकं N_{1}^{ac} ◆ °कोटीभिर्] $N_{1}S_{1}$; °कोटिभिर् $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$ (*unmet.*); °कोटिभि N_{2} (*unmet.*) **19c** गात्रैरसंख्येयैर्] $B_{ed}N_{1}^{pc}N_{2}^{pc}S_{1}$; यत्रैव मंख्यायैर् B_{1}; गात्रैव संख्यायैर् $D_{ed}N_{1}^{ac}$; गात्रैरसंʔखैर्य–ʔ N_{2} **19d** धृता तु] S_{1}; वृत्तान्तं $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; द्धाता तु B_{1}; द्धृताʔहंʔ N_{1}^{pc}; द्धृताʔद्धुʔ N_{1}^{ac}; द्ध्रताहं N_{2} **20a** मायोदरं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; नोयोदरं B_{1}; मायोदनं D_{ga}; माय्योदरं N_{1}; ममोदरं N_{2} **20b** प्रलयं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; प्रनयं B_{1} ◆ गतम्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; गतः N_{2} **20c** °आहमीश्वरे] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; °⟨आमीह⟩$^{err.}$श्वरे N_{2} **20d** भवामि] $D_{ed}B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; भवानि $B_{ed}S_{1}$ ◆ सुखी] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; सुखीः N_{2} **21a** ब्रह्मणो ऽण्डकपालैस्तु] $N_{1}N_{2}$; ब्रह्मणो ऽशुकपालैस्तु B_{ed}; ब्रह्मणो ऽण्डकपालिस्तु B_{1}; ब्रह्मणो ऽनन्त कपालैस्तु D_{ed} (*unmet.*); ब्रह्मणो ⟨ण्ड/शु⟩कपालेस्तु S_{1} **21b** मालां] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; माला N_{2} ◆ सुभैरवाम्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; स्वभैरवां $N_{1}N_{2}$ **21c** अनन्तं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; अनʔन्तंʔ B_{1}; अनन्त° $N_{1}N_{2}$ **21d** कालं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; काल° $N_{1}N_{2}$ **22a** समाश्रित्य] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; समाश्रित्यं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **22b** वियत्यस्मिन्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; विस्मि N_{2} (*unmet.*) ◆ रमाम्यहम्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}N_{1}^{pc}$; नमाम्यहं $N_{1}^{ac}N_{2}$ **22c** मातृभिर्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{1}S_{1}$; माहभिर् B_{1} ◆ युक्तः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; °ʔमुʔक्तः B_{1}; °मुक्तः D_{ga} **22d** स्ववीर्य°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; सुवीर्य° $D_{ga}N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ °शालिभिः] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; °शालिभिं N_{2} **23a** °कालान्ते] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; °कायान्ते B_{1}; °कालास्ते $N_{1}N_{2}$ **23b** महेश्वरि] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; महेश्वरे N_{1}; महेश्वर N_{2} **23c** समन्ताभिः] $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; समस्ताभिः $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ **23d** °रूपिभिः] $B_{1}S_{1}$; °रूपभिः $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °रूपाभिः $N_{1}N_{2}$ (*unmet.*)

19d धृता तु] consider also उद्धृता or perhaps धाताहं. **21a** ब्रह्मणो ऽण्डकपालैस्तु] consider also ब्रह्मणस्य कपालैस्तु.

भावभूतमयं विश्वं सतत्त्वं भुवनात्मकम् ।
कृत्वोदरगतं सर्वमणुग्राममनन्तकम् ॥२४॥
विनियम्य तमालिङ्ग्य योगनिद्राश्रितः सुखी ।
शयामि शक्तिपर्यङ्के वीरमाते ततो ह्यहम् ॥२५॥
पुनर्नेत्रोदयदिने विनष्टे तमसंचये ।
स्वशक्तिसंप्रबुद्धस्य कृतिश्चित्रा प्रजायते ॥२६॥
भावैस्तत्त्वैस्तथा भूतैर्मालेयं भुवनात्मकी ।
मायाद्यवनिपर्यन्ता युगपद्योगजा महत् ॥२७॥
यद्यत्र विलयं याति मच्छरीरे ऽखिलेश्वरि ।

24a भाव°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; भार° N_{2} ◆ °मयं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; °मयी B_{1} **24b** सतत्त्वं] *em.*; स्वतत्त्वं B_{ed}; मतत्वं B_{1}; सत्तत्त्वं D_{ed}; रंशतत्व° S_{1} ◆ भुवनात्मकम्] *conj.*; गहनात्मकम् $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; गहणात्मकं B_{1}; गहनात्मकः S_{1} **24d** अणुग्रामम्] *em.*; अन्नग्रामम् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; अ⟨णु/ण्ड⟩ग्रामम् N_{1}; अण्डग्रामम् $B_{1}N_{2}$; अनुग्रामम् S_{1} **25a** विनियम्य] S_{1}; विनिकृत्य $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; विनयस्य B_{1}; विनिशम्य $D_{ga}N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ तमालिङ्ग्य] *conj.*; समारब्धात् B_{ed}; तमालिङ्ग्यं B_{1}; समारुद्धां D_{ed}; तामनित्वं D_{ga}(*unmet.*); तमांनित्वं $N_{1}N_{2}$; नमालिङ्ग्यः S_{1} **25b** °श्रितः] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; °गतः S_{1} **25c** °पर्यङ्के] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; पर्य्यन्तं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **25d** ततो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; तते B_{1} ◆ वीरमाते] $D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; वीवमाते B_{ed}; वी⟨र/व⟩माचे B_{1} **26a** पुनर्नेत्रोदयदिने] S_{1}; पुनर्नेत्रोदये दिव्ये $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; पुनान्निवेदयदिने B_{1}; पुनर्नेत्रोदयं दिव्यं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **26b** विनष्टे तमसंचये] *conj.*; विनष्टे तमसां चये] B_{ed}; विनष्टं त⟨नु/न्व⟩सञ्चयं B_{1}; विनष्टे परमां चये D_{ed}; विनष्टेˀनˀ न मंशयः N_{1}; विनष्टेव न संशयः N_{2}; विनष्टतमसंचयं S_{1} **26c** स्वशक्ति°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; स्वपक्तोः B_{1} ◆ °प्रबुद्धस्य] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; °प्रबुद्धश्च S_{1} **26d** कृतिश्चित्रा प्रजायते] S_{1}; वृताश्चित्रा प्रजापते B_{ed}; कृताश्चित्रा प्रजापते B_{ms}; ततश्चिन्ता प्रजायते B_{1}; वृताश्चिता प्रजायते D_{ed}; कृतश्चित्रा प्रजायते $N_{1}N_{2}$ **27b** °आत्मकी] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; °आत्मिका S_{1} **27c** मायाद्यवनि°] $B_{ed}S_{1}$; यावˀद्यˀवनि° B_{1}; मायाद्यावनि° D_{ed}; मादात्यवनि° $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ °पर्यन्ता] B_{1}; °पर्यन्तं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$ **27d** °योगजा] B_{1}; °योगजं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °योगजां $N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$ **28a** यद्यत्र विलयं] $D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; यं यत्र विलयं $B_{ed}S_{1}$; यत्र यत्र लयं B_{1} **28b** मच्छरीरे] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; मत्शरीरे B_{1}; मच्छरी N_{2} (*unmet.*) ◆ ऽखिलेश्वरि] B_{ed}; खिलेश्वरी D_{ed}; कलेश्वरि $B_{1}N_{1}S_{1}$; कलश्वरि N_{2}

24b भुवनात्मकम्] in support of this conjecture, cf. 27ab below, on the universe as consisting of *bhāvas*, *bhūtas*, *tattvas*, and *bhuvanas*. If गहनात्मकम् is retained, see SANDERSON (2006: 165) concerning *gahana* as an Atimārga cosmological category. **24d** अणुग्रामं] consider also अन्नग्रासम् **25d** वीरमाते] understand as vocative on the stem *vīramātā*; consider also विरमामि. **28b** ऽखिलेश्वरि] consider also कुलेश्वरि.

तस्य तस्य तु तत्रैव सम्भवः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥२८॥
स्वकायात्स्वेदमुत्पाद्य कृत्वा तु करमध्यतः ।
सुशुद्धश्चामृतमयः शीतलो ऽम्भः स्वतेजसः ॥२९॥
मयांगुष्ठेन मथितो यावदत्युष्णताङ्गतः ।
बुद्बुदाकारसदृशं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥३०॥
विभाति करमध्यस्थं मम तस्मिन्महात्मने ।
तेजेन कठिनीभूतं हैमभानुशतप्रभम् ॥३१॥
ब्रह्माण्डमिति विख्यातं ब्रह्माद्यैर्ऋषिभिश्चितम् ।
परेच्छाक्षोभ्यमव्यक्तं व्यक्तिहेतु कृतं मया ॥३२॥
तत्रान्ते सप्त लोकानि पातालनरकाणि च ।

29a स्वकायात्स्वेदम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; स्वकायात् ⟨घे/अ⟩दम् B_{1}; स्वकाया स्वेदम् N_{1}; स्वकाया स्वेदम् N_{2} **29c** सुशुद्धश्चामृतमयः] S_{1}; सुशुद्धास् चामृतमयः $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; ससुद्धश्चामृतमय° B_{1}; सुद्धश्च–मृतमयः N_{1}; सुशुद्धश्च मयः N_{2} (*unmet.*) **29d** शीतलो ऽम्भः] $B_{1}S_{1}$; शीतलो ऽम्भ B_{ed}; शीतलांभः $D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ स्वतेजसः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; स्वतेजसा B_{1}; स्वेतजसः $N_{1}N_{2}$ (*unmet.*) **30a** मयांगुष्ठेन] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{1}S_{1}$; यत्राङ्गुष्ठेन B_{1} **30b** अत्युष्णताङ्गतः] S_{1}; अन्यस्तु भागतः B_{ed}; अग्न्यस्तु अंशतः B_{1}; अन्यस्तु आगतः D_{ed}; अग्न्यस्तु ताङ्गतः N_{1}; अग्न्ये⟨स्तु/स्त्त⟩ताङ्गतः N_{2} **31a** विभाति करमध्यस्थं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; उत्पन्नस्तु ततस्तस्तु S_{1} **31b** महात्मने] S_{1}; महामुने] B_{ed}; महात्मनि $B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$ **31c** तेजेन कठिनी°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; तेजसा ⟨काच/कठि⟩नी° B_{1}; भोजन काचन° D_{ga}(*unmet.*); तेजेन काचिनी° $N_{1}N_{2}$ **31d** हैम°] $B_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; महा° B_{1}; हेम° D_{ed} ◆ °शत°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; °शतं N_{1}; °सतं N_{2} **32a** ब्रह्माण्डम्] S_{1}; तदण्डम् $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}^{pc}$; ते दण्डम् B_{1}; दतण्डम् N_{1}^{ac} ◆ विख्यातं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; विख्यतं B_{1} (*unmet.*); ख्यातं N_{2} (*unmet.*) **32b** ब्रह्माद्यैर्ऋषिभिश्चितम्] *conj.*; ब्रह्माण्डमिति निश्चितम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; ब्रह्माण्डेति विनिश्चितं B_{1}; ब्रह्माद्याण्ड–न्निश्चितं N_{1}; ब्रह्माद्याण्ड–न्विश्चितं N_{2}; ब्रह्माद्यै≀हृणु≀भिश्चितं S_{1} **32c** अव्यक्तं] *corr.*; अव्यक्ता B_{ed}; अव्यक्त B_{1}; अव्यक्तां $D_{ed}N_{1}$; अक्तां N_{2} (*unmet.*); अव्यक्तः S_{1} **32d** व्यक्तिहेतु] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; कृतिहेतु S_{1} **33a** तन्त्रान्ते] $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; तत्रास्ते $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ **33b** °नरकाणि] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °न⟨र/व⟩कानि B_{1}; °नवकानि $N_{1}N_{2}$; °नरकानि S_{1}

31c कठिनीभूतं] consider also काञ्चनीभूतं, though the readings काचिनी, etc. (N_{1}, N_{2}, D_{ga}, and possibly B_{1}), can be explained by confusion of *ca* and *ṭa* (or *ṭha*) as well as the vowel signs for *i* and *ā*. **33a** तत्रान्ते] consider also तत्राण्डे.

कालानलावधिर्यानि अनेकाकारलक्षणम् ॥३३॥
विश्वरूपाण्यहं कृत्वा तत्रैवान्तरधीयत ।
ममेच्छया विसृष्टः स ब्रह्मामरगुरुर्महत् ॥३४॥
सत्त्वस्थस्तिष्ठते स्वस्थो न परं किश्च विन्दति ।
यच्छेषाम्भः करस्थं मे रजसालिङ्गितन्तु यत् ॥३५॥
विष्णुस्तत्रास्ति सुव्यक्तो अतिवीर्यो रजात्मकः ।
रजेन उदयामास तत्सत्त्वं ब्रह्मजं प्रिये ॥३६॥
विक्षुब्धस्तु ततो ब्रह्मा ज्वलितः स्वेन तेजसा ।
मया सञ्चिन्त्य तमसा रजो वृद्धस्त्वरं भृशम् ॥३७॥

33c °नलावधिर्] S_1; °नलावनिर् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °नलावधे B_1; °नलविधिर् N_1N_2 **33d** °लक्षणम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; °लक्षणः B_1 **34a** विश्वरूपाण्यहं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; विश्वरूपान्यहं B_1; विश्वरूप्याण्यहं N_1; विश्वरूप्याणहं N_2; चित्स्वरूपाम्यहं S_1 **34b** °अधीयत] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; °उधीयत B_1; °अधीयतां S_1 **34c** विसृष्टः स] N_1N_2; °पि सृष्टः स B_{ed}; विसृष्टश्च B_1; °पि विसृष्टः स D_{ed} (*unmet.*); विसृष्टंस्सं S_1 **34d** ब्रह्मामरगुरुर्] S_1; ब्रह्मा परशुरुर् B_{ed}; ब्रह्मम⟨रु⟩गुर् B_1; ब्रह्मा मम गुरुर् $D_{ed}N_1$; ब्रह्मा ममण्डरुर् N_2; ब्रह्मा पटगुरुः D_{kha} **35a** सत्त्वस्थस्तिष्ठते] $B_{ed}S_1$; सत्वस्थन्तिष्ठते B_1; सत्तस्थस्तिष्ठतं D_{ed}; सत्वम्थः तिष्ठते N_1N_2 ◆ स्वस्थो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; शस्थो B_1 **35b** किश्च] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}$; किञ्चिद् N_1 (*unmet.*); किश्चिद् N_2 (*unmet.*); किःश्चिद् S_1(*unmet.*) **35c** छेषाम्भः करस्थं] N_2; °छे⟨षा–शाक⟩रस्थं B_{ed}; °छेसाम्भ करम्भम् B_1; °छेषांसकरस्थं D_{ed}; °छेषाम्भं करस्थं N_1S_1 **35d** रजसालिङ्गितन्] N_1N_2; सत्त्वस्थालिङ्गितन् B_{ed}; जसालिङ्गितंB_1 (*unmet.*); रजसा निश्चितं D_{ed}; रजासालिङ्गितन् S_1 ◆ यत्] N_1; तत् $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$ **36a** तत्रास्ति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; तत्रापि $B_1N_1N_2$; अत्रापि S_1 ◆ सुव्यक्तो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; स्वव्यक्तो N_1; स्वन्यक्तो N_2; सुव्यक्तं S_1 **36b** अतिवीर्यो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_2S_1$; अतिवीय्यो B_1; ऽतिवीर्यो N_1 (*unmet.*) ◆ रजात्मकः] S_1; ममात्मकः $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; रजाण्डकः B_1; व्रजात्मकः N_1N_2 **36c** रजेन उदयामास] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; रजसा तुदयामास B_1; राजानं तुदयामास N_1N_2; रजमा तुदयामामस् S_1 **36d** तत्सत्त्वं] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2^{pc}$; त्सतत्वं N_2^{ac}; तत्तत्वं S_1 ◆ प्रिये] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; पिये B_1 **37b** ज्वलितः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; ⟨न–⟩लितः B_1 ◆ स्वेन] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; म्वेत° S_1 ◆ तेजसा] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; भसा B_1 (*unmet.*) **37c** सञ्चिन्त्य] $B_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; मञ्चिन्त्या B_1 (*unmet.*); संचित्य D_{ed} ◆ तमसा] $B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; मनसा $B_{ed}D_{kha}$ **37d** रजो वृद्धस्त्वरं] S_1; रजोवृद्धस्तरं B_{ed}; राजाविद्धन्त्वरं B_1; रजोवृद्धस्वरं D_{ed}; राजाविधस्त्ववं N_1N_2 ◆ भृशम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; दिशं B_1

35b किश्च] perhaps instead read the irregular किश्चि (for the unmetrical किंचित्, supported by $N_1N_2S_1$). **36c** रजेन उदयामास] consider also the more correct रजसा तूदयामास, supported by B_1S_1.

सो ऽपि स्ववीर्यमुत्कृष्य तीव्रां ज्वालां मुमोचति ।
सहस्रबाहुवदनाः सहस्रचरणं शिरः ॥३८॥
सर्वायुधकरौ द्वौ तु मर्षमाणौ परस्परम् ।
तौ दृष्ट्वा भयसंत्रस्ताः पुराणपुरुषोत्तमौ ॥३९॥
क्षयाम्बुदाः समारब्धा वर्धितुं गगनान्तरे ।
घोरस्वनाः करालानि रुरोदन्ति दिशो दश ॥४०॥
क्षयार्चिवर्चसा दीर्घा चकासन्ति तडिल्लताः ।
प्रचण्डमारुतहता धराः पतितुमुद्यताः ॥४१॥

38a स्ववीर्यमुत्कृष्य] *conj.*; स्ववीर्यामुत्कृष्टम् B_{ed}; स्ववीचमुत्कृष्टम् B_1; स्ववीर्यमुत्कृष्टं D_{ed}; स्ववीर्य्यमुत्क्रष्टं N_1; सुवीर्य्यमुत्क्रष्टं N_2; स्ववीर्यमुत्कृटस् S_1 **38b** तीव्रां] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; तीव्रं B_1 ◆ मुमोचति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; मुमोच ह B_1 **38c** °वदनाः] B_1; °वदना $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; °वदनो S_1 **38d** सहस्र°] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1S_1$; सहस्रं N_2 ◆ °चरणं] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; °चरणः S_1 ◆ शिरः] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$; शिवः N_1N_2 **39a** °आयुध° $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; °आ⟨घ⟩ध° B_1 ◆ °करौ द्वौ तु] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °कराद्धन्तुB_1; °करार्द्धे तु N_1N_1; °धरा द्वे तु S_1 **39b** मर्षमाणौ] B_{ed}; मर्षमाणाः B_1; मर्षमानौ D_{ed}; मर्षमानो N_1N_2; मर्षमाणैः S_1 **39c** भयसंत्रस्ताः] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}A$; सभयं त्रस्ताः N_1; संभयं त्रस्ताः N_2 **39d** पुराण°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1S_1$; पुरान° B_1; पुराणे N_2 ◆ °त्तमौ] S_1; °त्तमाः $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$ **40a** क्षयाम्बुदाः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_1$; क्षप⟨न्द्यु/न्त्यु⟩दाः B_1; क्षयार्च्छदा N_1; क्षयाच्छदा N_2 ◆ समारब्धा] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_1S_1$; समारब्ध B_1 **40b** वर्धितुं] N_1N_2; वर्धितो B_{ed}; विद्धितुं B_1; वर्धिता D_{ed}; वर्द्धितु S_1 ◆ गगनान्तरे] N_1N_2; गगनाम्बरे $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; गगणान्तरे B_1; गगनाङ्गने S_1 **40c** घोर°] $D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; घोरं B_{ed}; घोरः B_1 ◆ °स्वनाः] N_1N_2; °रावाः $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °स्वरा B_1S_1 ◆ करालानि] $B_{ed}B_1N_1N_2S_1$; करांलानि D_{ed} **40d** रुरोदन्ति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1S_1$; रोदन्ति वि° B_1; रूरादन्ति N_2 ◆ दिशो दश] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2^{pc}$; °दिशो दिशः B_1; महातलं N_2^{ac}; दिशो दिशः S_1 **41a** °वर्चसा] $B_1N_1N_2$; °विवशा $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °वर्च्चिसा S_1 ◆ दीर्घा] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; दीप्ताश् S_1 **41b** चकासन्ति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; विकासन्ति B_1; चकोरन्ति $N_1N_2S_1$ ◆ तडिल्लताः] $B_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; तडिल्लता D_{ed}; तडि⟨ल्ल⟩ता B_1 **41c** °मारुतहता] $B_{ed}B_1D_{kha}S_1$; मारुताधारा D_{ed}; मारुताधाराः N_1N_2 **41d** धराः पतितुमुद्यताः] *conj.*; धाराः पतितुमुद्यताः $B_{ed}D_{kha}$; धाराः पातितुमद्यताः B_1; पतन्ति च समुद्यताः D_{ed}; स्वः पतितुमुद्यता N_1N_2 (*unmet.*); धारयेतितुमुद्यतः S_1

38b मुमोचति] doubtful; but cf. रुरोदन्ति in 40d. **40d** रुरोदन्ति दिशो दश] the irregular verb रुरोदन्ति may be plausible (for *rodanti*), occuring as it does in Pf[āli (cf. *mumocati* above); but consider also B_1's रोदन्ति विदिशो दिशः (possibly a revision). Concerning दिशो दश or [वि]दिशो दिशः, see Edgerton (1953: vol. 2, s.v. *daśa*). **41c** *na*-vipulā

भ्रमद्धरित्रीं सकलां दर्शयन्ति महातलम् ।
विस्तारितजलोद्वेला यान्ति सप्तार्णवा भृशम् ॥४२॥
धूमार्च्चिसंकुलाश्चोच्चैः स्वरैर्नदितुमुद्यताः ।
स्वमर्यादाविनिर्मुक्ता दिङ्मातङ्गाः प्रकल्पिताः ॥४३॥
कण्ठारावं विमुञ्चन्ति अतिघोरं मदच्युतः ।
गर्ज्जते च नभस्तीव्रं न तु पतितुमिच्छति ॥४४॥
दुर्लक्षं भ्रमते ऽतीव चक्रवद्दण्डचोदितम् ।
पतन्त्यभ्रकपालानि दर्पणाद् भान्ति कोटिशः ॥४५॥

42a भ्रमद्] $B_1S_1N_1N_2$; समं $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ ◆ धरित्रीं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; धरित्री B_1 **42b** दर्शयन्ति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; ददर्शन्ति B_1; ददर्शति S_1 ◆ महातलम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; महीतलं B_1 **42c** विस्तारित°] $B_{ed}S_1$; विस्तारित B_1^{pc}; विस्ताःरित° B_1^{ac}; विस्तारिता N_1N_2; विस्ताति° D_{ed} (*unmet.*) ◆ °द्वेला] *em.*; °द्वेगं $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}$; °द्वेलं N_1N_2; °द्वेलां S_1 **42d** सप्तार्ण्णवा] $B_1N_1N_2S_1$; सप्तार्णवे $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ ◆ भृशम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; ⟨तृ/भृ⟩णं B_1 **43a** धूमार्च्चिसंकुलाश्] S_1; धूमार्च्चिः सकलाश् $B_{ed}N_1N_2$; धूमार्च्चिषा(द्ध)लाश् B_1; धूमाच्चि सकलाश् D_{ed} ◆ चोच्चैः] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1S_1$; चोचोचै N_2 **43b** स्वरैर्नदितुम्] *conj.*; स्वरेण चित्तम् B_{ed} (*unmet.*); स्वनैर्न्नादितुम् B_1; स्वरेणार्चितुम् D_{ed}; शनैर्नदितुम् N_1; शःनैर्नदितुं N_2; स्वरैःर्न्नद+तु+म् S_1 **43c** स्वमर्यादा°] $D_{ed}S_1$; सुमर्याद° B_{ed}; समर्य्याद° B_1; स्वमर्य्याद° N_1N_2 ◆ °विनिर्मुक्ता] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}$; °विनिर्मुक्तास् N_1N_2; °विनिमुक्ता S_1 **43d** दिङ्मातङ्गाः] B_{ed}; द्दिङ्मातङ्गाः B_1; तिग्मातंका D_{ed}; तिग्मातङ्गाः N_1N_2; दिक्मातङ्गः S_1 ◆ प्रकल्पिताः] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$; प्रकीर्त्तिताः N_1N_2 **44a** कण्ठा°] $B_{ed}B_1S_1$; कठा° D_{ed}; कचो° N_1N_2 **44b** अतिघोरं] $D_{ga}N_1N_2S_1$; अतिघोर° B_1; करिणो ऽपि $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; ◆ मदच्युतः] *em.*; मदाच्च्युताः B_{ed}; मदर्च्चुतः B_1; मदच्युताः D_{ed}; मदश्च्युतः N_1; मदश्च्यूतः N_2 (*unmet.*); मदंच्युताः S_1 **44c** गर्ज्जते] $N_1N_2S_1$; गर्ज्जिते $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; गर्जाते B_1 ◆ नभस्] $B_1S_1N_1N_2$; महत् B_{ed}; महा°D_{ed} **45a** दुर्लक्षं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; दुर्लभं B_1 ◆ ऽतीव] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; वीर S_1 **45b** चक्रवद्दण्ड°] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$; चंडव गंडे D_{ga}(*unmet.*); चण्डवकुण्ड° N_1N_2 (*unmet.*) **45b** °चोदितम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; °कल्पितं B_1 **45c** पतन्त्यभ्रकपालानि°] $B_1N_1S_1$; पतन्य दिक्पालानि B_{ed} (*unmet.*); पतन्ति दिक्पालानि D_{ed} (*unmet.*); पदन्त्यभ्रकपालानि N_2 **45d** दर्पणाद् भान्ति] *conj.*; दनुपालानि $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; दर्पनाभानि B_1; दर्पणाभानि N_1; दर्प⟨ना⟩$^{err.}$भाणि N_2; दर्प्पणाभाति S_1

42a *bha*-vipulā **42b** दर्शयन्ति] note also ददर्शन्ति (B_1), which is similar to the forms *mumocati* and *rurodanti* transmitted in 38b and 40d. **45cd** the expression अभ्रकपालानि ("sherds of the sky") is doubtful, while दर्पणाद् भान्ति is a diagnostic conjecture; consider also दर्पणादिव ("[they fall] from the sky, as though from a [shattering] mirror").

प्रदीप्तांगारवृष्टिश्च सञ्जातातीवभास्वरा ।
स्थूलधारा विमुञ्चन्ति घनाग्निकणजानि तु ॥४६॥
सिंहाकारा विलम्बन्ति वह्निज्वाला सुदारुणाः ।
लेलिहाना भ्रमन्त्यन्ये व्यालरूपार्चिषो घनाः ॥४७॥
क्षये चाग्निमुखैर्घोरैः शिवाभिर्विप्लुतं जगत् ।
कल्पान्तगृध्रनिचितं दिविभूमिदिगन्तरम् ॥४८॥
विलुप्यमानं सकलं भवानि भयविद्रुतम् ।
ब्रह्मास्त्रोघाकुलं सर्वं वायव्यैः पार्थिवश्चितम् ॥४९॥

46a प्रदीप्ता°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; प्रदीप्या° N_{2} ◆ °वृष्टिस्तु] S_{1}; °वृष्टिश्च $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °वष्टिस्तु B_{1}; °वृष्टिन्तु $N_{1}N_{2}$ **46b** सञ्जाता°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; सजाता° $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ °तीवभास्वरा] *em.*; °तीव्रभास्वरा $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °तीवभासुरा B_{1}; °तीवभास्वरां $N_{1}N_{2}$; °तीवभासुराः S_{1} **46c** स्थूलधारा] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; मूलधारां $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ विमुञ्चन्ति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; प्रमुञ्चन्ति $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$ **46d** घनाग्नि°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; घणाग्नि° B_{1} ◆ °कणजानि] $D_{ed}S_{1}$; °कनकानि B_{ed}; °कलजानि $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$ **47a** सिंहाकारा] $B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; सिंहवरा] B_{ed} (*unmet.*); सिहाकारा N_{2} ◆ विलम्बन्ति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; विनि⟨स्व/ख⟩न्ति B_{1}; विलुम्पन्ति S_{1} **47b** वह्नि°] $N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; वह्नेर् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; व⟨ह्नि/द्दि⟩ B_{1} ◆ °ज्वाला] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}A$; जवालालास् B_{1} (*unmet.*) ◆ सुदारुणाः] $N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; सुदारुणा D_{ed}; तु दारुणा $B_{ed}B_{1}$ **47c** लेलि°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; ललि° N_{2} **47d** व्यालरूपार्चिषो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; वालरूपार्च्चिषा B_{1}; व्योलरूपाचिषो N_{2} ◆ घनाः] $B_{ed}B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; घनः D_{ed}; घना S_{1} **48a** चाग्निमुखैर्] $B_{ed}N_{1}$; चाग्नि⟨घ/श/मु⟩खै B_{1}; चाग्निमुखै $D_{ed}S_{1}$; वाग्निमुखैर् N_{2} **48b** शिवाभिर्] $D_{ed}N_{1}$; शिवाभि $B_{ed}N_{2}$; शिवाभिः B_{1}; शिवाग्निर् S_{1} ◆ विप्लुतं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; व्या⁅प्लु⁆तं N_{1}; व्याप्लुतं N_{2} **48c** कल्पान्तगृध्र°] $D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; कल्पान्तगृध° B_{1} (*unmet.*); कल्पन्ति गृध्र° B_{ed} ◆ °निचितं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; °निहितं B_{1} **48d** दिवि°] $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; देवि $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ ◆ °भूमि°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; °भुवि° S_{1} (*unmet.*) ◆ °दिगन्तरम्] *conj.*; °दिगाननम् $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; दिशाननं B_{1} ◆ विलुप्यमानं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; विलप्यमान° B_{1}; विवभ्यमानं D_{ga}; विल्वप्यमानं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **49a** सकलं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; सकलः N_{2} **49b** भवानि] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$; भवानी $N_{1}N_{2}$; भवानिर् S_{1} ◆ विद्रुतम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; विद्रतं B_{1}; विद्रूतम् N_{2} (*unmet.*) **49c** °आस्त्रोघाकुलं] S_{1}; °आस्त्रौत्थाकुलं B_{ed}; °आन्त्रौघकुलं B_{1}; °आस्त्रै व्याकुलं D_{ed}; °आस्तो व्याकुलं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **49d** वायव्यैः] $B_{ed}B_{1}S_{1}$; वाय⟨व्यै⟩ D_{ed}; व्याषेमैर् N_{1}; व्याषेमै N_{2} ◆ पार्थिवञ्] *corr.*; पार्थिवैश् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; पार्थिवं B_{1}; वायव्यैश् N_{1} (*unmet.*); वार्यव्यैश् N_{2} (*unmet.*); पार्थिवश् S_{1}

वारुणैः प्लाव्यमानं वै करालतडित्रासितं ।
सर्वमेतन्महादेवि विपरीतं स्थितं जगत् ॥५०॥
सदेवगणगन्धर्वं सकिन्नरमहोरगम् ।
यक्षरक्षःपिशाचाद्यं स्थावराद्यञ्च पार्वति ॥५१॥
ब्रह्माण्डान्तर्गतश्चैतद्यच्चान्यत्स्थानमुत्तमम् ।
विनाशमुपगच्छन्तं दृष्ट्वा एतच्चराचरम् ॥५२॥
ततस्त्वेकार्णवे घोरे हन्यमाने महोर्मिभिः ।
विस्फुर्ज्जमानौ सन्नद्धौ तर्ज्जयन्तौ परस्परम् ॥५३॥

48c–50 absent from one or more of B_{ed}'s manuscripts.

50a वारुणैः] $B_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; वारुणेः B_{1}; वासवैः D_{ed}; वारूणैः N_{2} ◆ प्लाव्यमानं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; प्राच्यमानं $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ वै] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; हि S_{1} **50b** करालतडित्रासितं] $N_{1}N_{2}$; करालानलतापितम् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; करालतडित्त्रमितं B_{1}; कलोलतडित्रासितं S_{1} (*unmet.*) **50c** महादेवि] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; महादेवी B_{1} **50d** स्थितं जगत्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; जगत् N_{2} (*unmet.*) **51a** °गन्धर्वं] $B_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; °गन्धर्व्वं° B_{1}; °गान्धर्वं D_{ed}; °गान्धर्व्वं° S_{1} **51b** °महोरगम्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; °महोरगां S_{1} **51c** यक्षरक्षः] $B_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; यक्षः B_{1} (*unmet.*); यक्षरक्ष° $D_{ed}S_{1}$ ◆ °आद्यं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °आद्या $B_{1}S_{1}$; °आढ्यं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **51d** स्थावराद्यञ्च] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; स्थावराद्याञ्च B_{1}; स्थावराढ्यं N_{1} (*unmet.*); स्थावराश्च N_{2} (*unmet.*) ◆ पार्वति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; पर्व्वति B_{1}; यावति S_{1} **52a** ब्रह्माण्डान्तर्गतञ्] *corr.*; ब्रह्माण्डान्तर्गतश् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; ब्रह्मण्डाद⟨नु/न्व/न्न⟩रा B_{1}; ब्रह्माण्डोदन्तगश् N_{1}; ब्रह्मणो ण्डान्तगं S_{1} ◆ चैतद्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; वापि B_{1}; चैव $N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$ **52b** यच्चान्यत्] $B_{1}N_{1}$; यथान्यत् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; यच्चन्यं S_{1} ◆ स्थानम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; स्थनम् B_{1} **52c** उपगच्छन्तं] S_{1}; उपगच्छन्ति $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}$; ऊपगच्छन्ति N_{2} **52d** एतच्] $N_{1}N_{2}$; चैतच्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; चेतच् B_{1}; ह्येत S_{1} **53a** ततस्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; एतस् $N_{1}N_{2}$ **53b** हन्यमाने] $D_{ed}B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; हव्यमाने B_{ed}; हन्न्यमानो S_{1} ◆ °महोर्मिभिः] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$; जलो ग्निभिः S_{1} **53c** विस्फुर्ज्जमानौ $B_{ed}S_{1}$; विस्कार्य्यमाणौ B_{1}; विष्फार्यमानो D_{ed}; विस्फार्य्यमाणो $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ सन्नद्धौ] $B_{ed}B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; सन्नद्धो D_{ed}; त॥ल॥लौ S_{1} **53d** तर्ज्जयन्तौ] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; भर्ज्जयन्तौ N_{2}

50b while करालानलतापितम् ($B_{ed}D_{ed}$) is plausible, support is strong for the irregular करालतडित्रासितं ("terrified by dreadful lightening"); understand *taḍi* as *taḍit*, and the conjuct *-trā-* not to render the preceding vowel heavy. **53b** हन्यमाने] consider also प्लुव्यमाने.

अहङ्कारवशाद्विद्धौ तमसातीवभूरिणा ।
ईरितौ नष्टसंज्ञौ च व्याहतावर्त्तितेक्षणौ ॥५४॥
क्षयास्त्राणि समुद्यम्य कोपात्संरक्तलोचनौ ।
विवादं प्रस्थितौ द्वौ तु गदायुद्धं च पार्वति ॥५५॥
मत्स्वरूपमजानन्तौ मम मायाविमोहितौ ।
भ्रातृत्वकारणार्थी च प्रजार्थी च कृतेस्ततः ॥५६॥
तयोः कार्यमिदं ज्ञात्वा प्रजेशानां महात्मने ।
दर्पोपशमनोपाय इति सञ्चिन्तितो मया ॥५७॥
कृतिकारणकार्यार्थमुत्पत्तिनिधनं गतः ।

56cd and **58ab** appear in a different sequence in the *BraYāSāra*: 56cd ≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.50ab, and 58ab ≈ *BraYāSāra* 68.49cd

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54a अहं°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; अ–ॱ° B_1 ◆ °वशाद्विद्धौ] *conj.*; °वशालिङ्गौ B_{ed}; °वमाविद्धौ B_1; °वशानित्यो D_{ed}; °वशान्निद्धौ N_1N_2; °वशालि≀द्धौ≀ S_1 **54c** ईरितौ] B_{ed}; ≀ई≀रितौ B_1; प्रेरितौ D_{ed}; ईवितौ N_1N_2; इति तौ S_1 ◆ °मंज्ञौ च] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1S_1$; संज्ञात B_1; °सज्ञौ च N_2 **54d** व्याहता°] *em.*; विहितौ $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; व्याहतो B_1; वाहितौ N_1N_2; वीहतौ S_1 ◆ °वर्त्तितेक्षणौ] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; वर्त्तितेक्षणो B_1; वतेक्षणैः S_1 (*unmet.*) **55a** क्षयास्त्राणि] $B_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; क्षयास्त्रणि B_1; क्षपास्त्राणि D_{ed} ◆ ममुद्यम्य] B_1S_1; समुद्गम्य $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; समुद्यस्य N_1N_2 **55b** कोपात्] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; कोपान् S_1 ◆ °लोचनौ] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; °लोचनो B_1 **55c** प्रस्थितौ] $B_{ed}B_1$; संस्थितौ D_{ed}; प्रम्थितं N_1N_2; प्रास्थितौ S_1 **55c** तु] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; च B_1 **55d** गदा°] D_{ed}; महा° $B_{ed}B_1N_1N_2S_1$ **56a** मत्] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$; यत् N_1N_2 ◆ °स्वरूपम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; °⟨मु/श⟩रूप⟨मु/श⟩रूपम् B_1 (*unmet.*) **56c** भ्रातृत्व°] N_1; मातृत्व° $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; भतृत्व° B_1; कर्तृत्व° S_1 ◆ °कारणार्थी च] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1S_1$; कारणार्थाय N_2 **56d** प्रजार्थी] N_1; प्रज्ञार्थी $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; ≀⟨मु/श⟩ज्ञा≀र्थि B_1; प्रजार्था N_2; प्रा≀ह्वा≀र्थी S_1 ◆ कृतेस्ततः] *conj.*; कृतः स्तुतः B_{ed}; कृतास्ततः B_1; कृतः स्मृतः D_{ed}; कृतस्ततः N_1N_2; कृतैस्तथा S_1 **57a** ज्ञात्वा] $B_1N_1N_2S_1$; ध्यात्वा] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ **57b** प्रजेशानां] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; व्रजेशानं S_1 ◆ महात्मने] $B_1D_{ed}S_1$; महामुने $B_{ed}N_1N_2$ **57c** °ओपाय] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1$; °आपाय N_2; °ओपायस् S_1 **57d** इति] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; त्वरं S_1 **58a** कृति°] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$; कृत्ति° N_1 ◆ °कार्यार्थम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °कार्य्यद्धम् B_1; °कार्य्यार्थ N_1N_2; °कार्यस्त्वम् S_1 **58b** गतः] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; ≀मुहुः≀ S_1

54a °वशाद्विद्धौ] "incited by the influence of ego;" alternatively, also consider °वशाविद्धौ, "foolish under the influence of ego."

ततो विबोधहेत्वर्थं लिङ्गरूपातितेजसा ॥५८॥
लेलिहानार्च्चिसङ्घेन आविर्भूय तु संस्थितम् ।
विद्रुता मम तेजेन भीताश्च वरवर्णिनि ॥५९॥
पश्यन्त्यधोर्ध्वरूपं मे नान्तं विन्दन्ति मोहिताः ।
ततः स्तुवन्ति मां भीता भक्तिमास्थाय निश्चिताः ॥६०॥
दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रन्तु ऋक्सामयजुषैः स्तवैः ।
ततस्तुष्टस्तु वीरेशि स्वरूपं दर्शितं मया ॥६१॥
कपालमालिनं भीमं खट्वाङ्गकरभास्वरम् ।

N_2 copies **59cd** twice, reported as $N_2(1)$ and $N_2(2)$.

58c ततो विबोध°] $N_1N_2S_1$; अतो विरोध° B_{ed}; ततो विरोध° B_1; ततो विविध° D_{ed} ◆ °हेत्वर्थं] B_1S_1; °हेतुत्वं $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$ **58d** लिङ्ग°] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1S_1$; तिङ्ग° N_2 **59a** लेलिहानार्च्चि°] *em.*; लेलिहानोर्च्चि° $D_{ed}N_1N_1(2)S_1$; लेलिहानो च्चि°*(no tops)* B_{ed}; लेहिहानोच्चि° B_1; ललिहानोर्च्चि° $N_2(1)$ **59a** °सङ्घेन] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; °लघेन B_1 (*unmet.*) **59b** आविर्भूय तु] *conj.*; अभिभूयात्तु B_{ed}; अतिभूयन्ते B_1 (*unmet.*); अतिभूयात्तु D_{ed}; अभिभूया तु N_1N_2; अभिभूयान्त° S_1 ◆ °संस्थितं] S_1; संस्थितिः $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2(2)$; सङ्गतः $N_2(1)$ **59c** विद्रुता] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1S_1$; विद्रुताश् B_1; विद्रूता N_2 ◆ मम] S_1; महत्° $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$ (*unmet.*); च महा° B_1 (*unmet.*) **59d** भीताश्च वरवर्णिनि] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; मा?ती?भारवणनि B_1 (*unmet.*) **60a** पश्यन्त्यधोर्ध्व°] *conj.*; मा?ग्रं?त्यधोर्ध्व°] S_1; मांगल्यश्चोर्ध्व° $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; ⟨आल्य/आकृ⟩धोर्द्ध° B_1 (*unmet.*); मङ्गल्यधोर्द्ध° N_1N_2 ◆ °रूपं मे] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}$; °रूपेण N_1N_2; °रूपमे S_1 (*unmet.*) **60b** नान्तं] *conj.*; न च $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$ ◆ विन्दन्ति] B_1; विन्दति $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1S_1$; वि?न्दति–?रूपाति?ते?ति N_2 (*unmet.*) ◆ मोहिताः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_1S_1$; मोहिता B_1 **60c** ततः स्तुवन्ति] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1S_1$; तत स्तुवन्ति B_1; ततस्तन्वन्ति N_2 **60d** भक्तिम्] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1N_2$; शक्तिम् S_1 ◆ निश्चिताः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2S_1$; निश्चिता B_1 **61a** वर्षमहस्रन्तु°] $B_1N_1N_2$; वर्षं महस्रन्तु $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_1$; वर्षसहश्रन्तु B_1 **61b** ऋक्साम°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_1$; ⟨स्व/ऋ⟩माम° B_1; कक्कोम° N_1N_2 ◆ °यजुषैः स्तवैः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; यजुस्तुवैः B_1 (*unmet.*); °ययुषैः स्तवैः S_1 **61c** ततस्तुष्टस्तु] $B_{ed}B_1N_1S_1$; ततस्तुष्टैस्तु D_{ed}; ततःस्तुष्टश्च N_2 ◆ वीरेशि] S_1; वीरेशे B_1; वीरेश° $D_{ed}N_1N_2$; वीरेण B_{ed} **61d** दर्शितं मया] $D_{ed}N_1S_1$; दशितं मया B_{ed}; दर्शितम्ममा B_1; दर्शितमयाः N_2 (*unmet.*) **62b** °आङ्गकर°] $B_{ed}B_1N_1S_1$; °आंगं कर° D_{ed} ◆ °भास्वरम्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; °भासुरं B_1S_1

58d लिङ्गरूप] a stem form for the nom./acc., or perhaps instrumental? **60ab** पश्यन्त्य्… नान्तं विन्दन्ति] diagnostic conjecture.

सर्पैर्ल्ललन्तलम्बन्तैः कोटिवक्त्रं करालिनम् ॥६२॥
पश्यन्ति त्रस्तमनसो दंष्ट्रांशुच्छुरितं मुखम्।
मा भैष्टैवं मया चोक्तं पृच्छन्ति व्रतमुत्तमम् ॥६३॥
किमेतदद्भुतं रूपं किमेतद्भूषणं विभो ।
किमेतद्भ्राजते व्योम्नि त्रिशिखं शूलमुज्ज्वलम् ॥६४॥
उत्तमाङ्गं शुभं कस्य यत्ते करतले स्थितम् ।
ततो ऽहं प्रत्युवाचेदं तयोर्दर्पहरं वचः ॥६५॥
अनेकमुण्डकोटीभिर्येयं माला विभाति मे ।
त्वदीयैस्तनुभिर्ब्रह्म विनष्टस्य पुनः पुनः ॥६६॥
यानि नाराण्यनेकानि ग्रीवाहस्तकटिस्थिताः ।

62c सर्पैर्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1S_1$; सर्प्पैं B_1; सपैर् N_2 ◆ ल्ललन्तलम्बन्तैः] S_1; ⟨ल⟩सन्तलम्बितैः B_{ed} (*unmet.*); ननस्तं ल॒न्म॒न्तैः B_1; अनन्तकल्पैश्च D_{ed}; नलन्तकल्पन्तैः N_1N_2 **62d** वक्त्रं करालिनं] $N_1N_2S_1$; °वज्रकरालिनम् B_{ed}; °वद्रकरालिनं B_1; °चक्रं करालिणम् D_{ed} **63a** त्रस्त°] $B_{ed}B_1N_1S_1$; तत्र D_{ed} ◆ °मनसो] $B_1N_1N_2$; °मनसः $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °मनसौ S_1 **63b** दंष्ट्रांशुच्छुरितं] *em.*; दंष्ट्रैश् च च्छुरितं] B_{ed}; दंष्ट्राश् च क्षुरितं D_{ed}; दंप्रादन्तुरितं B_1; दंष्ट्रांशु॒क्र॒वितं N_1; दष्ट्रांशुक्रवितं N_2; दं॒ष्ट्रां॒शुच्छुरित° S_1 (*unmet.*) **63c** भैष्टैवं मया] *conj.*; भीष्टेवं मया S_1; भीषेदं मया $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; भीष्टैमव॒घो॒ B_1; भीष्टे मया N_1N_2 ◆ चोक्तं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_1$; चोक्ते B_1; चोत्के– N_1N_2 **64a** एतदद्भुतं रूपं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_1N_2$; एतद्दूतरूपन्तु B_1; एतान्यद्भुतरूपं S_1 (*unmet.*) **64b** एतद्] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$; एत N_1N_2 **64c** भ्राजते] $B_{ed}S_1$; राजते $D_{ed}B_1N_1N_2$ **65a** उत्तमाङ्गं] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_1$; उन्मत्ताङ्ग° $B_1N_1N_2$ **65d** दर्पहरं वचः] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$; दर्ववरसुच N_1 (*unmet.*); देववरसुचः N_2 (*unmet.*) **66a** °मुण्ड°] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}S_1$; °पण्डु° N_1; °पुण्ड° N_2 ◆ °कोटीभिर्] $S_1N_1N_2$; °कोटिभिर् $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}$ (*unmet.*) **66b** येयं] $B_{ed}B_1D_{ed}N_1S_1$; ययं N_2 ◆ मे] $B_1N_1N_2S_1$; च $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ **66c** त्वदीयैस्] $N_1N_2S_1$; तदियैस् $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; तदीयेस् B_1 ◆ तनुभिर्] B_{ed}; तनुभि B_1S_1; तनूभिर् D_{ed} (*unmet.*); त्वंमति N_1 (*unmet.*); त्वंमेति N_2 (*unmet.*) **67a** यानि नाराण्यनेकानि] *em.*; यानि चान्यान्यनेकानि] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; यानि यानि अनेकानि B_1; यदेतद्दक्षिणै हस्ते $D_{ga}N_1N_2$ (*eyeskip*); यानि नारान्यनेकानि S_1 **67b** °स्थिताः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °स्थिता $B_1N_1N_2$; °स्थितां S_1

67a यानि नाराण्यनेकानि] this emendation is inspired by S_1; understand *nārāṇi* as "[ornaments] of human [remains]." The readings of $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ and of B_1 are also plausible, with the irregular यानि यानि अनेकानि (B_1) more likely to be primary.

नारायणस्य तनवो विनष्टस्य पुनः पुनः ॥६७॥
यदेतद्दक्षिणे हस्ते खट्वाङ्गं नाम विश्रुतम् ।
अस्योत्पत्तिं विधास्यामि शृणुष्वेकमनावुभौ ॥६८॥
अतीते युगकोट्यन्ते अहं योगमुपागतः ।
चिन्तयामि शिवं देवं यत्तत्परमकारणम् ॥६९॥
यावत्तस्मिन्समुत्पन्नो योगविघ्नो ऽतिदारुणः ।
ततो मया सुरुष्टेन हुंकारेण निपातितः ॥७०॥
उक्तश्च त्वं महाबाहो खंविभागे जनार्दने ।
विघ्नेशस्य महाविघ्नं कृत्वा मोक्षं गमिष्यसि ॥७१॥
खमटन् खट्वानामा स हतश्च बलदर्पितः ।

70d here ends the passage parallel to *BraYāSāra* 68.6c–63

67c नारायणस्य तनवो] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$; नारायणस्य तनयो $N_{1}N_{2}$; नारायणस्तनुस्तानि S_{1} (perhaps in error for नारायणतनूत्थानि or नारायणतनोस्तानि) **68a** यदेतद्] $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$ (cf. D_{ga} in 67a); उत्पन्नं B_{ed}; याश्चैत्तद् D_{ed} **68b** खट्वाङ्गं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; खट्वाङ्ग N_{2} **68c** अस्यो°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; तस्यो° S_{1} ◆ °ओत्पत्तिं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; °ओत्पत्ति $N_{1}N_{2}$ **68d** शृणुष्वेकमनावुभौ] S_{1}; शृणुष्वैकामना विभो B_{ed}; शृणुष्वैकमना विभो B_{1}; शृणुष्वेकामना विभोD_{ed}; शृणुष्व मम भाषीतं $N_{1}N_{2}$ (*unmet.*) **69a** युग°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}$; ⟨अ /यु⟩ग° B_{1}; योग° S_{1} ◆ °कोट्यन्ते] $B_{ed}S_{1}$; °कोट्यन्तु B_{1}; °कोट्यैस् तु D_{ed}; °कोट्या तु $N_{1}N_{2}$ **69b** अहं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}^{pc}S_{1}$; हंअ N_{1}^{ac} **69c** शिवं] $D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; शिव B_{ed} (*unmet.*); शुभं B_{1} **69d** यत्तत्] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}$; यस्तत् N_{2}; यन्नत् S_{1} ◆ परमकारणम्] $B_{1}D_{ed}S_{1}$; कारणमुत्तमम् $B_{ed}N_{1}$; कारणमुत्तम् N_{2} (*unmet.*) **70a** यावत्तस्मिन्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}^{pc}N_{2}$; यावत्तस्मि B_{1}; यात्तवस्मिन् N_{1}^{ac}; यावन्नस्मिन् S_{1} ◆ समुत्पन्नो] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; स्वमुत्पन्नो B_{1} **70c** ततो मया] $B_{ed}S_{1}$; ततो माया $B_{1}D_{ed}$; तथो ततो मया N_{1} (*unmet.*); तथेतितो मया N_{2} ◆ सुरुष्टेन] $B_{ed}D_{ed}S_{1}$; स्वरुष्टेन B_{1}; रुष्टे $N_{1}N_{2}$ **70d** हुंकारेण] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; द्रँकारेण B_{1}; हूंकारेण $N_{1}S_{1}$; ≀हु≀कारेण N_{2} ◆ निपातितः] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; नियामितः S_{1} **71a** उक्तश्च] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}S_{1}$; ऊ⟨कू/कृ⟩श्च B_{1}; उत्तश्च N_{2} **71b** जनार्दने] *conj.*; जनार्दन $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; जनार्दनः $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$ **71d** गमिष्यसि] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}S_{1}$; गमिष्यति B_{1} **72a** खमटन्] $B_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; खमटन B_{1} (*unmet.*); खट्वेन D_{ed} (*unmet.*) ◆ खट्वा] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; खट्टो B_{1} ◆ °नामा स] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ (*unmet.*); °नाना B_{1} (*unmet.*); °नामा $N_{1}N_{2}$ (*unmet.*) **72b** हतश्च] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; ततश्च B_{1}

71b खंविभागे] understand as a compound. This refers back to *Devīpurāṇa* 111.2cd: खंविभागे स्थितो विष्णुः पथमार्गं निवारते

कपालस्य समुत्पत्तिः खट्वाङ्गस्य च सुन्दरि ॥७२॥
कथिता ते समासेन सर्वपापप्रणाशनी ।
अगस्त्य उवाच ॥
सृष्टिपादे पुरा वत्स मया खट्वाङ्गलक्षणम् ॥७३॥
अधिदैवतविन्यासं कथितन्तु नृपोत्तम ।
शिरश्छित्वा तु ब्रह्मस्य गन्धवत्यास्तटे नृप ॥७४॥
नारायणस्य धारायां रक्तधारा च या कृता ।
देवी तत्र समुत्पन्ना स्तवराजप्रतोषिता ॥७५॥
इति श्रीदेवीपुराणे खट्वावधो नामैकोनविंशत्यधिकशतमो ऽध्यायः ॥❀॥

73–75 B_{ed} reports that many manuscripts lack these verses (*agastya ity ārabhya yāvad adhyāyasamāpti pāṭho 'yaṃ bahupustakeṣu nāsti*) COLOPHON: B_{1} contains no indication of a chapter break here, proceeding with नरवाहन उवाच.

72c–73b Cf. *BraYāSāra* 68.70

72d खट्वाङ्गस्य] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; खट्टोङ्गस्य B_{1} ◆ सुन्दरि] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; भैरवि $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$ **73a** कथिता ते] *conj.*; कथितन्तु $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; कथिते B_{1} (*unmet.*); कथिता $N_{1}N_{2}$ (*unmet.*) **73b** सर्व°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; मर्त्य° B_{1} **73c** सृष्टि°] $B_{1}N_{1}N_{2}$; सृष्टे $B_{ed}D_{ed}$ ◆ वत्स] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$; वसे $N_{1}N_{2}$ (*unmet.*) **74a** °दैवतविन्यासं] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$; °दैवतावन्यासं B_{1}; °देवतविन्यासं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **74b** नृपोत्तम] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$; नृपोत्तमः $N_{1}N_{2}$ **74c** शिरश्छित्वा] B_{ed}; शि⟨र/व⟩छित्वा B_{1}; शिरः छित्वा D_{kha}; शिवस्थित्वा D_{ed}; शिवः स्थितस्य N_{1}; शिवस्थितस्य N_{2} **74d** °वत्यास्] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; °वपेस् B_{1} (*unmet.*); °वट्यास् $N_{1}N_{2}$ ◆ नृप] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}N_{2}$; नृपे B_{1} **75a** धारायां] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; वारो ऽयं D_{ga}; बाहो य B_{1}; बाहो $N_{1}N_{2}$ (*unmet.*) **75b** रक्त°] $B_{ed}B_{1}D_{ed}$; रक्तं $N_{1}N_{2}$ **75d** स्तवराज°] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; स्तवराजस् B_{1}; रराज° N_{1} (*unmet.*); नरराज° N_{2} ◆ °प्रतोषिता] $B_{ed}D_{ed}N_{1}$; तु तोषिता B_{1}; प्र–षिता N_{2} COLOPHON: इति श्रीदेवीपुराणे … ऽध्यायः] $B_{ed}D_{ed}$; आद्ये देव्यत्तारे खट्वावधः समाप्तः D_{ga}; आद्ये देव्यवतारे खट्वावधः समाप्तः N_{1}; आद्यदेव्यवतारे खट्वावधः समाप्तः N_{2}

75a नारायणस्य धारायां] see the discussion in §5.2.1 (note 14).

Appendix F

Romanized Text of *Brahmayāmala*, Chapters 1–2, 39–40, & 83

1. Prathamaḥ paṭalaḥ

oṃ namaḥ śivādibhyo gurubhyo yogīśvarīṇām ||

yat tatvam mantragarbhaṃ sakalaśivamayaṃ hetunirvāṇaviśvaṃ
dūtīnām padmaṣaṇḍe 'samasukhavilasal liṅgarūpaṃ bibhartti |
nānābhogādhivāsair vividhalayapadaiḥ śakti-r-ābaddhakāṇḍe
tat tatvaṃ viśvagarbhaṃ bhavanagadalanam bhairavam vaḥ punātu ||1||
śrutvā śāstraṃ purā devī mūlatantraṃ mahodayam |
mudrāmaṇḍalamantroghaṃ vidyāpīṭhopalakṣitam ||2||
sahasrāṇi daśa dve ca catuḥpīṭhaṃ tu bhairavam |
vimalā nirggataṃ yat tad aghorī bhīmavikramā |
pratyuvāca mahādevaṃ bhairavaṃ mantravigraham ||3||
yat purā sūcitan deva tantram ucchuṣmasambhavam |
vimalāhveti yat proktaṃ jñānoghaṃ śaktipūrvvakam ||4||
yasmiṃs tu saṃsthitaṃ hy etac catuḥpīṭhan tu bhairavam |
yasmād vinirggataṃ sarvaṃ mantrapīṭhaṃ mahodayam ||5||

catuḥpīṭhasya sambandhe yat tvayā coditaṃ mama |
tantrāvatārasaṃyuktam ādyaṃ yat siddhikāraṇam ||6||
sarahasyaṃ mamācakṣva jñānoghāt sārapūjitam |
śivaśaktivibhedañ ca bindubhedan tathaiva ca ||7||
navaśaktivibhedañ ca śṛṣṭibhedaṃ suvistaram |
ekākinī yathā śaktir navabhedair vyavasthitā ||8||
guhyakākiṅkarībhiś ca kiṃkaryocchuṣmasambhavāḥ |
yoginyo lākinīnān tu bahubhedair vyavasthitāḥ ||9||
ekā eva mahāvīryā vyāpinī śakti cottamā |
tasyā yāgam aśeṣan tu kriyate surapūjita |
yathā tathā mahādeva yoginīsiddhikāṅkṣiṇāṃ ||10||
guruśuśrūṣanirate vāmamārggānuvarttine |
advaitabhāvanāvasthe nirvvikalpe mane sthite ||11||
siddhir yathā bhaved deva tad vidhānam vada prabho |
yoginyo svalpabuddhyās tu alpacittālpasātvikāḥ ||12||
bharttuḥ śuśrūṣaṇaparā gurubhaktisamanvitāḥ |
tāsāṃ siddhir yathā deva vada me tat samāsataḥ ||13||
īśvara uvāca ||
sādhu sādhu mahādevi yat tvayāhaṃ procoditam |
nikhilan tat pravakṣyāmi sarvvasandohalakṣaṇam ||14||
yathā ca tantrasadbhāvaṃ bahvarthaṃ gūḍhavikramam |
sarahasyaṃ mahābhāge śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā ||15||
purā -d- akasmād deveśi krīḍamānasya svasthitau |
yadi yāgavijñātā syām icchā yāva mamotthitā ||16||
icchayā preritenaiva śrīkaṇṭho bhaktivatsalaḥ |
divyaṃ varṣasahasran tu ijyāñjalipurassaram |
ārādhito mayā devi bhaktyāviṣṭena cetasā ||17||
śrīkaṇṭhena tato mahyaṃ parā karuṇayā mahat |

jñānaughas tu samākhyātaḥ padabandhakrameṇa tu ||18||
śrīkaṇṭhasya prasādena sarvvo 'yaṃ pariṇato mama |
matsamparkāt tvayā caiva aśeṣañ cāvadhāritaḥ ||19||
tatas tvayā hitārthāya ādeśena vinā priye |
parijanasya samākhyātuṃ prārabdhaṃ bhaktihṛṣṭayā ||20||
viplāpyamānaṃ tan dṛṣṭvā mahātantraṃ mayā punaḥ |
krodhāviṣṭena śaptāsi jñānan te nāśitaṃ yayā ||21||
tatas tvayā mahābhāge trastayā kampamānayā |
sāśrulocanayā caiva bhūmyāṃ gatvātha daṇḍavat ||22||
karāñjalipuṭaṃ kṛtvā bhītayā jñānaviplave |
vijñapto 'ham mahādevi śokādhiṣṭhitayā punaḥ ||23||
tatas tvām vihvalān dṛṣṭvā gṛhītaḥ karuṇayā hy aham |
evamuktāsi kāruṇyā mahāmanyubhṛtena tu ||24||
bhūrlokaṃ gaccha deveśe avatāraṃ kuruṣva tha |
brāhmaṇasya gṛhe deham aparaṃ gṛhṇa suvrate ||25||
tatrasthāyā tatas tubhyaṃ bhaktyāhaṃ saṃpracoditaḥ |
anugrahaṃ kariṣyāmi tavāhaṃ śakti-r-ājñayā |
mayā sārddham punas tvaikyan tat sarvvam prāpsyasi priye ||26||
tato 'vatīrṇṇā madvākyā prayāgasya samīpataḥ |
kaṇavīre mahāgrāme meghadattagṛhe śubhe ||27||
chandogasya mahādevi utpannā lakṣaṇānvitā |
sattikā tatra saṃjātā tava nāman na saṃśayaḥ ||28||
tato mahā tvayā bhaktyā buddhisampannayā hy aham |
ārādhito mahādevi satataṃ liṅgapūjayā ||29||
tatra trayodaśe varṣe siddhā tvaṃ śaktyanugrahāt |
khecaratvam avāpnoṣi saṃprāptā ca mamāntikam ||30||
sā śaktis tvaṃ mahābhāge yā śaptā viplave kṛte |
purā mayā smarātmānāṃ aghorī nāma te 'dhunā ||31||

madīyā tvaṃ mahāśaktiḥ sarvvānugrahakārikā |
tat pravakṣyāmi te jñānaṃ yad bhraṣṭaṃ viplave kṛte ||32||
śrīkaṇṭhena yathā proktaṃ bhūtvā sadāśivaḥpadāt |
sarahasyaṃ mahādevi śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā ||33||
acintyasya parā śaktiḥ śivasya paramātmanaḥ |
icchā nāmena saṃjātā tayā binduḥ prabodhitaḥ ||34||
prabuddhasya tato bindo jñānaughaṃ niṣkalan tataḥ |
abhivyakto mahādevi akasmān mantravigrahaḥ |
jñānasaṃpūrṇadehas tu sadāśivapade sthitaḥ ||35||
tasmāt sadāśivānujñā tataḥ sṛṣṭir abhūt punaḥ |
hūhukāntāvadhūtasthā tatvamālā svabhāvataḥ ||36||
lokasya hitakāmyāyām amṛtākhyena suvrate |
nibaddhaṃ tu samāsena jñānogham vimalātmakam ||37||
anuṣṭhupchandabandhena sapādena mahātmane |
lakṣasaṃkhyena saṃkṣepān mantrajñānakriyātmakam ||38||
nirācārapade bhūtvā punaś cobhayadarśanāt |
parāpareṇa devena śrīkaṇṭhāya prabhāṣitam ||39||
asmā jñānā mahādevi śrīkaṇṭhena hitāya vai |
koṭikoṭipravistārair lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā ||40||
pṛcchakāśrayabhedena kriyābhedavibhāgaśaḥ |
śuddhāśuddhena mārgeṇa asatvena ca suvrate |
vistāritāni tantrāṇi jñātvā sadāśivaḥpadāt ||41||
ayan tu jñānasandohaṃ svarūpāvasthitaṃ priye |
sapādalakṣasaṃkhyātaṃ mayā jñātaṃ yathārthataḥ ||42||
tavāpi jñānabhraṣṭāyās saṃpravakṣyāmi sāmpratam |
sapādalakṣabhedena ślokānāṃ saṃsthitaṃ tu yat ||43||
asmād vinirggataṃ sarvvaṃ trailokyaṃ sacarācaram |
tvayāpi kathanīyaṃ hi lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā ||44||

divyādivyasvabhāvena sthitayā śaktyanujñayā |
krodhabhairavadevasya siddhasyaiva śivecchayā |
sapādalakṣasaṃkhyātaṃ evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||45||
sapādañ caiva lakṣañ ca krodhabhairavasaṃjñakāt |
kapālabhairavasyaiva kathayiṣyasi suvrate ||46||
brāhmaṇasya kurukṣetre utpannasya mahāmateḥ |
śrīdharetyabhidhānasya adhikārasthitasya vai ||47||
śaktyādhiṣṭhitacittasya asiddhasya na saṃśayaḥ |
kapālabhairavo devi lakṣañ caiva sapādakam ||48||
caturviṃśatibhiś caiva sahasrais saṃghariṣyati |
mūlatantravidhānan tu svarūpeṇa vyavasthitam ||49||
lokānāṃm alpacittānāṃ catuḥpīṭhādivarjitam |
asmiṃn eva hy asau tantre siddhiṃ prāpsyati nānyathā ||50||
kapālabhairavāt siddhād asiddhasyaiva vakṣyasi |
padmabhairavasaṃjñasya evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||51||
oḍradeśe tu jātasya devadattasya saṃjñayā |
caraṇo bahvṛcāsyātha ādeśena na saṃśayaḥ ||52||
asiddhas tv eva deveśi padmabhairavasaṃjñakaḥ |
caturviṃśatisāhasraṃ granthaṃ dvādaśabhiḥ punaḥ ||53||
saṃghāran tu sahasrais tu kariṣyati śivecchayā |
anenaiva tu tantreṇa tataḥ siddhiṃ prayāsyasi ||54||
etat tantram asiddhasya sakāśāt tava eva hi |
śruṇviṣyanti mahābhāge śiṣyāś caiva caturddaśa ||55||
raktabhairavako nāmnā jvālābhairavako 'paraḥ |
helābhairavakaś caiva trayo 'py ete mahāyaśe |
madhyadeśasamutpannāś caraṇo 'tharvvaṇaṃ tathā ||56||
vāmabhairavako devi vijayabhairavako 'paraḥ |
saurāṣṭrāyāṃ samutpannau śūdrau jātyā prakīrttitau ||57||

bhībhatsabhairavo devi gajakarṇṇas tu bhairavaḥ |
caṇḍabhairavakaś caiva sindhuviṣayasambhavāḥ ||58||
bhībhatsabhairavo devi gajakarṇṇabhairavo 'pi ca |
kṣatriyau rājaputrau tu caṇḍabhairavako punaḥ |
brāhmaṇo 'tharvvaṇo devi caraṇena na saṃśayaḥ ||59||
yajñasomasuto bhavyo bṛhodarīviśabdite |
grāme jāto mahādevi nātra kārya vicāraṇāt ||60||
grāmabāhye tu deveśi tatra devī bṛhodarī |
tasyā nāmena so grāmo bṛhodarī prakīrttitā ||61||
ārādhayitvāsau vipras tato devīṃ bṛhodarīm |
vidyāmātran tu saṃprāpya japan tatraiva suvrate ||62||
kariṣyati mahāsatvas tatas tasya bhaviṣyati |
ādeśo cāsya śāstrasya śravaṇāya na saṃśayaḥ ||63||
śruṇviṣyati mahādevi padmabhairavapārśvataḥ |
tatra siddhas tv asau vipras tantrakarttā bhaviṣyati ||64||
gālayitvā imaṃ cārthaṃ śatair aṣṭādaśair mitaiḥ |
saṃhariṣyati tatvajñas tathā caiva trayodaśaiḥ ||65||
saptabhiś ca tathā caiva saṃghariṣyati suvrate |
lokānāñ ca hitārthāya nātra kārya vicāraṇāt ||66||
nādhikāraṃ yataḥ kṛtvā jñānaprāptir na jāyate |
vidyāmātravidhānan tu saṃkṣepeṇa hitāya vai |
śrāvayiṣyati lokānān tatra tṛtayakena tu ||67||
kumārabhairavo devi aṣṭādaśaśatan tathā |
caṇḍabhairavakasyātha śrutvā vistārayiṣyati ||68||
krodhabhairavako devi trayodaśaśataṃ tathā |
caṇḍabhairavakāc caiva jñātvā vistārayiṣyati ||69||
tejabhairavanāmānas tathā saptaśataṃ punaḥ |
caṇḍabhairavakāc caiva śrutvāsau vistariṣyati |

avatāre tu samproktaṃ śiṣyāṇān tṛtayan tathā ||70||
bhaviṣyakīrttitā hy atra ye caturddaśamadhyataḥ |
karālabhairavo nāma tathā ucchuṣmabhairavaḥ |
mātaṅgajātisambhūtau padmabhairavaśiṣyakau ||71||
yamabhairavakaś cānyaḥ kāśmīre sambhaviṣyati |
chandogo brāhmaṇo devi tathā anyo bhaviṣyati ||72||
viṣṇubhairavanāmāno lampāyām viṣaye tathā |
vājimadhyaṃdino vipro bhaviṣyati tathāparaḥ ||73||
dakṣiṇabhairavaḥ kāśyām utpanno brāhmaṇas tathā |
bahvṛcaś cāparaś śiṣyo bhaviṣyati na saṃśayaḥ ||74||
oḍḍiyāne mahādevi tathā śekharabhairavaḥ |
brāhmaṇo taittirīkaś ca apastambho bhaviṣyati ||75||
caturddaśa samākhyātāḥ padmabhairavaśiṣyakāḥ |
jñātvā dvādaśasāhasraṃ siddhiṃ prāpsyanti suvrate ||76||
vyākhyāṃ caiva kariṣyanti śiṣyāṇāṃ siddhikāṅkṣiṇām |
śaktyādhiṣṭhitacittānāṃ caturddaśa tu saṃjñakāḥ ||77||
padmabhairavakasyaiva ṣaṣṭhaṃ vai sthānam āśṛtāḥ |
svacchandabhairavo śrutvā sakāśāt krodhabhairavaḥ ||78||
arthaṃ dvādaśasāhasraṃ sahasrair daśabhiḥ punaḥ |
saṃhariṣyati deveśe śaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasā ||79||
tantrāvatāravicchinnaṃ yoginīnāṃ prabhāvataḥ |
kathayiṣyati lokānāṃ daśasāhasrakaṃ priye ||80||
ujjainyāyān tu saṃjāto †viprajoukaputrakaḥ†|
deikā tasya vai mātā bahugarbhaprasāritā ||81||
snātācāmati mātṝṇāṃ purataḥ putrakāṅkṣiṇī |
japtavidyo mahāvīryaḥ samayalaṅghaprabhāvataḥ ||82||
kṣipiṣyanti hy asiddhatvān mātarāḥ śakticoditāḥ |
tasyā garbhe mahābhāge amantrīnāmakas tathā ||83||

tatas tasya mahādevi tāsāṃ caiva prabhāvataḥ |
vidyāṃ prāpya japaṃ kṛtvā tataḥ śāstraṃ sa vetsyati ||84||
tato nibaddhagranthaś ca divyasaṅgānubhāvataḥ |
daśasāhasrakenārthaṃ aśeṣaṃ kathayiṣyati ||85||
tatas tenaiva jñānena paścāt siddhiṃ sa lapsyati |
caṇḍabhairavanāmānaḥ sahasraiḥ saptabhiḥ punaḥ ||86||
tad eva daśasāhasraṃ kariṣyati mahādhipe |
dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi karttuvāñchā bhaviṣyati ||87||
na cārthaṃ divyaśiṣyāṇāṃ saṃharttuṃ so kariṣyati |
saptabhiś ca sahasrais tu vighnan tasya bhaviṣyati ||88||
anayā vāñchayā devi bindubhairavasaṃjñakaḥ |
saptabhiś ca sahasrais tu tasya vighnam bhaviṣyati ||89||
anayaiva mahādevi vāñchayā daśasaṃjñake |
māyābhairavanāmāno na ca siddhiṃ prayāsyati ||90||
saptabhiś ca sahasrais tu vighnan tasya bhaviṣyati |
anantabhairavaś caiva vistaraṃ karttuvāñchayā ||91||
sahasrais saptabhiś caiva vighnan tasyāpi suvrate |
bhaviṣyati na sandeho evam vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||92||
sadāśivena devena dvāpare bhāṣitam mahān |
tato divyena mānena tasmāt saptatime yuge |
tava devi mayākhyātan tantraṃ bhairavapūjitam ||93||
kalau yuge na sandehaḥ śrīkaṇṭhasyājñayā tathā |
asmād vai saptame caiva kapālīśasya suvrate ||94||
tvam vakṣyasi mahādevi tretāyāṃ bhairavo 'bravīt |
dvāpare kalisandhau tu padmabhairavasaṃjñakaḥ ||95||
sapādalakṣasaṃkhyātaṃ saṃghariṣyati nānyathā |
kalau caturthapāde tu tathā svacchandabhairavaḥ ||96||
saṃghariṣyati deveśi evam vai bhairavo 'bravīt |

caṇḍabhairavakaś caiva tathā ca vibhubhairavaḥ ||97||
māyābhairavakaś caiva vistāraṃ karttuvāñchayā |
kalau caturthapādānte bhaviṣyanti varānane ||98||
anantabhairavaś caiva kalpānte vistaraṃ tadā |
na śaknoṣyati vai karttuṃ bhaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasaḥ ||99||
caturviṃśatisāhasraṃ mānayiṣyati suvrate |
caṇḍabhairavako devi vibhubhairavam eva ca ||100||
māyābhairavakaś caiva tathā cānantam eva ca |
ete vai paścimā vīrās tantraṃ jñātvā na saṃśayaḥ ||101||
siddhiṃ prāpsyanti deveśi kalpānte bhairavo 'bravīt |
etac chāstraṃ kalau cānte yoginyaḥ śakticoditāḥ ||102||
apahṛtya prayāsyanti sampradāyañ ca suvrate |
śaktyāntaṃ nātra sandeho evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||103||
kṛtau yuge mahādevi tretāyāṃ dvāpare tathā |
nāvatāro 'sya śāstrasya sūcito bhairaveṇa tu ||104||
kalau yuge punaś caiva evam eva mahādhipe |
avatāro 'sya śāstrasya kariṣyasi na saṃśayaḥ ||105||
dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi nādhikāni manāg api |
kathayiṣyasi deveśi lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā ||106||
kumārīdvīpavāstavyā ye lokāḥ saṃsthitāḥ priye |
teṣāṃ śāstrasya nānyasya prāptiś caiva bhaviṣyati ||107||
kalāpagrāmake devi tatas saḥ saṃghariṣyati |
kaliyugasya ādau tu avatāraṃ kariṣyati |
dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi nātra kārya vicāraṇāt ||108||
sapādalakṣan deveśi kathayiṣyasi suvrate |
svacchandabhairavasyaiva evam vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||109||
dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi saṃhṛtāni mahādhipe |
yena tasya mahābhāge nātra kārya vicāraṇāt ||110||

daśabhis tu sahasrais tu muktvā vīracatuṣṭayam |
tato 'sau codito devi tvayaiva varavarṇṇini ||111||
kalāpagrāmake sthitvā viṣṇubhairavakasya tu |
asiddhaś caiva deveśi śāstraṃ dvādaśasammitam ||112||
sahasrair nātra sandehaḥ kathayiṣyati suvrate |
viṣṇubhairavako devi kumārīdvīpavāsinām ||113||
kathayiṣyati lokānāṃ śaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasām |
sahasrāṇi daśa dve ca evam vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||114||
gṛhe gṛhe mahādevi yathā saptaśatāni ca |
tathā dvādaśasāhasro bhaviṣyati na saṃśayaḥ ||115||
śaktyādhiṣṭhitacittānāṃ nātra kārya vicāraṇāt |
gṛhe gṛhe mahādevi ye punsāḥ siddhibhājanāḥ ||116||
striyo vā siddhibhāginyas teṣāṃm api gṛheṣv atha |
pracariṣyati deveśi evam vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||117||
asiddhibhājanā ye tu puruṣo 'tha striyo 'tha vā |
vidyāmātram apiś caiva na prāpsyanti mahādhipe |
sarahasyam mahādevi jñāsyante siddhibhājanāḥ||118||
etat tantrāvatāran tu śrīkaṇṭhena yathāsthitam |
kathitam mama deveśi tathāpi kathitam mayā ||119||
sāmprataṃ sarahasyan tu sarvvasandohalakṣaṇam |
mahābhairavanāmānaṃ śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā ||120||
yā sā śaktiḥ parā khyātānantādyānantasambhavā |
tasyā bhedaṃ mahābhāge kathayāmi yathākramam ||121||
yo 'sau acintyam ity āhuḥ śivaḥ paramakāraṇaḥ |
niḥsaṃjño nirvikāraś ca vyāpī śāntas tathaiva ca ||122||
niḥsvabhāvo mahādevi kriyākāraṇavarjitaḥ |
niṣkalo nirvikalpas tu arūpo guṇavarjitaḥ ||123||
nirmamo nirahaṅkāra advaitapadasaṃsthitaḥ |

yogināṃ dhyānagamyo 'sau jñānarūpo mahāyaśe ||124||
nirācārapadāvasthaḥ saṃjñāmātraḥ prabhuḥ paraḥ |
tasyāparājyotirūpaḥ sarvvānugrahakārakaḥ ||125||
vyāpī hy avyaktarūpī ca amanasko manonmanaḥ |
tasya śaktir mahādevi svabhāvotthā akṛttrimā ||126||
jyotsnārūpā svarūpeṇa sphāṭikasyeva raśmayaḥ |
tasyecchā nirgatā śakti jñānarūpā manonmanī ||127||
pravarttate nirābhāsā avadhūteti sā smṛtā |
prabodhayati sānantā bindunādau kṣaṇena tu ||128||
kuṇḍalākṛtisaṃsthānā svarādau saṃvyavasthitā |
caturbhāgavibhaktā sā caturbhāgavibhājitā ||129||
evaṃ kuṇḍalinī śaktiḥ svaraiḥ ṣoḍaśabhiḥ sthitā |
catuṣkapathakopetā pañcavyoma-alaṃkṛtā ||130||
evaṃ pañcavidhā sā tu śaktir ādyā manonmanī |
navākṣaravidhānena punaś caiva prajāyate ||131||
svaravyañjanasaṃyuktā pañcāśākṣarasaṃyutā |
avadhūtā mahādevi navabhedair vyavasthitā ||132||
atra devyo 'tha dūtyaś ca yoginyocchuṣmamātaraḥ |
sarvvās tāḥ sṛjate devi śivecchām anuvarttinī ||133||

iti mahābhairave tantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne sambandhapaṭalaḥ prathamaḥ ||*1*||

2. Dvitīyaḥ paṭalaḥ

athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi aghoryārccanam uttamam |
nirācāro yadā mantrī avadhūtatanusthitaḥ ||1||
tadā tu kurute pūjāṃ yogeśīnāṃ śivasya ca |
avadhūtā tu sā śakti nirācārapadaḥ śivaḥ ||2||
eteṣān tu vidhiṃ jñātvā tato mantrī prasiddhyati |

atas teṣām pravakṣyāmi mantroddhāram anukramāt ||3||
śuklāmbaradharo mantrī śuklagandhānulepanaḥ |
bhūpradeśe śucau divye divyapuṣpair alaṃkṛte ||4||
tatra devyāś ca dūtyaś ca yoginyo mātaras tathā |
uddhareta mahāprājñaḥ kapālīśapuraḥsarāḥ ||5||
ādiman tu dvitīyasya prathamena vyavasthitam |
eṣā devī smṛtā raktā bindumastakayojitā ||6||
tṛtīyasya tṛtīyan tu svaraikādaśabhūṣitam |
eṣā devī smṛtā ghorā karālīti ca viśrutā ||7||
ādiman tu dvitīyena ūrddhanādena yojitam |
ekaviṃśat parā yoni dvitīyasvarayojitā ||8||
aṣṭāviṃśa tṛtīyena viṃśaman tu tathā punaḥ |
dvātriṃśa kūnatriṃśena ūrddhanādena yojitam ||9||
haṃsa eṣa dvitīyena praṇavādisamanvitam |
etad guhyam mayā proktaṃ mantrabhedavyavasthitam ||10||
athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi yogeśīnān tu lakṣaṇam |
praṇavādinamaskāraṃ vidyāṃ saṃyojya yatnataḥ ||11||
eṣā te prathamā proktā kroṣṭukī ca mahodayā |
svāhākārāntasaṃyuktaṃ dvitīyā yoginī smṛtā ||12||
hūṃkāreṇa tṛtīyā tu vauṣaṭkāre caturthakā |
pañcamī vaṣaṭkāreṇa phaṭkāre ṣaṣṭhikā bhavet ||13||
ṣaḍyoginyaḥ samākhyātā aghoryāṅgavinisṛtāḥ |
athāto mātarāṃ vakṣye tantre ucchuṣmasambhave ||14||
praṇave tu sthito deva binduke tu maheśvarī |
ekāre tu sthitā brahmī ākāre caiva vaiṣṇavī ||15||
akāre caiva kaumārī īkāre ca vivasvatī |
ikāre vāsavī devī svākāre caiva caṇḍikā ||16||
hākāreṇa parā śakti etā yasyā vinirggatāḥ |

mātaras te mayā proktā yāge ucchuṣmapūjite ||17||
yā sā eva mayā proktā mātṝṇāñ caiva pūraṇī |
tasyedaṃ kathitaṃ sarvvaṃ yaṃ jñātvā nāvasīdati ||18||

iti mahābhairave mūlatantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ dvitīyaḥ ||2||

39. Ekūnacatvāriṃśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ

devy uvāca ||
yad uktaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ srotraṃ vāmaṃ caiva tathāparam |
madhyamañ ca tathā srotaṃ coditaṃ pūrvvam eva hi ||1||
dakṣiṇaṃ kena kāryeṇa vāmaṃ kasmāc ca kāraṇāt |
madhyamañ ca tathā caiva etad brūhi maheśvara ||2||
yaṃ yasmiṃ nirggataṃ srotraṃ tatra jātā yathārthataḥ |
etad ācakṣva deveśa mantrabhedañ ca kiṃkṛtam ||3||
devovāca ||
sādhu sādhu mahādevi yat tvayā pṛcchito hy aham |
kathayāmi samāsena tatvabhedārthakāraṇam ||4||
śaktitrayaṃ samākhyātaṃ mantramūrttis tadāsanam |
parāparasya devasya sarvvakāryārthasādhanam ||5||
tābhir vyāptam idaṃ sarvvaṃ trailokyaṃ sacarācaram |
paśūnāṃ patayaś caiva tābhir vyāptā na saṃśayaḥ ||6||
dakṣiṇādhiṣṭitaḥ kaścid vāmayādhiṣṭito 'paraḥ |
madhyamādhiṣṭitaḥ kaścit tridhā jantur vyavasthitaḥ ||7||
satvādhikas tathā kaścit kaścic caiva rajodhikaḥ |
tamodhikas tathā kaścic chaktibhedena saṃsthitaḥ ||8||
dakṣiṇādhiṣṭitaḥ śuddho miśro vāmāśrayas tathā |
aśeṣamalasandoharañjito madhyamāśrayaḥ ||9||
anekajanmakarmā ye kośikāra ivāvṛtaḥ |

tatsiddhibhājano yas tu sarvvakāmavivarjitaḥ ||10||
muktimātraṃ samāpnoti śaktipātā pracoditaḥ |
madhyamā śodhitaḥ śaktyā nādyaśaktiḥ kadācana ||11||
bahir vrīhituṣeṇaiva viśliṣṭas tāṇḍulo yathā |
kiñciccheṣamalāvastho vāmāśrayasamudbhavaḥ ||12||
tuṣakambūkarahito nirmalo kṣālanādinā |
pākamātrakriyāpekṣī viśuddho dakṣiṇāśrayaḥ ||13||
pṛcchakāśrayabhedena tantrāṇāṃ kīrttanaṃ kṛtam |
śuddhāśuddhavimiśrebhyaḥ tṛbhiḥ srotrair yathākramam |
vinirggatāni tantrāṇi jñānoghād bhāṣitāni tu ||14||
no bhinnaṃ sarvvathā jñānaṃ kriyābhede sthitāni tu |
śuddhāśuddhavimiśreṣu tantrāṇi varavarṇṇini ||15||
jñānoghaḥ paramo yas tu tṛbhiḥ srotrair vinirggataḥ |
vāmadakṣiṇamadhyastho nānābhedavyavasthitaḥ ||16||
sapta koṭyās tu mantrāṇāṃ dakṣiṇāyā vinirggatāḥ |
tam āśṛtya kriyābhede nānātantrapravistaraiḥ ||17||
tatrāpi āśrayo bhinnaḥ śuddhāśuddhavimiśritaḥ |
dakṣiṇāsrotramārgeṇa kriyābhedavyavasthitam ||18||
catuḥpīṭhaṃ samutpannaṃ tantraṃ bhairavasaṃjñitam |
dakṣiṇāsrotrasaṃbhūtaṃ sarvvaṃm asmād vinirggatam ||19||
vāmasrotā tathā caiva vāmatantrādiko gaṇaḥ |
saptakoṭis tu mantrāṇāṃ teṣām adhipatis tu saḥ |
catuṣkayāgamārggeṇa kriyābhedapravistaraḥ ||20||
madhyamasrotrasambhūtam etan mantragaṇan tathā |
†sā tatra jagajānān tu† asyā eva vinirggatam ||21||
sārddhakoṭitrayan devi mantrāṇāṃ parisaṃkhyayā |
madhyamasrotrasambhūto evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||22||
navāṣṭakaṃ tathāvāpya sarvasiddhāntajātakam |

kriyāmantraprabhedena saṃsthitaṃ varavarṇṇini ||23||
aṣṭāviṃśatibhedena bheditañ ca tathā punaḥ |
śākhopaśākhabhedena prabhinnaṃ vistareṇa tu ||24||
kathitāni kathiṣyanti śrīkaṇṭhādyā gurūs tathā |
śivabhedasthitāni syuḥ kāmikād varavarṇṇini ||25||
rudrabhedena cānyāni saṃsthitāni tathaiva ca |
yatra bhede śivo yājyaḥ śivabhedas tu saḥ smṛtaḥ ||26||
aṣṭāṣṭakavibhāgena yāni tantrāṇi suvrate |
sthitāni rudrabhedena tathā saṃparikīrttitam ||27||
raudrayā coditenātha śrīkaṇṭhena mahāyaśe |
dakṣiṇena tu vaktreṇa dakṣiṇāsrotrasaṃbhavam ||28||
catuḥpīṭhaprabhedena śuddhāśuddhavibheditaṃ |
pṛcchakāśrayabhedena bahudhā saṃvyavasthitam ||29||
vidyāśritāni yāni syu vidyāpīṭham varānane |
mantrāśṛtāni yāni syu mantrapīṭhan tathaiva ca ||30||
mudrāśṛtāni yāni syu mudrāpīṭhās tu suvrate |
maṇḍalāpīṭhakāni syu maṇḍalaṃ pīṭha ucyate |
vinirggatāni tantrāṇi kriyābhedena caiva hi ||31||
svacchandabhairavaṃ devi krodhabhairavam eva ca |
unmattabhairavaṃ devi tathā caivograbhairavam ||32||
kapālībhairavaṃ caiva tathā jhaṅkārabhairavam |
śekharañ ca tathā caiva vijayabhairavam eva ca ||33||
rudrayāmalam anyañ ca tathā vai skandayāmalam |
brahmayāmalakaṃ caiva viṣṇuyāmalam eva ca ||34||
yamayāmalakaṃ cānyaṃ vāyuyāmalam eva ca |
kuberayāmalaṃ caiva indrayāmalam eva ca ||35||
bhairavāṣṭakam etad dhi vidyāpīṭhād vinirggatam |
yāmalāni tathā cāṣṭau nirggatāni na saṃśayaḥ ||36||

caturbhedavibhinnāni śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā |
catuṣkaṣaṭkabhedas tu saptakaṃ navakaṃ tathā ||37||
prapañcayoginījālaṃ yoginījālam eva ca |
yoginīhṛdayañ caiva siddhā vai mantramālinī ||38||
aghoreśī tathā caiva aghoreśvarim eva ca |
krīḍāghoreśvarī caiva lākinīkalpam eva ca ||39||
mārī caiva mahāmārī ugravidyāgaṇas tathā |
bahurūpau dvidhā caiva aghorāstraṃ tathaiva ca ||40||
tantrāṇy etāni deveśi vidyāpīṭhād vinirggatāḥ |
vīro 'tha bhairavaś caiva tathā vai caṇḍabhairavaḥ ||41||
guḍikābhairavaś caiva mahāvīreśabhairavaḥ |
etāni mantrapīṭhāni nirgatāni na saṃśayaḥ ||42||
yāvan mantragaṇo devi bhuktimuktiphalapradaḥ |
jñānoghā nirggato jñeyo kriyābhede vyavasthitaḥ |
mantrapīṭhād viniṣkrānta evam vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||43||
mantramārgānusāreṇa mudrābhedasahasraśaḥ |
sarvvasrotravibhāgena mudrā mantravivarjitāḥ ||44||
mudrāpīṭhe viniṣkrāntāḥ śivarudrādibhedataḥ |
maṇḍalāni tu yāni syuḥ sarvvatantreṣu suvrate ||45||
śivabhede tathā caiva rudrabhede tathaiva ca |
sarvāṇṇi maṇḍalā pīṭhā nirgatāni na saṃśayaḥ ||46||
sarvvakāmikam ādyan tu tathā yogodbhavaṃ priye |
acintyaṃ kāraṇaṃ caiva ajitañ ca tathāparam ||47||
dīptābhaṃ caiva sūkṣañ ca sāhasrañ ca tathaiva ca |
aṃśumāṃ suprabhaṃ caiva śivabhedāḥ prakīrttitāḥ ||48||
madhyamasrotrasaṃbhūtā ūrddhavaktrād vinirgatāḥ |
vijayaṃ caiva niśvāsaṃ svāyaṃbhuvam ataḥ param ||49||
vāthulaṃ candrahāsañ ca rauravaṃ mākuṭaṃ tathā |

vīreśañ ca tathāgneyaṃ tataḥ ūrddhaṃ nibodhataḥ ||50||
candrajñānañ ca bimbañ ca prodgītaṃ lalitan tathā |
siddhiṃ santānakaṃ caiva śarvvodgītam ataḥ param ||51||
kiraṇañ ca mahādevi pārameśvaram eva ca |
rudrabhedāḥ samākhyātāḥ śaktimacchaktyadhiṣṭhitāḥ ||52||
mantrāntare tathā proktā vidyāṣṭadaśa saṃkhyayā |
tatvabhedā mahādevi śivajñānasya saṃśṛtāḥ ||53||
svarlokañ ca bhuvarlokaṃ bhūrlokaṃ tu bhuvis tathā |
āgatasya mahādevi ete bhedāḥ prakīrttitāḥ ||54||
riṣibhis tu mahābhāgais tantrakalpavibhāvitaiḥ |
śivajñānaṃ samākhyātaṃ ebhir devair na saṃśayaḥ ||55||
īśvaraś ca mahādevī ādāv eva hi suvrate |
brahmā vai vīrabhadraś ca kumāraś ca tathāparaḥ ||56||
nandīśvaras tathā caiva mahākālas tathaiva ca |
nandīśvarapitā caiva uśanā ca bṛhaspatiḥ ||57||
dadhīciś ca kacaś caiva lakulīśas tathāparaḥ |
caṇḍaś ca śātaparṇṇaś ca sanatkumāram eva ca ||58||
viṣṇuś caiva mahādevi parameśvaram eva ca |
īśvaro vijayovāca devī niśvāsam eva ca ||59||
brahmā svāyambhuvañ caiva vīrabhadras tathaiva ca |
vīrabhadraṃ mahādevi provāca vidhivistaram ||60||
āgneyañ ca kumāras tu nandī rauravam eva ca |
mahākālaś ca mākoṭyaṃ candrabhāseti candramāḥ ||61||
vīram vai -r- uśanā caiva jñānaṃ cāṅgirasas tathā |
mukhabimbaṃ dadhīciś ca prodgītaṃ kaca eva ca ||62||
lalitaṃ lalitā caiva caṇḍaḥ siddhiṃ prabhāṣata |
śātaparṇṇo ca santānaṃ kiraṇaṃ brahmaṇo 'bravīt ||63||
śarvvodgītaṃ tathā caiva viṣṇuḥ provāca suvrate |

parameśvaras tathā caiva pārameśvaram uktavān ||64||
ete tantrapraṇetārāḥ śivajñānasya pāragāḥ |
tathā cānyā mahābhāgāḥ kumārādyāḥ śacīpatiḥ ||65||
mantrasiddhās tathā caiva ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ |
mantrakalpavido devi śivajñānasya pāragāḥ ||66||
mantrapīṭhāt samākṛṣya mantrabhedair anekadhā |
śivarudravibhāgena śivajñānaṃ prakāśitam ||67||
sthāpitañ ca mahādevi etair eva mahītale |
koṭikoṭisahasraiś ca mantrāṇāṃ parisaṃkhyayā ||68||
prakāśitāni tantrāṇi maṇḍalaiḥ saṃyutāni tu |
devāsurās tathā daityā vidyādharagaṇās tathā ||69||
kinnarāpsarasāś caiva tathā kiṃpuruṣā -d- api |
gandharvvayakṣarakṣāś ca piśācāḥ pannagās tathā ||70||
manuṣyā yātudhānāś ca ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ |
sarvve te mantrasiddhās tu teṣām āyus tu mantrajā ||71||
mantrajāpyavidhānena sarvve te sādhakāḥ smṛtāḥ |
paratatvaṃ tato jñātvā muktis teṣāṃ na saṃśayaḥ ||72||
madhyayā preritenātha ūrddhavaktreṇa suvrate |
sarvvam etat samākhyātaṃ trividhāśrayabheditam ||73||
vāmayā preritenātha vāmavaktreṇa caiva hi |
śuddhāśuddhavimiśreṣu catuṣkāśṛtakāni tu ||74||
sanmohañ ca tathā proktaṃ nayañ caiva nayottaram |
śaukraṃ caiva tathā proktaṃ vāmasrotrād vinirggatam |
eteṣāṃ bahavo bhedāḥ †saṃśritā nirgame† sthitāḥ ||75||
madhyamācoditenātha ūrddhavaktreṇa caiva hi |
prakāśitāni tantrāṇi trividhe 'pi hi sādhake ||76||
vāmamadhyamayā caiva coditena tathaiva hi |
paścimena tu vaktreṇa bhāṣitāni tṛdhāśrayāḥ ||77||

vāmamadhyamayā caiva coditena tathaiva ca |
uktāni pūrvvavaktreṇa vedādīni tathāśrayāḥ ||78||
trividhāśrayavaśā devi pṛcchakecchā yathākramam |
pūrvvavaktreṇa coktāni pūrvvāgneyadiśāśṛtam |
aṣṭakaṃ tu samāśṛtya rudrabhedasthitāni tu ||79||
dakṣiṇena tu vaktreṇa dakṣanairitake 'ṣṭake |
saṃsthitāni hi tantrāṇi rudrabhede na saṃśayaḥ ||80||
paścimena tu vaktreṇa paścimānilakāṣṭake |
āśṛtāni ca tantrāṇi rudrabhede na saṃśayaḥ ||81||
uttareṇa tu vaktreṇa uttareśānakāṣṭake |
rudrabhedāśṛtāni syur uktāni sādhakecchayā ||82||
ūrddhavaktreṇa deveśi trividhāśrayabhedataḥ |
śivabhede sthitāni syur bhāṣitāni na saṃśayaḥ ||83||
coditena tathā caiva vāmadakṣiṇamadhyayā |
adhasrotosthitāni syus tantrāṇi ca tathā punaḥ ||84||
mākoṭañ ca vibhūtiñ ca avyayaṃ ca tathāparam |
rudrabhedasthitāni syur kālāgnye 'dhiṣṭhitāni tu ||85||
tantratrayam adhasrotanirgataṃ varavarṇṇini |
mākoṭe tantrakāni syu yāni tāni śṛṇuṣva me ||86||
nārasiṃhavidhānan tu nidhānakṣetrakalpakāḥ |
vivarāntargatāḥ kalpā vārāhasya vidhis tathā ||87||
pañcarātravidhānan tu vaikuṇṭhasya vidhis tathā |
kulācārasamopetā evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt ||88||
garuḍasya vidhānan tu bhūtatantrādiko gaṇaḥ |
oṣadhīkalpajātañ ca rasāyanavidhis tathā ||89||
pañca mantraśatāni syuś caturmūrttisthitāni tu |
mākuṭaṃ tu samākhyātaṃ kālāgnye saṃpracoditam ||90||
ādimo jñānasandohas tribhiḥ srotrair vinirgataḥ |

sadāśivena devena śrīkaṇṭhāya prabhāṣitam ||91||
sapādajñānasandohaḥ śrīkaṇṭhena mahāyaśe |
daśasrotravibhāgena bhāṣitaṃ sādhakecchayā ||92||
koṭikoṭipravistāraiḥ kalpakalpasahasrakaiḥ |
pracodito mahādevi tadvidair bahudhā punaḥ ||93||
iti brahmayāmale srotranirṇṇayapaṭalaḥ ekūnacatvāriṃśatimaḥ ||*39*||

40. Catvāriṃśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ

ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi asidhāravratam mahān |
sarvvasiddhipradaṃ proktaṃ sarvayoginipūjitam ||1||
pūrvvalakṣaṇasaṃyuktāṃ yoṣitāṃ suratocchukām |
atīvarūpasaṃpannāṃ navayauvanadarppitām ||2||
hāsyalāsyavilāsinyāṃ vibhramādividhānakām |
vastrālaṅkārasaṃpannāṃ sarvvābharaṇabhūṣitām ||3||
hārakeyūramāṇikyamuktāvalisusaṃsthitām |
yathāvibhavasaṃprāptāṃ svalpabhūṣaṇakāpi vā ||4||
sugandhamālyālaktāktā gandhapaṅkāṅkitā sadā |
pīnonnatastanopetām ābhogaparimaṇḍalām ||5||
cūcukā sragdāmaśobhā saghanā tu payodharā |
bhaktāñ caivānuraktāñ ca valayām uttamottamā ||6||
prakṛtyā śīlasampannāṃ vidagdhāñ ca vilāsinīm |
rājānayoṣitām vāpi anyavarṇṇagatām api ||7||
tādṛgvidhopabhogaiś ca ātmānaṃ samalaṅkaret |
vāmapārśve sthitāyān tu bahinyāsan tu kārayet ||8||
śarīre hastayor varjyaṃ svayāgotthaṃ vidhānavit |
hṛdyāgapūrvvakaṃ nyāsaṃ tathātmani vikalpayet ||9||
cumbanāliṅganaṃ kṛtvā bahirnyāsan tu kārayet |
śaktipīṭhe nyāsaṃ kṛtvā āsane sthāpaye tu tām |

cumbanāliṅganaṃ kṛtvā liṅgaṃ tatra vinikṣipet ||10||
nityanaimittikaṃ kāmyaṃ japaṃ kuryād avagrahe |
nirācārapadāvastho vyomārṇṇavanisevakaḥ ||11||
pramādād yadi kṣobho syāt svayam eva akāritaḥ |
japed daśasahasrāṇi tatvayuktas tu sādhakaḥ ||12||
cumbanāliṅganaiś caiva śītkāraiḥ savilāsakaiḥ |
paratatvāvalokī ca kṣobhaṃ naiva samācaret ||13||
āhnikānāntarālan tu kriyāyāḥ prerayed budhaḥ |
pūrvvoktena vidhānena āhnikāni tu kārayet ||14||
madhyāhne cāhnikaṃ tatra karttavyaṃ sādhakena tu |
tṛtīyasavanaṃ kṛtvā bhojanañ ca samārabhet ||15||
niveditan tu devīnāṃ āmiṣaṃ caiva bhakṣayet |
anyonyamukhadānena bhakṣayeta vidhānato ||16||
bhakṣaṃ bhakṣayato prājño mukhāmukhe na saṃśayaḥ |
tṛṣitas tu pibed vāri śaucaṃ naiva samācaret ||17||
abhiṣekaṃ tathā śakti bahi niṣkramya kārayet |
nityavrataṃ tu niṣkramya tayā sārddhaṃ samācaret ||18||
sakhāyair dūrasaṃsthais tu veṣṭitaḥ svāyudhodyataiḥ |
dhyānaṃ japan tathā kṛtvā devāgāraṃ tato vrajet ||19||
maunī dhyānaparo mantrī śaktivarjaṃ samācaret |
tayā saha svapen mantrī ekatraivāśrito bhuvi ||20||
anyonyāliṅganair nityaṃ vilāsādibhi ceṣṭitaiḥ |
tāmbūlaṃ bhakṣayen nityaṃ anyonyādānam ācaret ||21||
sanmukhau tu svapen nityaṃ na kadācit parāṅmukhau |
kṣobhan tu rakṣayen nityaṃ nirācārapade sthitaḥ ||22||
svayaṃ druto japaṃ kuryād daśasāhasrakaṃ budhaḥ |
kāmato kṣobham āyāti prāyaścittaṃ samācaret ||23||
ekāhenāmaithunena māsena varavarṇṇini |

asidhāraṃ punaḥ kuryād asidhāravrate vidhau ||24||
māsam ekaṃ caren mantrī saṃyato dhyānatatparaḥ |
māsena khecarās tasya ātmānaṃ darśayanti hi ||25||
evaṃ māsan tu sañcārī yaḥ punaḥ kṣobham ācaret |
icchayā darppasāmarthyāt punar māsaṃ vrataṃ caret ||26||
anena kramayogena avrataghnas tu sādhakaḥ |
māsadvayaṃ trimāsam vā cāturmāsyam athāpi vā ||27||
pañcaṣaṭmāsikaṃ yāva care dhyānaparāyaṇaḥ |
pratimāsā bhavet tasya uttamā divyagocarā ||28||
ṣaṭmāsena prajāyeta aṇimādiguṇānvito |
samāgamaṃ sahaivātra khecarīṇāṃ samāgamam ||29||
etan mantrī sadā kuryā siddhihetau na saṃśayaḥ |
siddhikalpoktato vā tu karmakalpoktato 'tha vā ||30||
asidhāraṃ caren mantrī tālako miśrako 'pi vā |
carubhojī care hy etat tadviśeṣavidhisthitaḥ ||31||
rātrau vāpi śayen mantrī kṣiptvā liṅgaṃ bhage 'tha vā |
kṣobhaṃ na kārayet tatra dhyānayuktas sadā bhavet ||32||
etac ca asidhāran tu duścaraṃs tṛdaśair api |
nānena rahitā siddhiḥ sarvvakalpeṣu gīyate |
tasmāt sarvvaprayatnena asidhāraṃ cared budhaḥ ||33||
iti brahmayāmale asidhāravratapaṭalaś catvāriṃśatimaḥ ||*40*||

83. Tryaśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ

⟨......⟩
taddakṣiṇe tathā vahniṃ hutvā †svāṃsiddhisaṃkhyayā† |
ubhayottarasaṃsthan tu pūrvvāmukham athārabhet ||1||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – sya tu |
tathā siddhārthakaṃ tālaṃ rocanā samanacchilā ||2||

gairikā caiva kāsīsaṃ – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||3||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – – – †ṭalāṅgala†sārikā ||4||
kumārī siṅghikā vyāghrī tathā ca suramañjarī |
surasā sumanā kṛṣṇā kuṅkumā saptaparṇṇikā ||5||
riddhivṛddhi ca bhūdhātrī bhūkadambaṃ satālakam |
kharjjūrakesaraṃ śyāmā amṛtā ca vidārikā ||6||
sveṣṭayāgopari yaṣṭvā japaṃ cāstrādikaṃ bhavet |
pa – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||7||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||8||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – tathā |
saṃgṛhya cārabhet paścāt sādhanan tu varānane ||9||
caturhastapramāṇena kṛtvā maṇḍalakaṃ śubham |
gomūtragomayenaiva rocanāgandhavāriṇā ||10||
kṛtvāstārya tato mantrī paṭam pretagṛhodgatam |
tasyopari tato nyasya vṛddhipatrāṃ suvistritām ||11||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||12||
sveṣṭayāgopari yaṣṭvā japañ cāstrādikam bhavet |
paścān mūlaguṇaṃ yojya ūrddhadṛṣṭis tu sādhakaḥ ||13||
yāvat kṣapārddhamūlam vā tāvad ūṣmā pravarttate |
dhūmañ cātras tato jvālā hastamātrā prajāyate ||14||
yāvad daśadiśābhogaṃ ravākulitabhīṣaṇam |
devī – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||15||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – ha samācaret ||16||

na ca sambhāṣaṇaṃ kuryād yāva sāran na saṃsthitaṃ |
upaviṣṭe tatas tasmiṃ samantād bhairavārccite ||17||
arghapātraṃ gṛhītvā tu surāsavasupūritaṃ |
arghan datvā namaskṛtvā kapālan tu nivedayet ||18||
siddham etan mahāpātraṃ prasādāt tava bhairava |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||19||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |
– – – – tato nātha bhairaveśolbaṇānanaḥ |
uvāca sādhu sādhvīti satvenānena suvrata ||20||
nāptaṃ yad devagandharvaiḥ siddharudradivākaraiḥ |
tad idan dātum udyāto na tvayā sadṛśo 'khile ||21||
jagaty asmiṃ mahāsatva yogyo vā bhairavīpadam |
matprasādān mahāsatva yoginīkulanandanaḥ ||22||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – – – – – – baladarppitāḥ |
tvattejānalasaṃdagdhā dhvansaṃ yāsyanti niścitaṃ ||23||
bhairavyā ca tathāpy evaṃ kṛto mātṛgaṇādhipaḥ |
kapālasādhanenāyaṃ dvitīya iva bhairavaḥ ||24||
bhayadātā ca karttā ca devāsuramahoragāṃ |
dravyāṇi susahāyebhyo datvotpatati khetale ||25||
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||26||
dhūmāyite 'pi deveśi siddhavidyādharādhipaḥ |
kṛtāntarddhānasiddhis tu vicaret māyagocaraṃ ||27||
ūṣmāyite 'pi deveśi lavaṇāmbhodharaṃ kṣaṇāt |
bhramate saptadvīpāṃś ca na majjanty udakādiṣu ||28||
nāsya rodhayitā kaścid devāsuramahoragām |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||29||

devy uvāca ||

kasmiṃ kapālam utpannaṅ khaṭvāṅgañ ca maheśvara |

yena dhārayase nityaṅ gaṇamātṛniṣevitaḥ ||30||

pramāṇañ caiva mudrāṇāṃ kasyaiva ca kathaṃ vidhiḥ |

adhidevaḥ phalañ caiva yena vindanti sādhakāḥ ||31||

bhairava uvāca ||

śṛṇu devi paraṃ guhyaṃ sarvvasiddhipravarttakaṃ |

saṃbhavaṃ tu kapālasya khaṭvāṅgasya tathaiva ca ||32||

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |

– – – – – – – – –danādy eva jagat sthitam ||33||

rudraiś ca śaktisaṃghais tu citaṃ sarvvaṃ mahātmane |

tadicchānukaraś cāham – – – – – – – – ||34||

seyaṃ kriyātmikā śaktis sā cecchā tvaṃ virājase |

māyā śṛṣṭi tathā kānti dhṛtir buddhir varānane ||35||

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – |

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ||36||

– – – – – – – – – – – – vapuṣā tvayā |

prerayitvā niyuṃkṣāmi sṛṣṭisaṃhāravartmani ||37||

saṃhāre 'pi parārddhānte vyatikrānte hutāśanaḥ |

kālarūpo 'dhvasaṃsthānaṅ kramād adaham udyataḥ ||38||

anekatuṭiparyāyaiḥ svatatvakṛtasaṃkhyayā |

narakādikamāyāntan dadāha prabhu-r-icchayā ||39||

sṛṣṭaṃ sṛṣṭam punas tasmai mahāpralayatāṃ yadā |

gatam māyodare devi tamobhūtaṃ jagat tadā ||40||

evaṃ dehabhṛtāṃ sarvvāṅ kapālāni jagrāha tām |

kapālamālinaṃ rūpaṃ kṛtvā krīḍāmi cecchayā ||41||

yāni nārāṇy anekāni tadadhvānanivāsināṃ |

kaṭakeyūrasūtrāṇi kaṭideśe ca tāni tu ||42||
maccharīragatan dṛṣṭvā sūkṣmeṇa vapuṣādhvanam |
līnaṃ liṅgākṛtitvena prakhyāto bhuvaneśvaraiḥ ||43||
kapālamālinaṃ dṛṣṭvā kālānte bhuvanādhipaiḥ |
kāleśvaraṃ kapālīśam paryāyena tu bhāṣitam ||44||
saṃhārantaṃ svakālena dṛṣṭvā raudraṃ maheśvari |
bhairavaṃ bhairavākāraṃ sarvvādhvavihiteritam ||45||
anāmo 'pi hi deveśe nāmakoṭibhir īśvaraiḥ |
yair yair eva yadā dṛṣṭas tais tais tadvad udāhṛtaḥ |
tvañ ca tenaiva rūpeṇa tadā tajjñair udāhṛtā ||46||
tamomaye tatas tasmim pralīne sakalādhvani |
kṛtādhāro nirādhāraḥ svaśaktivihitāsanaḥ ||47||
tatve sadeśvare devi yogakrīḍāsulālasaḥ |
samādhau tu pare tatve sati jñāne samarppite ||48||
tamasā vyāpitan tūrṇṇaṃ śarīraṃ yaj jagāśrayam |
yoganidreva sā bhāti vṛttis tu mama suvrate ||49||
gate parārddhakāle 'ntye śivecchā bodhite punaḥ |
maccharīre viniryātaṃ yat tatvaṃ yatra saṃhṛtam ||50||
bhāvabhūtamayaṃ viśvam māyādyavanigocaram |
visṛṣṭaṅ kāraṇecchāto vicitran tu yathā tathā ||51||
paramāṇusamūhan tu pārthivaṃ tadasaṅgatam |
yogena svedam utpādya saṃgṛhītaṃ varānane ||52||
kṛtvā karatale tan tu mathitaṃ śaktiyojanāt |
atyuṣṇatāṃ samāyātaṃ dṛśā tac ca nirīkṣaṇe ||53||
tattejasā vipakvaṃ hi kaṭhinaṃ kāñcanāmayam |
vibhāti karamadhyasthaṃ bhāṇukoṭisamaprabham ||54||
triguṇaṃ tritayādhāraṃ lokapālaniketanam |
caturddaśakulāvāsaṃ tannidhir bhogamokṣayoḥ ||55||

tattrānte satvajanmā vai brahmā kṣipto gurutvayā |
sṛṣṭau tu prākkṛtaḥ so vai buddhau vyaktigatas tu yaḥ ||56||
prajāṇāṃ kāraṇaṃ so vai vivekān saṃprakāśakaḥ |
dvitīyo 'pi tato devi tamasā satvayojanāt ||57||
ubhābhyān tu rajomūrttiḥ nirmitaḥ kāraṇecchayā |
so 'dhipālanayogāya tadaṇḍe sanniveśitaḥ ||58||
svasvabhāvasthitau tau tu karttṛtve tamasā hitau |
preritau tu mayā devi tamasā sṛṣṭihetunā ||59||
tad rajobhāvasampannaṃ rūpaṃ yad dhy abhilāṣajam |
satvaṃ saṃkṣobhayām āsa brahmajaṃ rajasā mahān ||60||
vikṣobhitaṃ yadā tan tu muktvā satvātmatāṃ punaḥ |
mama dviṣati ko 'nyo 'sti matsamo 'tra mahītale ||61||
dadṛśuś cāgrato viṣṇum atikāntavapuṣmatam |
kas tvam bho iti saṃjñāya tamasā yojito mayā ||62||
saṅkruddhas tu tatopendro jagaty asmiṃ prabhur varaḥ |
ahaṅkarttā iti so 'pi ūcur viśvātmanam prati ||63||
manobuddhībhavau dvau tu tayo 'haṃ haṅkṛtātmavān |
prerako 'ham iti svena mamatvenātimohitāḥ ||64||
vivādānantaraṃ yuddhaṃ tayor jātaṃ parasparam |
dṛṣṭyā vācā bhujābhyāṃ tu muṣṭibhiś ca tato 'yudhaiḥ ||65||
ājaṅghantau mahāvīryau kṛtavantau parasparam |
dorddaṇḍaśabdanirghātaṃ śastrasaṅghapadāhatā ||66||
bhūr nanardda diśaḥ sarvvāḥ sphuṭantīva mahāyaśe |
dyudharitrī ubhe yadvat militun tu samicchate ||67||
gṛdhrasañcchannagaganaṃ śivāviplāvitan tathā |
ghanastanitanirghoṣañ jvaladagnipravarṣaṇam ||68||
bhramadbhir bhramate 'tyarthaṃ maṇḍalañ cakracoditam |
patanty antrakapālogrāḥ sunirghātamahāsvanāḥ ||69||

pracaṇḍavātavalitā giriśṛṅgā diśo diśaḥ |
mahāpralayam āyāntaṃ dṛṣṭvā yuddhe tayos tv idaṃ ||70||
mahārṇṇavasukallolavīcisaṅghaṭṭasaṃkulam |
atyantatamasā labdhaṃ yuddhaṃ dṛṣṭvā sudāruṇam ||71||
cintayitvā vinā devi vināśam upagacchatam |
darppopaśamanan tābhyāṅ kṛtaṃ svenaiva dehinā ||72||
ekārṇṇave mahāghore liṅgarūpātitejasam |
kṛtvā tābhyāntarasthan tu vinivārya parasparam ||73||
saṃlagnabāhuyuddhan tu gataroṣaṃ mahātmane |
kṣaṇād ameyarūpo 'ham adhorddhan tu vyavasthitaḥ ||74||
mahākālāgnirocībhi trāsayitvā ubhau priye |
mūrcchākulīkṛtau tau tu yathā syur dīnatāṅ gatau ||75||
vismitau ca varārohe liṅgan dṛṣṭvā sujvālanam |
naivāśmakāñcanan tāraṃ nārakūṭan na lohajaṃ ||76||
traputāmrasīsajātiṃ vā naiva kānsaṃ na cānyajam |
tejarūpaṃ mahātejaṃ dṛg muṣantaṃ divaukasoḥ ||77||
tau sametya gatau dvau tu adhorddhaṃ puruṣottamau |
adṛṣṭvāntaṅ gatau bhītau stotum ārabdham īśvaram ||78||
namaḥ kālānalogrāya śivāyāśivahāriṇe |
avyaktavyaktarūpāya sthūlasūkṣmāya śambhave ||79||
jñānātmavṛtticetāya namo bhūtakriyātmane |
anantāya amūrttāya anāthānāśṛtāya ca ||80||
tejasvināṃ mahāteja dīptajvālādharāya ca |
bhūrbhuvaḥsvaḥsvarūpāya kharūpāya mahātmane |
mahāsāmya mahāliṅga mahādevāya vai namaḥ ||81||
evaṃ yāva stuto devi tayor devātmikā girā |
āvirbhūtas tu vai tābhyāṃ svarūpeṇa gaṇāmbike ||82||
kṛtvā tu bhairavaṃ rūpaṃ kālan dvādaśalocanam |

kapālamālinaṃ bhīmaṃ visphuracchūlapāṇinam ||83||
mahoragopavītan tu visphuliṅgaṃ havirmukham |
khaṭvāṅgadhāriṇan tryakṣaṅ kapālakarabhāsuram ||84||
ghoṇaśabdakṛtottrāsaṃ devāsuramahoragām |
draṃṣṭrākarālavadanaṃ vidyulolāvilokitam ||85||
dṛṣṭvā tu bhayam āpannau sthitau sanmīlitekṣaṇau |
praśvāsitau mahādevau pṛcchato vratam uttamam ||86||
kim etad adbhutaṃ rūpaṃ kim etad bhūṣaṇaṃ vibho |
kim etad bhrājate vyomni triśikhaṃ śūlam ujvalam ||87||
uttamāṅgaṃ śubhaṃ kasya yat te karatalasthitam |
mahāsthibhūṣaṇaṅ caitat kaṃtanūtthaṃ virājate ||88||
tato 'haṃ pratyuvācedaṃ tayoḥ saṃbodhakaṃ vacaḥ |
anekamuṇḍakoṭībhir yeyam mālā vibhāti me ||89||
asaṅkhyabhuvanīśānām pralaye tanujais tathā |
vinibaddhā tu he brahma vinaṣṭānāṃ punaḥ punaḥ ||90||
yāni nārāṇy aśeṣāṇi grīvābāhukaṭisthitāṃ |
nārāyaṇa tvadīyāni bhuvanīśāñ ca saṃkṣaye ||91||
⟨......⟩
māyayā māṃsam āvṛtya tatkṣaṇāt kṣobhyam udyataḥ |
mayāpi so tv anāyāsā hūṃkāreṇa niyāmitaḥ ||92||
khaṭvāsureti vikhyāto asuro devakaṇṭakaḥ |
tadante līlayā devi śaktyāviṣṭena cetasā |
ghātito hi kṣaṇād duṣṭo vidhvaṃsya baladarppitaḥ ||93||
tasyāṅgaṃ śīghram ādāya divyavajramayam mahāṃ |
dhṛtaṃ mahāyudhaṃ yasmāt khaṭvāṅgan tu tatas tv idaṃ ||94||
etac chrūtvā tu tau devau praṇipatya punaḥ punaḥ |
janmamṛtyubhayatrastau punaś cāśvāsitau mayā ||95||
datvā varasahasrāṇi buddhikāmānusārataḥ |

sṛṣṭiṅ kuruṣva he brahma tvam pālaya janārddana ||96||
ajitas triṣu lokeṣu subhagaś ca bhaviṣyasi |
mama tulyabalo vatsa maccharīre bhaviṣyasi ||97||
prajānāṅ kāraṇaṃ brahma vivektā vedavādinām |
satva-m-arthapravṛttānāṃ tvaṃ tu boddhā bhaviṣyasi |
evam uktvā punaś cāhaṃm antarddhānam upāgataḥ ||98||
khaṭvāṅgasya samutpattiḥ kapālasya tu bhairavi |
kathitā tu samāsena adhidevām ataḥ śṛṇu ||99||
tasyāṅgaṃ śīghram ādāya sarvvadevamayaṃ kṛtam |
tatkeśāṅ gṛhya tattraiva mayā devi niveśitāḥ ||100||
tasya vastrāṇi raktena carccayitvā śubhekṣaṇe |
nirmitāni vicitrāṇi devāṅgāni dhvajāni tu ||101||
mayūrahaṃsapatrāṇi vinibaddhāni tattra tu |
triguṇena tu sūtreṇa māyātantumayena tu ||102||
tataḥ khaṭvāṅgamūlena anantaṃ sanniveśitam |
śūlarūpas tu boddhavyo kālāgniḥ kāñcideśataḥ ||103||
tasyopariṣṭā narakā aṅgulāntaritās trayaḥ |
pātālāś caiva lokāś ca upary upari saṃsthitāḥ ||104||
sūtragranther adhastā tu brahmā tatra vyavasthitaḥ |
tasyopari sthito viṣṇur mūrdhniś cāhaṃ varānane ||105||
sitasūtre sthitaḥ satvo brahmā tattrādhidevatam |
rakte rajas tu vijñeyo viṣṇus tatrādhidevataṃ ||106||
tamaḥ kṛṣṇe vijānīyād ahan tattrādhidevataṃ |
miśre cāvyaktam ity uktaṃ rajasatvatamomayaṃ ||107||
evaṃ pun niyatiḥ kālo māyā ca varavarṇṇini |
piñchānām upariṣṭā tu saṃsthitāni yathākramaṃ ||108||
upariṣṭā tu yā kāñcī granthis tatra vyavasthitā |
yat triśūlopariṣṭā tu tattra śaktittrayam viduḥ ||109||

vāmā jeṣṭhā ca raudrī ca vāmadakṣiṇamadhyagāḥ |
upariṣṭā śivaṃ śāntaṃ sthitaṃ sarvvasya mūrdhani ||110||
kalā vidyā ca rāgaś ca pādake saṃvyavasthitāḥ |
vāyu dhvaje sthito devi sarvvāsuparivāritaḥ ||111||
keśair nāgakulāny aṣṭau jñātavyāni vipaścitaiḥ |
bhūtapretapiśācāś ca yakṣakinnaracāraṇāḥ ||112||
rākṣasāś cāpi vetālā piñcchakeṣu vyavasthitāḥ |
ghaṇṭhikāyāṃ sthitā rudrā gaṇāś ca varavarṇṇini ||113||
śabde sarasvatī devī sphoṭe bindur dhvanir dhvanau |
yoginyo mātaro lāmā bhaginyaḥ pūtanās tathā ||114||
skandādyās tu grahāḥ sarvve tathā sehārikādayaḥ |
jaṭābhiḥ saṃsthitā hy ete astrāṇi vividhāni ca ||115||
vedāṅgāni tathā vidyāsthānāny eva caturddaśa |
grahaṇe saṃsthitā hy ete gāyatrī caiva mokṣaṇe ||116||
uddhṛte tu sthitoṅkāraḥ sāvitrī sthāpite viduḥ |
sarvvadevamayaṃ hy evaṃ khaṭvāṅgaṃ varavarṇṇini ||117||
mayā kṛtan tu tatkāle pavitraṃ paramaṃ hitam |
tataḥ khaṭvāsuraḥ śāntam padaṃ prāpto varānane ||118||
eṣā khaṭvāṅga-utpattir yo vijānāti tatvataḥ |
sa yāti brahmalokan tu bhinne dehe na saṃśayaḥ ||119||
yo punar dīkṣitātmāno dhārayed yuktacetasaḥ |
sa vīreśapade līno nāvarttati-r-adhomukhaḥ ||120||
ṣaṭmāsam abdamāttraṃ vā mantrayuktas tu yo naraḥ |
khaṭvāṅgan dhārayed devi divyasiddhim avāpnuyāt ||121||
pramāṇaṃ sampravakṣyāmi śṛṇuṣvekamanā satī |
svaśarīrapramāṇena karttavyam adhikaṃ pi vā ||122||
caturhastorddhato devi na martyeṣu sukhāvahaṃ |
trihastan tu śubhaṃ viddhi mantrasiddhikaraṃ hitaṃ ||123||

aṅguṣṭhaparvvamānena kuryāt pañcāśadaṅgulam |
caturaṅgulamānena pariṇāho varānane ||124||
trihastaṃ pañcaparvvāṇi pariṇāheṇa kīrttitam |
aṣṭāṅgulaparīṇāhaś caturhastasya suvrate ||125||
caturaṅgulā bhavet kāñcī kīlako dvādaśāṅgulaḥ |
caturaṅgulapraveśan tu adhastāṣṭāṅgulo bhavet ||126||
etat pramāṇam ākhyātaṃ nyūnaṅ kiñcin na kārayet |
pādako hastamātras tu prakuryāc chāstravittamaḥ ||127||
dvādaśāṅgulamānan tu triśūlaṃ tasya copari |
navāṅgulan trihaste tu itareṣu ṣaḍaṅgulam ||128||
pādan tadvat prakarttavyaṃ dhvajan kuryād yathepsitam |
dvādaśāṅgulam ārabhya caturviṃśatikan naraiḥ ||129||
gṛhasthair api karttavyaṃ yathā guptaṃ prajāyate |
lakṣaṇena vihīnaṃ hi yadā kurvvīta sādhakaḥ ||130||
vibhramodvegavidveṣasiddhihānikaram bhavet |
nyagrodhapādape rijve atha vaṃśamayaṃ śubham ||131||
saralaṃ devadāruñ ca karavīrārkkajan tathā |
bukaś cāśokakhadiro bilvapippalaśiṃśapāḥ ||132||
saptaparṇṇamayaṃ vātha śrīkhaṇḍe raktacandane |
kāryaṃ śmaśānakāṣṭhe vā tārakāñcanajan tathā ||133||
tāmrajaṃ vā maheśāni puṣpalohamayan tathā |
yathālābhena karttavyaṃ sādhakena mahātmanā ||134||
tam ārādhyam prayatnena yathāyuktena mantriṇā |
khaṭvāṅgaṃ pūjitaṃ yena trailokyaṃ tena pūjitaṃ ||135||
khaṭvāṅgaṃ dhāritaṃ yena dhṛtan tena carācaraṃ |
mantracaryāvihīno 'pi grāmāsakto 'pi yo naraḥ ||136||
khaṭvāṅgaṃ dhārayed yas tu nāsau lipyati pātakaiḥ |
brahmādhidevatan devi kapālaṃ parikīrttitaṃ ||137||

pavitram paramaṃ divyam āgneyaṃ brahmasambhavaṃ |
yas tu dhārayate nityam matparo niyamasthitaḥ ||138||
pāpahā sarvvamarttyānān darśanād eva pārvvati |
brahmahā pitṛhantāro bhrātṛhā mātṛghātakaḥ ||139||
dvādaśābdāni bhikṣāśī kapālavratam ācaret |
mantradīkṣāvihīno 'pi śudhyaty eva na saṃśayaḥ ||140||
dīkṣito yas tu mantrajñaḥ śivabhaktisamanvitaḥ |
brahmahatyāsahasre 'pi saptāhād vimalo bhavet ||141||
apāpī mantrayuktas tu ṣaṭmāsā siddhibhāg bhavet |
rakṣayakṣapiśācānām bhūtavetālaguhyakām ||142||
apradhṛṣyo prajāyeta ṣaṭmāsābhyantarān naraḥ |
jāyate ca maheśāni matputro 'tīvavallabhaḥ ||143||
yakṣiṇīguhyakānāñ ca yoginīnāṃ priyo bhavet |
kin tu tās tatra sānaidhyam mayā pūrvvaṃ prakalpitaṃ ||144||
brahmaṇasyottamāṅgan tu atīvātyulbaṇam mahat |
pañcaman tu samudbhūtan tena saṃcchāditaṃ jagat ||145||
ādityaś ca grahāś caiva nakṣattrāṇi ca candramāḥ |
tejasā na svayaṃ bhānti tārāḥ sūryodaye yathā ||146||
tato 'haṃ saṃstutas tais tu devaiḥ sariṣipuṅgavaiḥ |
tato yogena vijñāya kāryam etad divaukasām ||147||
gandhavatyātaṭe ramye svarūpan darśitam mayā |
mahākālaṃ mahāraudraṃ prajvalaṃ svamarīcibhiḥ |
chāditaḥ sa mayā tūrṇṇaṃ svaprabhābhiḥ pitāmahaḥ ||148||
nakhena vāmahastasya cchinnam atyulbaṇānanam |
tad gṛhya nṛtyamāno 'haṃ gato yatra janārddanaḥ ||149||
tiṣṭhate yogam āsīnaḥ purāṇapuruṣottamaḥ |
jvalantaṃ tejasā svena surāsuranamaskṛtaḥ ||150||
prārthitaḥ sa mayā devi bhikṣān dehi mahātapaḥ |

kapālamālinaṃ dṛṣṭvā jñātvā ca puruṣottamaḥ ||151||
svabhujan darśayām āsa mahāsatvo mahābalaḥ |
tato mayā triśūlena hatas tu śubhalocane ||152||
śroṇitasyātivegena tato dhārā vinirgatā |
mahāghoṣeṇa patitā kapāle cātibhāsvare ||153||
tasyāḥ śabdena mahatā kampitā tu vasundharā |
vāmahastena tat pātraṃ tato saṃghaṭṭitam mayā ||154||
ahany ahani vikṣobhya nārāyaṇi ramāmy aham |
svacchāyān tattra paśyāmi tejasātīva colbaṇām ||155||
vicitrā tatra me sṛṣṭir jātā cātibhayaṅkarā |
vāmahaste prapaśyāmi yoginyo vīrasaṃyutāḥ ||156||
vidyeśvarī mahācaṇḍā raktā caiva karālinī |
guhyakāñ ceśvaran devi tat prapaśyāmi bhairavam ||157||
ṣaḍ yoginyaḥ prapaśyāmi mātaro bhīmavikramāḥ |
asaṃkhyātā mahādevyas tatrotpannās tu suvrate ||158||
kiṅkaryaḥ kiṅkarāś caiva dvādaśādityavarccasaḥ |
manthānabhairavas tena gītaḥ sa parameśvaraḥ ||159||
divyenābdasahasreṇa tat pūrṇṇaṃ vīravandite |
devyas tattra samutpannāḥ śoṇitāsavalolupāḥ ||160||
kapāle saṃsthitā devyo dṛṣṭvā saṃpūjitā mayā |
viṣṇunāpi ca tattrasthā devyaḥ sampūjitāḥ sadā ||161||
evañ ca brahmaṇenāpi bhāvam āśṛtya pūjitāḥ |
brahmaṇasyottamāṅge tu viṣṇuśoṇitapūrite ||162||
mama dṛṣṭinipātena utthitā cāttra raśmayaḥ |
kapāle tena sānaidhyaṅ kalpayanti varānane ||163||
kapālaṃ pūjitaṃ yena devyas tena prapūjitāḥ |
kapālaṃ pūritaṃ yena tṛptās tasya gabhastayaḥ |
kapālaṃ dhāritaṃ yena dhṛtan tena carācaraṃ ||164||

vandite vanditaṃ sarvvaṃ laṅghite laṅghitaṃ jagat |
kapālaṃ laṅghitaṃ yena pāpātmā vātha ninditam ||165||
laṅghitāḥ samayās tena ninditā guravas tathā |
tasmān na laṅghayet prājñaḥ kapālaṃ tridaśārccitam ||166||
gāyattryoṃkārasāvittrīsarvvaśāstrasamanvitāḥ |
kapāle caturo vedā draṣṭavyā vīravandite ||167||
tena tattraiva yat kiñcit patitam bhikṣabhojane |
pāvanan tat pavitrañ ca kutsitānnam apir bhavet ||168||
pāpācāraratenāpi striyā vā puruṣeṇa vā |
sadyo mānsāsavan dattan tat pavitraṃ na saṃśayaḥ ||169||
ekānnam api bhuñjāno pratigrahabhayojjhitaḥ |
kim punar bhakṣayet tuṣṭo viśeṣān mantram āśṛtaḥ ||170||
brahmādhidevatan devi kapālaṃ varavarṇṇini |
sarvvadevamayañ caiva sarvvatatvamayaṃ hi tat ||171||
cūḍāmaṇi kapālena śikhāyāṃ yo niveśitaḥ |
īśvaras tatra vijñeyo adhidevo varānane ||172||
jñānaśaktiḥ kriyākhyā ca karṇṇike parikīrttite |
kaṇṭhasthitā tu yā mudrā ahan tatrādhidevatam ||173||
rudro mātṛgaṇais sārdhaṃ jñātavyas tu varānane |
ananto hy upavīte tu śaktis sarvvorddhagā parā ||174||
hastabāhukaṭisthaiś ca viṣṇu jñeyo 'dhidevataṃ |
śivaḥ śuddhaḥ sunirvāṇṇa jñeyo bhasmādhidaivataṃ |
śaktayo vividhākārā jaṭānām adhidevatāḥ ||175||
etan mahārthadan devi yo vijānāti tatvataḥ |
śivavat sa tu boddhavyo viruddhācaraṇo 'pi yaḥ ||176||
yady apiḥ sa vikarmmasthaḥ kurute 'tīvasāhasaṃ |
tathāpi pretarājāno bhavate śivabhāvitaḥ ||177||
sthitvā śivecchayā tattra yāvat tatkarmasaṃkṣayaḥ |

tato yāti paraṃ sthānaṃ yat tat padam anāmayam ||178||
etat purā mahādevi devaiś cīrṇṇam mahāvratam |
tato mṛtyujarān tyaktvā mantrasiddhiparāṅgatāḥ ||179||
śakreṇāpi purā cīrṇṇaṃ mahendreṇa mahāvrataṃ |
tato diter apatyānāṃ marditā tu varūthinī ||180||
viṣṇunāpi purā cīrṇṇaṃ cakrasyārthe mahāvrataṃ |
tam avāpyājito loke jāto devārisūdanaḥ ||181||
brahmaṇenāpi vedeṣu pranaṣṭeṣu mahāvratam |
caritvārādhito pūrvvam ahaṃ suravarārccite |
mayā tuṣṭena tasyāśu punar vedāḥ prakāśitāḥ ||182||
mātṛbhir yoginībhiś ca grahavetālarākṣasaiḥ |
mama rūpan tu vijñāya cīrṇṇam etan mahāvratam ||183||
māsapakṣāyanañ cābdam mantrayuktaś cared yadi |
jāyate sarvvayogīnāṃ sanmataḥ sādhakottamaḥ ||184||
tasmād yaḥ siddhim anvicchet parāparaguṇātmikām |
tantraṃ bhairavam āśṛtya tena kāryaṃ mahāvrataṃ ||185||
velāvrataṃ samāśṛtya sidhyate gṛhamedhinaḥ |
marttyabhogāviraktātmā na cotpatati khetale |
paśor abhāvato devi na melakavivarjitaḥ ||186||

iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpatti[strya]śītimaḥ paṭalaḥ ||*83*||

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